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GUJARÁT POPULATION:

HINDUS.

UNDER GOVERNMENT ORDERS.

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THIS Volume on the Hindus of Gujarát is compiled by BHIMBHÁI KIRPÁRÁM Esquire, Tálukdári Settlement Officer, Gujarát. Two Appendices A.—THE FOREIGNER and B.—THE GUJAR are added by the Editor.

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June 1901.

Section III—Traders:

Section IV—Rajputs:

Section V—Husbandmen:

THE Province of Gujarát, including Káthiáwád Kachh and other Native States, lies between 20° 18′ and 24° 42′ north latitude and 68° 28′ and 74° 30′ east longitude, and has an area of 69,037 square miles, and, according to the census of 1891, a population of 11,036,706. Of this total population 9,887,810 or 89·59 per cent are Hindus, 1,113,474 or 10·09 per cent Musalmáns, and 27,712 or 0·25 per cent Pársis. The chief details are: CENSUS DETAILS, 1891-1901.

GUJARÁT POPULATION, 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Square Miles.	Hindus including Jains.	Musalmáns.	Pársis.	Christians.	Others.	Total.
Ahmedábád	3949	828,554	90,487	835	1592	244	921,712
Kaira	1609	791,702	77,443	153	2282	9	871,589
Panch Maháls	1613	294,574	18,651	108	84	...	313,417
Broach	1463	266,803	71,263	3273	128	23	341,490
Surat	1662	584,348	52,307	12,757	540	37	649,989
Total British Districts ...	10,296	2,765,981	310,161	17,126	4626	313	3,098,197
Kachh	6500	424,490	133,492	118	173	142	558,415
Káthiáwád	20,559	2,392,432	358,061	908	898	105	2,752,404
Pálanpur	7775	587,193	57,486	205	608	34	645,526
Mahi Kántha	9300	539,715	22,570	8	35	4	562,332
Rewa Kántha	4980	707,975	25,103	386	36	6	733,506
Cambay	350	76,852	12,712	137	21	...	89,722
Surat Agency	1051	175,424	5,159	618	1	6	181,208
Baroda	8226	2,217,748	188,740	8,206	646	56	2,415,396
Total Native States ...	58,741	7,121,829	803,323	10,586	2418	353	7,938,509
Grand Total ...	69,037	9,887,810	1,113,474	27,712	7044	666	11,036,706
Percentage ...	...	89·59	10·09	0·25	0·06	0·01	100

Of the A.D. 1901 census, race details by districts and states are not available. The returns show a total Gujarát population of 9,012,471 as against 11,036,706, or a decrease of 18·34 per cent. In ordinary course there ought to have been an increase of ten per cent in ten years, making 12,203,076. The unusually large decrease of about 2,024,235 or 18·34 per cent is due to the 1899-1900 famine, and in a lesser degree to plague and in some parts since A.D. 1891 to bad seasons. The decrease is most marked in Kaira and the Panch Maháls, and in Mahi Kántha, Rewa Kántha, and Pálanpur. Surat has suffered least.

CENSUS DETAILS, 1891-1901.

GUJARÁT POPULATION, 1891-1901.

British Districts.	Total, 1891.	Total, 1901.	Decrease per cent.	Native States.	Total, 1891.	Total, 1901.	Decrease per cent.
Ahmedábád ...	921,712	795,094	13·73	Kachh	558,415	487,374	12·72
				Káthiáwád ...	2,752,404	2,327,456	15·43
Kaira	871,580	715,725	17·88	Pálanpur ...	645,526	467,691	27·55
				Mahi Kántha ...	562,322	361,508	35·71
Panch Maháls ...	313,417	261,870	16·44	Rewa Kántha ...	733,506	478,899	34·71
Broach	341,490	291,428	14·69	Cambay	89,722	75,122	16·27
				Surat Agency ...	181,208	161,010	11·14
Surat	649,989	636,602	2·05	Baroda	2,415,396	1,952,692	19·11
Total ...	3,098,197	2,700,719	12·82	Total ...	7,938,509	6,311,752	20·49
				Total British Districts and Native States ...	11,036,706	9,012,471	18·34

Of 9,887,810 the total (1891) Gujarát Hindu population, 568,868 or 5·75 per cent are Bráhmans; 9,087 or ·091 per cent are Writers; 600,013 or 6·06 per cent are traders, chiefly Vániás; 498,063 or 5·03 per cent are Rajputs; 1,544,486 or 15·62 per cent are Husbandmen, chiefly Kanbis; 893,676 or 90·4 per cent are Craftsmen; 112,873 or 1·14 per cent are Bards and Actors; 212,172 or 2·14 per cent are Personal Servants; 2,276,633, or 23·02 per cent are Kolis; and 28,500 Káthis; 478,176 or 4·83 per cent are Herdsmen—Áhirs, Bharváds, Mehrs, and Rabáris; 1,094,798 or 11·07 are Early Tribes—Bhils, Chodhrás, Dublás, Dhondiás, Gámtás, Konkanás, Káthodis, Náiks, and Várlis; 860,655 or 8·7 per cent are depressed classes—Dheds, Bhangiás, Garudás, and Sindhvás; and the rest, religious beggars and miscellaneous classes including seafarers, numbering 709,810 or 7·02 per cent.

DIVISIONS.

Geographically the province of Gujarát extends from Mount Ábu to Daman, being the tract where Gujaráti is spoken. Peninsular Gujarát, that is Kachh and Káthiávád, though an integral part of the province, has, on account of its detached position and large sea-board, developed and preserved peculiar traits and characteristics in its population. It has an area of 27,059 square miles with in A.D. 1891 a population of 3,310,819, of whom 2,816,922 were Hindus. Mainland Gujarát may be broadly divided into north Gujarát between Mount Ábu and the Mahi river, and south Gujarát between the Mahi and the Damanganga rivers. North Gujarát, including the Ahmedábád and Kaira districts and large portions of the Panch Maháls district together with the native states of Mahi Kántha, Pálanpur, and Cambay, and part of Baroda, has an area of about 31,122 square miles with a population in A.D. 1891 of 5,116,708, of whom 4,510,751 were Hindus. South Gujarát, including the Broach and Surat districts, parts of Baroda, the Bánsda Dharampur and Sachin states, and the Rewa Kántha Agency

has an area of 9567 square miles with in A.D. 1891 a population of 2,429,189, of whom 2,140,862 were Hindus. DIVISIONS.

North Gujarát differs in many respects from south Gujarát. Most of the original settlements from which Gujarát castes take their names are in north Gujarát; the three Gujarát goddesses and, except some on the Narbada banks, venerated shrines like Somnáth, Gopnáth, Bhimnáth, Dwárka, Girnár, Mount Ábu, Shatrunjaya, and Siddhpur are all in peninsular and north Gujarát. The population is also more dense being most so in Kaira in the tract called *Charotara* or superior land. The dynastic seats of ancient Gujarát are also in north and peninsular Gujarát, whether at Dwárka, Junágadh, Valabhi, Vadnagar, Panchásar, Anhilvád Pátan, Dholka, or Chámpáner. The thrifty Vánia millionaire, the busy and skilled Kanbi cultivator, the high-born Rajput whether as ruling chief or tálukdár, and the unruly Koli or Dhárála are all found in large numbers north of the Mahi. South Gujarát has a large population of the early tribes with Anávla Bráhman cultivators, Vánia traders, Shrávak jewellers, skilled artisans, and Kanbi settlers. Good physique, wealth, business habits, and thrift characterize north Gujarát; and a general softness, keen intellect, and a taste for show, fashion, and finery are the distinguishing features of the south. Peninsular Gujarát has a stalwart and valorous population including the brave Rajputs and Káthis and sturdy Áhirs Bharváds and Rabáris; enterprising Bhátiás Lohánás and Vániás who have been trading from early times with Arabia, East Africa, and the Persian Gulf; and seafaring Vághers, Sanghárs, Kolis, and Khárvás, now hardy long-voyage lascars like those of Gogha and Ránder, but formerly notorious for their piracies in the Arabian seas. North and South Gujarát.

In customs manners and civilization north Gujarát, including Káthiávád and Kachh, preserves much that is old, while south Gujarát and especially Surat has been affected by outside influences. But the hold of religion and caste in the province is still rigorous. Throughout Gujarát the household still remains in its early Hindu state. The people continue to retain their joint family system, their marriage ritual, heredity in occupation, regard for the cow and the Bráhman, solicitude for male issue, customs at birth marriage and death, and communal system as of yore. The priest and the astrologer still continue to be consulted; there is the same belief in vows, lucky and unlucky days and omens, though magic witchcraft and sorcery have lost their hold especially among the upper classes. Education is permeating the younger generation more or less in all castes, chiefly among males, and to a slight but perceptible extent among females.

ABORIGINES.

During the Vedic period prior to B.C. 1500, no reference has been traced to the population which apparently must have consisted of the early tribes called *dasyus* or fiends in the Vedas and *nishádas* or original settlers in the Rámáyan. These early tribes numbering 1,094,798 or 11·07 per cent of the so-called whole Hindu population were still in A.D. 1891 found chiefly along the east Gujarát forest and hill frontier, and also in the rugged Mahi Kántha where the Panch Maháls stretch into the Málwa uplands to which they have been driven by waves of northern settlers. With many minor clans this aboriginal section includes eight chief tribes, Bhils, Chodhrás, Dhondiás, Dublás, Gámits, Konkanás, Náiks, and Várlis. To these may be added the Kolis numbering 2,276,633 or 23·02 per cent, most numerous in north Gujarát and Káthiávád but getting fewer south of the Mahi. The Kolis may be taken as an intermediate layer between the rest of the Hindu population who are called *Ujli Varan* or bright coloured as against the *Káli Paraj* or dusky race, the general name of the early tribes including probably also the Kolis. Of the Kolis, the largest and most respectable division is still called *Talabda* from the Sanskrit *sthalodbhava* or soil-born, corresponding to the *nisháda* of the Rámáyan. In appearance, food, dress, religion, and customs the early tribes are chiefly in a state of comparative independence of the *Ujli Varan*, believing in sorcery and witchcraft, worshipping the tiger-god, discarding Bráhmanical gods and customs, and allowing polygamy and widow-marriage. The Kolis are half-Bhil half-Bráhmanical, and have in some parts intermingled with the *Ujli Varan*. The earliest traditional kings of Gujarát were Bhils and Kolis. Semi-Rajputs take their wives from Talabda Kolis, and the Rajput-Koli chiefs of north Gujarát still preserve the honorific of *Thákarda* or lordlings.

ÁRYANS.

Above these early tribes and the Koli substratum lie the *Ujli Varan* numbering 4,237,066 or 43·15 per cent, consisting of Kanbi and other husbandmen numbering 1,544,486 or 15·62 per cent, and Bráhmans, Vániás, Rajputs, craftsmen, and bards, mostly townspeople, numbering 2,682,580 or 27·93 per cent, the *Ujli Varan* preserving broadly the Bráhman, Kshatriya, and Vaiśya divisions of the ancient *Smriti* law-books. These *Ujli Varan* classes worship Bráhmanical gods, preserve a social fabric based on Bráhmanic ritual and customs, and generally forbid polygamy and widow-marriage; but in spiritual beliefs show a leaning towards element, tree, and animal worship, not freed from belief in demonology sorcery and witchcraft.

Áryans. *Early Settlements.*

The Áryan settlements appear to have been chiefly along the coast, at Dwárka, Somnáth Pátan, Kodinár or Múla-Dwárka, and Broach, the last best known as the hermitage, still preserved, of the sage Bhrigu, after whom Bhrigu-Kachha that is Barygaza or Broach is called. In the wake of these divine personages and holy seers, who were probably held to have purified the *Dasyu*-polluted country by their godly presence and austerities, appear to have followed wave after wave of Áryan settlers from the Panjáb by way of Rajputána and the Árávali passes, who form the large majority of Gujarát tribes and castes; and, in later times, from Bengal and the North-West by the Málwa-Dohad route, a third route being through the Chuvál-Viramgám country. These three routes are best indicated by enshrining on their outskirts the three tutelary and most-worshipped goddesses of Gujarát, Amba-Bhaváni at Mount Ábu on the Árávali route, Kálika at Pávágadh hill on the Málwa-Dohad route, and Bahuchara, guarding the Chuvál-Viramgám route, for settlers south into Káthiáváḍ and east into north Gujarát.

The original settlements from which the stem castes of Gujarát take their names are either sacred spots or important local centres.[1] Famines, invasions, territorial or dynastic changes, pressure and emigration have led to new settlements chiefly southward.[2] In many instances both Bráhmans and Vániás and many Soni and Ghánchi craftsmen preserve a common name derived from their original common home, the Bráhmans continuing to be the hereditary priests of the Vániás Sonis and Ghánchis. Subsequently, wherever the offshoot of the stem caste settled, it formed a new subdivision, the old stem sometimes dining but never intermarrying with the new branch. Several of the later immigrants have preserved in their caste designations the names of their original non-Gujarát home.[3]

[1] Among sacred spots are Borsad, Modhera, Siddhpur, Vadnagar, and Khadát in north Gujarát; Girnár, Gomti, and Sihor in Káthiáváḍ; Anával, Broach, Jambusar, Kámlej, Kávi, and Nándod in south Gujarát.

[2] The chief new settlements are Adálaj, Deesa, Gogha, Harsol, Kheda, Mándal and Anhilváḍ Pátan, Ráika, and Visnagar in north Gujarát; Kandol, Talája, and Una in Káthiáváḍ; Lát Desh, Sajod, and Sáthod in south Gujarát; and Ahmedábád, Baroda, Chámpáner, Cambay, and Surat in later times.

[3] The later immigrants are Jhálora Bráhmans and Vániás from Jhálor in Márváḍ; Meváda Bráhmans and Vániás from Meváḍ; Pálivále from Páli; Pushkarnás from the holy *Tirtha* of Pushkar near Ajmer; Sárasvats from the holy Sarasvati river; Sáchora Bráhmans from Sáchor in south Márváḍ; Shri-Gaud Bráhmans from Gaud or Bengal by way of Málwa and Dohad; Shrimáli Bráhmans and Vániás from Shrimál or Bhinmál in Rajputána; Káyasths (Válmiks, Máthurs, and Bhatnagrás) from Mathura and the North-West Provinces; Agarvál Vániás from Agar in Malwa; Osvál and Porváḍ Vániás, including Shrávak subdivisions, from Márváḍ; and Bhátiás and Lohánás from Bhatner and Multán.

FOREIGNERS.

Besides the A'ryan settlements by land, the large seaboard which Gujarát, including Kachh and Káthiáváḍ, possesses, has from very ancient times attracted, for purposes of refuge, trade, and conquest, from Persia Arabia and Africa, a large number of foreigners especially through the Káthiáváḍ ports. This foreign element received large additions during the centuries before and after the Christian era from hordes of Central Asian Kushans, Húṇas, and other tribes, details of which are given in Appendices A. and B. The mixture of foreigners with the A'ryans appears to have been so great that in Hindu religious books the ordinary sojourner in Gujarát and Káthiáváḍ has been enjoined to expiate the sin of his sojourn by purificatory ceremonies.[1] This foreign element has generally pervaded the Rajput and Kanbi population, while in some cases it has formed new castes.[2] The Gujar foreigners have so far predominated that about the seventh century they had a dynasty and kingdom near Broach and Nándod, have given their name to the province, and formed Gujar subdivisions in several Gujarát castes.[3]

CASTES.

Gujarát is thus pre-eminently a land of castes. In no part of India are the subdivisions so minute, one of them, the Ráyakvál Vániás, numbering only 47 persons in 1891. When Mr. H. Borradaile in A.D. 1827 collected information regarding the customs of the Hindus, no less than 207 castes which did not intermarry were found in the city of Surat alone. As ascertained from census returns and from local inquiry the present (A.D. 1900) number of castes in the whole province who neither eat together nor intermarry is not less than 315. If all the subdivisions which may eat together but which do not intermarry were added the number would be considerably larger.[4] This minuteness of division

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[1] Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I. Part I. 13 and note 1.

[2] See Appendices A. and B.

[3] See Appendix B. The Parajiya classes among Bráhmans Vániás Sonis and Chárans also appear to have a foreign, perhaps a Parthian, element. They are not found in north Gujarát, but have settled chiefly in and about the Káthiáváḍ ports. The Nágar and Karháde Bráhmans are two other classes who possess marked ethnic peculiarities. Among the Rajputs the Chávḍás, Gohels, Jethvás, Jhálás, and Solankis, like the Bharváḍs Káthis Mehrs and Rabáris, appear to be foreigners.

[4] Of the Nágar Bráhmans of Vadnagar, such as settled at Visnagar are called Visnagrás; at Sáthod, Sáthodrás; at Dungarpur, Dungarpurás; at Krishnor and Chitrod, Krishnorás and Chitrodás; at Bánsváda and Pratápgad, Bánsvádiás: while yet another subdivision named after their calling are the Prashnorás. At the present day (A.D. 1900) these subdivisions do not intermarry. Vadnagrás dine with Dungarpurás but not with the other subdivisions. There is a further professional division among most of these subdivisions into lay *grihasth* and priestly *bhikshuk* which further subdivides them. Among Vadnagrás again, whether lay or priestly, intermarriage does not ordinarily prevail between Káthiáváḍ and Gujarát nor even

CASTES.

may be assigned to various causes. Besides new castes formed by new settlements, one leading influence is the reception of non-Hindu foreigners and aboriginal tribes into the Bráhmanical fold. When a new community accepts Bráhmanism it is not absorbed into any section of the older community but forms itself into a separate caste and sometimes into several castes, the separating element being its calling or trade. These castes after a time cease intercourse with each other. This practice is illustrated by the Gujar sections which occur in many castes from Rajputs and Vániás downwards. Similarly Rajputs by joining almost all communities except Bráhmans have added to the number of sub-castes. Almost all trade and craft classes, even the depressed classes from Dheds downwards, have a section which claims Rajput descent and bears Rajput surnames. The pressure of war or of want may have forced the Rajput to agree to undertake even the meanest work. And as the kind of work performed, rather than the history of the worker, determines his social position, Rajputs who took to trades and callings found it difficult to regain their former social position. Immigration is also a large factor in caste-making. A steady stream has long flowed from Márwár into Gujarát, and besides forming new castes called after their Márwár homes, has added Máru or Márwár sections to many trades and callings. In Gujarát the three separating influences of calling, marriage, and food are still at work forming new castes. The cleanness or dirtiness of the calling, the acceptance of marriage within or without the caste, or of widow-marriage, and strictness in excluding the use of forbidden food, determine the social status of the newly formed caste.

Mochis or leather-workers, whom high class Hindus do not touch, are, by leaving their old unclean calling, rising in the social scale. Those Mochis who have become *Chándlágars* or spangle-makers, *Chitárás* or painters, and *Kadiyás* or bricklayers are gradually forming distinct castes having no social relations with the original

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between north and south Gujarát. Thus, for purposes of intermarriage, the Nágar Bráhmans are subdivided into no less than sixteen separate communities. Though the introduction of railways and the spread of education with other influences have weakened old barriers, and a few intermarriages among Káthiávad and parts of Gujarát have begun, the above fairly explains the large number of Gujarát castes. Among Vániás, the Modhs of Modhera have three subdivisions called Adáljás from Adálaj, Goghvás from Gogha, and Mándaliás from Mándal. Each of them is further subdivided into *visás* whole and *dasás* half, a division common to almost all Vánia castes including even Jain Vániás. These again are split into later local sections Ahmedábádi and Khambháti, with the result that, while all subdivisions dine together, for purposes of intermarriage the Modh Vániás have about twelve separate castes.

CASTES.

leather-workers. Among Bráhmans, Bhojaks, Parajiyás, Pokarnás, Rájgors, Rávals, Sárasvats, Vedánts, and Vyás are considered degraded because they dine with their *yajmáns* or patrons. But the overruling Jain feeling of tenderness to life and dislike to stimulants, to which Gujarát Bráhmanism has had to conform, have placed the flesh-eating liquor-drinking Rajput below the trader, and in the phrase Bráhman-Vánia have raised the scrupulous temple-building trader to form with the Bráhmans the highest Hindu community in Gujarát. Rajputs as Kshatriyas should rank next to Bráhmans. Similarly, since their conversion to Vaishnavism about the close of the fifteenth century, the Bhátiás who have turned strict vegetarians, eating neither flesh nor fish and abstaining from spirits, have risen to a place almost next to Bráhmans. The Leva and Kadva Kanbis originally Gujars, having given up the use of animal food, occupy a position in the scale of caste superior to Kanbis elsewhere. Many divisions of Gujarát Bráhmans include sections called Bárads, who failing to secure wives in their own communities have married girls from other Bráhman divisions, and have therefore ceased to belong to their original caste. The low position of Kachh-Audich, Bhojak, Jethimal-Modh, Rájgor, and Tapodhan Bráhmans is due to their allowing widow-marriage.

Social Rank.

A broad dividing line, founded on the observance of Bráhmanical habits, separates the *Ujli Varan* people into two classes, an upper class led by and called Bráhman-Vánia, and a lower class led by and called Ghánchi-Gola. The upper class includes Bráhmans, Brahma-Kshatris, Káyasths, Vániás, Kanbis, and some craftsmen. They are duly invested with or wear the sacred thread habitually or at least on ceremonial occasions.[1] The lower class which includes other craftsmen and husbandmen, personal servants, and depressed classes, generally pass as Śudras, and as such are not entitled to wear the sacred thread. Widow-marriage and to a less extent polygamy are, as a rule, forbidden in the upper class with the result that such of them as allow widow-marriage are held to be degraded. In the lower class widow-marriage is common, and polygamy allowed by caste rules.

LANGUAGE.

Gujaráti is spoken and written between Mount A'bu and Daman including Káthiávád and Kachh. In Kachh a dialect called Cutchi, which is more Sindhi than Gujaráti, is spoken but not written; and several phonetic and grammatical peculiarities mark the speech of Peninsular

[1] The sacred thread is habitually worn by Agarvál and Bam Nágar Vániás, Bhátiás; some classes of Sonis; Máru Kansáras; Vaish and Mevád Suthárs; Sompura Saláts; Brahma Bháts; Khatri weavers; and Garudás or Dhed priests.

Gujarát, which is called Káthiávádi. Gujarát proper has the coarse and homely Gujaráti which is called Ahmedábádi; while the speech of Broach and Surat bears traces of softness due to fashion and refinement and is called Surati. Certain vocal peculiarities and provincialisms mark the language of north Gujarát as compared with the Surat speech. Márvádi traces begin with Anhilvád Pátan, and are more conspicuous towards Idar, Rádhanpur, and Pálanpur. The language of the lower classes from the Ghánchi-Golás downwards, and including Kolis and Dhedás, shows no difference except that it is corrupt. The Bhils have a special dialect allied to Gujaráti and easily understood. Certain foreign words and idioms mark the patois of the Káthi, the Bharvád, the Rabári, and the Áhir in Káthiávád. The early tribes speak a dialect with a mixture of Hindi Maráthi or Telugu, which is easily understood by the *Ujli Varan* classes. LANGUAGE.

The written character is the Devnágari called Bálbodh, used only for Sanskrit writing and for religious and ceremonial purposes; and the derived Devnágari found in the Traikutaka and Solanki copper-plates for ordinary books, accounts, and correspondence. The *bodi* character which drops the long *ā, i, u, e,* and *o,* that is *káno, ajju, vaddu,* and *mátrá,* is common in Káthiávád and some parts of north Gujarát. Vániás in their correspondence write a special character difficult to read without practice.

The peculiarities of each caste as regards their dwellings, daily life, dress, food, and social entertainments have been noted under different caste accounts. The following paragraphs give a general description under these heads.

People of almost all classes consider it a point of honour to have a house of their own. Townspeople, except the poorest who live in rented houses, own dwellings built either by themselves or by their forefathers. Country people, whether rich or poor, own houses or huts. As far as he can help it, a Hindu will never part with his house. The feeling of the country people is shown by the saying 'A woman can get on without a husband, but no man can get on without a house.' DWELLINGS.

For purposes of description the dwellings of Gujarát can best be treated under the head of town houses and village houses. The better class of town houses in shape and arrangement of rooms follow one of two styles known as the Ahmedábád and the Surat style. The scarcity or abundance of good building timber is perhaps the chief cause of this difference in form. In Surat timber brought through Balsár from the Dáng forests is plentiful and cheap, and the Surat dwelling may be said to be a framework of wood with the spaces between Town.

DWELLINGS. Town.

the beams filled in by brick and mortar. To reach Ahmedábád timber has a long land journey, and in houses of that city the weight of the roof is borne by walls of brick, large beams of wood being used as sparingly as possible.

Outward Appearance.

Town houses of the better class with tiled roofs are generally built on a plinth raised from two to four feet above the street level. This plinth is reached by two or three steps almost always set parallel to the line of the street. The steps as a rule are built of stone, though town houses even of the better class are sometimes entered by steps of hardened clay. Along the outer edge of the plinth, which is in some cases of brick though generally of stone, is a row of wooden pillars set on stone pedestals with their capitals let into a heavy crossbeam that supports the upper story. Behind the row of wooden pillars and under the projecting part of the upper story is an open terrace from two to four feet wide. In the early morning the people of the house sit on this terrace, clean their teeth, and converse. During the rainy weather it is a welcome shelter to beggars, watchmen, and others who have to pass the night out of doors. At the back of the terrace runs the front wall of the lower part of the house with an entrance in the middle furnished generally with a strong wooden-barred door.

Internal Arrangement.

Passing through the door the house is found to consist of a front and a back part separated by a small court open to the sky. On each side of the court on the groundfloor is a passage, and in the upper story an open terrace connecting the front and back parts of the house. This plan of house is popular because when children have grown up and sons have families of their own they can share the same house and yet to some extent each family can live apart. The following are the names and uses of the different rooms.

Entering from the street the first room is called the *parsál*. It is generally without furniture and is in some cases used as a store or lumber room. Occasionally it is used as a public room *kacheri*, or as a workshop if the owner of the house is an artizan. When not used as a public room the women sometimes sit in the *parsál*, and it is to this place that a dying member of the family is brought and laid out an hour or two before death. The *parsál* leads to a small court or *chok*. The floor of this court is paved with stone or lined with cement and is used as a bathing place. Except for a framework of iron bars thrown across overhead at the level of the upper floor this court is open to the sky. The passages on either side of the court are used as rooms. The space on one side is taken up partly by the cooking-room *rasodu* and partly by the water-room *pániáru*, where large brass pots filled with water always stand. A store of well burnished brass vessels is generally arranged on

DWELLINGS. Town. *Internal Arrangement.*

shelves near the large water pots. On the other side the space is divided into two rooms, one set apart as the chamber of the household gods and the other containing a well or cistern from which water is drawn for bathing purposes. Besides the well every better class house contains a cistern in which rain water is collected and used for drinking purposes. Behind the court and opposite the entrance room there are generally one or two chambers *orda*. These chambers are dark and close and are used as storerooms for grain and firewood and sometimes as bedrooms for the women of the house. Occasionally behind one of these rooms is a smaller chamber where in some houses a trophy of brightly polished metal pots is arranged in pyramid form. In a strong box in this room the family ornaments are sometimes placed. In a house built on the court or *chok* plan the distribution of rooms is not always the same. But so far they are alike that the builder must set apart on the groundfloor places for cooking, dining, worshipping, bathing, grain-storing, and business-transacting. Most town houses are provided with a water-closet which is generally at one end of the veranda.

To get to the upper floor there is generally in one corner of the entrance room a wooden stair almost like a ladder, with a rope hung from the floor of the room above to help in going up and down. The front room in the upper story above the *parsál* called the *medi* or parlour is the room for receiving guests *divánkhánu*. Except for a carpet and a row of cushions propped against the walls, some lamps hung from the ceiling, and perhaps a mirror or two, this room in the house of a man who keeps to old customs is almost bare of furniture. In some cases a swing-cot or bed will be found, for the head of the family generally sleeps in the *medi* at night. Among those who adopt new ways this room is furnished with tables chairs and couches in European fashion. At the back of the public room and round the opening above the court is a terrace used in the fair season for drying grain and vegetables. The roofs of the front and back parts of the house slope inwards towards the terrace, and in the rains the water that runs off the roofs on to the floor of the terrace is collected in a pipe and carried to the cistern in the groundfloor. The back rooms opposite the upper sitting room called the *páchhali medi* are used as bedrooms by the sons of the family. The family clothing and sometimes the jewels are stored in these rooms in strong boxes called *petára*.

Only the upper classes, bankers traders and Government servants, live in houses of this kind. The dwellings of artizans are generally without an upper story, and as they cannot afford to lay in a large stock of grain, and with few exceptions have no household gods, the space for the storeroom and the shrine-room for the gods is saved. The entrance room is also used as a workshop, the weaver keeping his

DWELLINGS. Town.

loom there and the carpenter and goldsmith their tools. The dwellings of the poorest classes are little better than huts, the roofs of tile or thatch and the walls of reed daubed with mud. The space enclosed is sometimes divided in two by a partition of millet stalks, but in many cases the house has but one room.

Furniture.

A well-to-do trader's house would contain cots or *palang* including a swing-cot, cupboards, couches, boxes, carpets, quilts and mattresses, the whole being worth about Rs. 500. Except among the younger men, some of whom have begun to furnish their rooms after European fashion, almost nothing is spent even by rich Hindus on wooden furniture. In the way of house ornament the chief pride in a Hindu family is to be able to exhibit a store of well polished brass vessels. The furniture of an artizan in middling circumstances consists of one or two quilts, a cot *khátalo,* two or three beds, and cooking and drinking pots. A poor labourer possesses only a few earthen jars and one or two quilts worth in all about a rupee.

Village.

The houses of villagers, as a general rule, are more substantial and roomy than those of the townspeople. Members of the family, both male and female, help when a house is building. Houses built in this way by cultivators are large and well made, the walls of burnt brick and mortar or mud and the woodwork of solid timber. The roof is tiled, and in some cases there is an upper story. The house stands a little way back from the village street and is raised a little above the surface level. About the middle of the front wall of the house is the doorway, used both by the inmates and by their cattle, though in the case of houses of the better sort there is usually near one end of the front wall a separate entrance leading direct to the stable. Passing through the central door the first part of the house is the entrance room *parsál,* varying from twenty to forty feet in length and from ten to fifteen in breadth. One end raised a few feet above the general level of the room forms a daïs *chotro,* about ten feet across, where the head of the family receives visitors and transacts business.

In the inner wall of the entrance room and opposite the opening from the street is a second door leading to the interior of the house. This interior consists of a central space *orda* twenty to thirty feet long and ten to fifteen broad walled off on one side, and the other side opening into the stable and cowhouse *kohodiu.* Between the central room and the cowhouse there is no partition. To keep the fullgrown animals in their own quarters a bar of wood is drawn across the front of the stable about three feet from the ground, and from the stable the wall that limits the central space on this side has three doors leading into separate rooms each about ten feet square. Of these rooms

DWELLINGS. Village.

that next the front of the house, which is the most secure part of the building, is used as a storeroom for clothes ornaments and grain, the middle room is generally the cooking-room, and that next the back of the house the water-room. The position of the cooking and water room is sometimes reversed. In the central space *orda* the family take their meals, and in the rainy months some sleep there; others sleep in the entrance room *parsál* or in the upper story when there is one. In the fair weather they generally sleep in the open air outside the street door. In the back wall of the house is a door leading into the yard *vádo*. This backyard is of considerable extent, sometimes as much as the fourth part of an acre. Here the crops are stored, temporary sheds put up for cattle, and during the rains a few vegetables grown. The house of a cultivator in middling circumstances is built on the same plan but on a smaller scale.

Houses of the lower classes and the dwellings of the impure castes are generally situated on the outskirts of the village. They are small huts thatched with grass or palm leaves, the walls of earth or of split bamboo smeared with mud and enclosing a space about twelve feet square, divided in some cases into two rooms by a partition consisting of split stalks, the inner for cooking the outer for sleeping, though in many cases the whole of the interior forms but one chamber.

Furniture.

The furniture of a well-to-do cultivator or *patel* consists of one or two strong wooden boxes *petára* for holding jewels or clothes, three or four spare wooden bedsteads, the same number of bedsteads for daily use, one or two swing-cots, mattresses or cotton carpets, about fifteen or twenty coverlets, and brass cooking pots, the whole being worth about Rs. 200. The furniture of a cultivator in middling circumstances or of a village artizan consists of one or two coverlets, one or two bedsteads, a box, and copper or brass vessels worth about Rs. 30. The poor labourer has no furniture except a mattress and a few earthen jars worth in all not more than a rupee or two.

DAILY LIFE. Townspeople. *Men.*

Except a few whose work requires them to be up at dawn, or who have vowed to bathe at a specially early hour, the greater number of townspeople rise between six and seven o'clock. About half an hour is spent in washing and dressing, the greater part of the time being passed in cleaning the teeth with a *bával* Acacia arabica twig. With religious Bráhmans and many members of the Vánia class, their first thought is the discharge of their duties to the gods. After prayer and mental worship the Bráhman takes a bath in his own house, or if bound by a vow, hurries off to a river or well that his bath may be taken before sunrise. Then his household gods have to be attended to; and the Bráhman, if a priest by profession, goes out to beg, or visits the houses

DAILY LIFE.
Townspeople.
Men.

of his patrons or *yajmáns* to perform for them the worship of their household gods. Men of the Vánia class are also religious; many of them set out in the early morning to visit their god in his temple. Soon after seven o'clock the householder is ready to begin the business of the day. A trader or banker sits in the public room *kacheri* of his house and transacts business; clerks or persons in Government employ go to market for the day's supplies, or if they can afford to do so, send a servant to market and amuse themselves at home with their children or in visiting their friends; artizans who stay at home get ready their tools and begin to work; shopkeepers, leaving their women or servants in charge of the shop, go out to market or to collect their dues; artizans such as carpenters bricklayers and day-labourers employed at a distance from their own dwellings, though the more industrious among them occasionally find time to work for an hour or two before starting, generally spend the morning in bathing and taking what with others is the midday meal. Another class who are compelled to eat early in the day are Government servants, who are expected to be at their offices soon after ten o'clock.

With the greater part of the town population their morning employment lasts till ten o'clock and with some it does not stop till noon. Then the midday meal is taken, after which most men rest for an hour or so. Work is resumed about one o'clock, and by eight in the evening the business of the day is generally over except among merchants and traders who in some cases continue to work till as late as ten. On the other hand artizans and labourers engaged for the day return home after sundown. They sup about seven and sit talking and smoking till about ten, when they go to bed. Men of this class seldom do any work in the evening. Clerks and persons in Government service are generally at home before six. They then rest for an hour or so, sup about eight, and afterwards spend some time in seeing their friends and talking. A few of them pass their evenings in reading and writing. Shopkeepers who deal in articles of food and drink close their shops between eight and ten in the evening and go home. Cloth-sellers and grocers shut their shops between seven and eight. Artizans who work at home, goldsmiths coppersmiths blacksmiths weavers and calicoprinters, stop work between six and eight. In busy seasons some of them sup about seven, and beginning again keep at work till about ten. The evening before and after sundown is for the lower classes a favourite time for marketing, and in south Gujarát generally men of this class, shoemakers tailors and labourers, stop at liquor or toddy shops on their way home, spend a few coppers on liquor, and sit about the tavern talking for an hour or so. To many of the towns-

DAILY LIFE. Townspeople.

people, shopkeepers artizans and others, the wedding months January to March are a busy season, and work goes on till late at night. As during the rains there is but little to do, time is idled away in sleep or in playing games of chance and amusement.

Women.

Except marketing and keeping the household accounts all domestic duties are entrusted to women. The morning is their busy time, and as early as four o'clock the wives of the poorer class of householders are at work grinding grain. After daybreak water has to be drawn from the well, or they set off with their vessels to the pond or river, where they bathe, draw water, and return home. Some women wash at home and fetch water afterwards, and rich men's wives have a servant specially for attendance on the bath. After the women return with their water-jars filled they prepare breakfast. When breakfast is ready the women serve it to the men and children and when the men rise the women sit down to eat. Breakfast finished and the men off to their various duties, the women are busily employed in cleaning the house, the fireplace, the plates and dishes and other vessels, and in preparing grain for grinding. About three in the afternoon they have a little leisure, which they employ in attending to their children by combing and anointing their hair and going to temples. In the evening they are again busy cleaning their lamps, preparing dinner, and tidying the beds.

When there are several females in one household the hardest part of a woman's work, the grinding of grain, the cleaning of vessels, and the washing of clothes, generally falls on the sons' wives; the older women and married daughters on a visit at their father's house cook and do other light work. The wives and other female relations in a rich man's house do very little household work. With them the day is spent in looking after the servants and children, in dressing themselves neatly, or in gossipping. Besides her domestic duties the wife of a poor man, whatever her social position, can generally find some way of adding a little to the family income. The wife of a poor Bráhman can make leaf-plates. Vánia women, besides sewing their own clothes, can earn something with their needle. Some of them do plain work and others embroider, working up silk into ornamental coats *jabhlás* for children or the embroidered robes worn by Pársi and other women. These private embroiderers either work for their own customers or are employed by professional dealers. Among the lower classes a tailor's wife can help her husband in the simpler parts of his work; a cobbler's wife can ornament shoes and do some of the lighter parts of the cobbler's work; an oilpresser's wife can carry oil to her husband's customers; a barber's wife acts as a midwife, and a labourer's wife generally works with her husband.

DAILY LIFE. Rural. *Men.*

Among the rural population in the busy season from June to December men women and children rise with the dawn. Fodder is thrown before the cattle; the labourers, if any are to be employed, are called, and a light meal of *bájri* or *juvár* cakes is eaten. Then driving their bullocks before them and carrying their agricultural tools, the cultivators set out for their fields. Here they remain at work till evening, stopping only for a midday meal, generally of bread and buttermilk brought to them by the women of the house. About sunset they return to the village, and after a meal of rice and split peas they retire to rest between eight and nine o'clock. When field work is light no meal is taken in the early morning and a great part of the day is spent in sauntering about the village or sitting in front of their doors. At this season after the midday meal cultivators rest for a few hours, and in the evening sit in groups at the entrance of the village or in the patel's office or *chora* and gossip. The better class of villagers such as Bráhmans Rajputs and Kanbis meet together at the house of one of their friends or of the village Vánia, and pass their time in talking and smoking or in reading Hindu stories. Sometimes the village is visited by a band of strolling players *Bhaváyás*, when the men of the village pass the night in or about the *chora* watching their performances.

Women.

Women rise earlier in the morning. They have the cattle to feed, the cows and buffalos to milk, butter to make, and in the busy season bread to bake for the early breakfast. When the men have left for the fields there is the midday meal to get ready. Between ten and eleven o'clock they have to start with their husband's dinner, and on coming back there is grain to grind or to clean. When they find leisure from their ordinary work some of them pass the time in spinning thread. Except during the rains when weeding has to be done, and at harvest time when the cotton has to be picked, only women of the poorer class work in the fields. In a household of a poor cultivator or field labourer the women, besides working in the fields, take their dairy produce to the neighbouring town or carry loads of firewood or grass to the nearest market.

DRESS. *Men.*

The ordinary dress of a well-to-do Hindu consists of: First, a turban *pághdi* made of fine cotton cloth with a fringe of gold brocade at each end, its length varying from twenty to fifty yards. The way he folds his turban is a guide in many cases to the caste of the wearer. Turbans manufactured at Paithan in the Nizám's territory, about sixty miles north-east of Ahmednagar, are preferred to those of Gujarát. Second, a waistcoat *badan* made of European cloth, generally of printed calico. Third, a coat *angarkho* made of European

cotton cloth. Thirty years ago (A.D. 1870) the long coat *jáma* formed a part of the dress usually worn by men in respectable positions, but at present, except on wedding occasions, its use is almost entirely confined to a few elderly Vániás. Fourth, a light muslin cloth thrown round the shoulders, *pichhodi* or *dupatto,* either from Europe or Bengal, but European cloth is now chiefly used. The *dupatto* is about three yards long by a yard broad. It is worn either as a scarf round the shoulders or as a sash round the waist. Fifth, a waistcloth *dhotia* of fine cotton cloth with silk borders on each side. Coarse *dhotia* manufactured in Europe are also used by townspeople, but on account of their durability and fine texture silk-bordered Ahmedábád and Nágpur hand-made *dhotia* are preferred. Sixth, country-made shoes *joda.* The use of shoes and stockings is confined to a small number of highly paid Government servants, pleaders, and young merchants. Among traders and merchants this practice is a novelty and considered a sign of extravagance. The ordinary dress of other high caste Hindus in middling condition differs only from the above in the quality and value of the clothes worn. Artizans who work at home wear only a waistcloth *dhotiu,* and in the cold season a waistcoat *badan.* When they go out they wear the ordinary dress of a middle class Hindu. Well-to-do town artizans generally use European fabrics, and none except the poorest wear the coarse hand-made cloth. The dress of a cultivator or labourer consists of a waistcloth *dhotiu,* a waistcoat *badan,* and a headcloth *pháliu,* either of the country machine-made or of the hand-loom cloth woven by Dheds. Among the poorest classes the men wear a pair of coarse cotton drawers fitting tight reaching to the knee or the waistcloth *dhotiu.* They have a second cloth sometimes wound round the head and at other times drawn over the shoulders. DRESS. *Men.*

Though among Hindus there is no special holiday dress on festivals or on days of family rejoicing, all who can afford it put on richer and better clothes than those ordinarily worn. Except among the higher classes the dress does not vary at different times of the year. In the cold season well-to-do Hindus wear a woollen coat instead of the *angarkho* and wrap shawls over the coat. A well-to-do cultivator or artizan wears a blanket instead of a shawl.

Women. The ordinary dress of women of a rich or middling family consists of a long robe *sádi* or *sállo*[1] and a bodice *choli* or *kánchli.* The *choli*

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[1] Though of the same shape and worn in the same way, the *sádi* is both richer in material and in size longer and broader than the *sállo.* About twenty years ago (A.D. 1880) women of the higher classes wore out of doors the petticoat in addition to the *sádi*; but this practice, at least among townspeople, is being gradually given up.

DRESS. *Women.*

covering the shoulders as well as the bust is worn by elderly women and widows, while the use of the *kánchli* which opens behind and is fastened by silk or cotton thread is confined to girls and young women. The wife of a rich man would out of doors or on special occasions wear a *sádi* and bodice of higher value than those of a woman in middling condition. But however rich their husbands may be, women do not at home dress in robes worth more than five or ten rupees. The wives of labourers and other poor people wear a robe *sállo*, a bodice, and a petticoat *ghághro* of coarse cloth.

The dress of the people of Káthiávád and Kachh, both men and women, is more loose than that of the people of Gujarát. The men in general wear cotton drawers instead of the waistcloth with a short coat of the same material. The women wear a robe of cotton dyed a uniform colour or stamped with a pattern, with a dyed petticoat of the same material. The bodice is of finer texture and if possible of silk. It is longer-sleeved and opens at the back covering merely the bust and shoulders. The turban or *pheta* is indicative more of the locality than of the caste of the wearer. It is a long narrow strip of cloth, generally coloured, having large and heavy gold borders and more expensive than in Gujarát. The chief varieties are the Cutchi, Hálári or Jámsai, Junágadhi, Jhálávádi, and Bhávnagri.

FOOD.

Hindus generally take two meals a day, the first between ten and twelve in the morning and the second between eight and ten in the evening. The only exception to this rule is in the case of Shrávaks, whose religious precepts bind them to finish their evening meal before sunset. For the morning meal a family in good circumstances generally has rice of fine quality, split pulse boiled and mixed with spices of various kinds, cakes of wheaten flour spread with clarified butter, one or two kinds of vegetables, pickles, and other similar preparations to season the food. At the evening meal there are cakes of wheaten flour, milk boiled and mixed with sugar, some vegetables, and pickles. The fare of each member of the household is not however always the same. Special respect is shown to the head of the family by giving him a large share of clarified butter and milk, while the women of the household, who at home always eat after the men of the family have finished, generally have a smaller share of clarified butter and milk and such other comparatively costly articles. Children dine sometimes with the men and sometimes with the women. They are always well served. In the family of a trader or merchant in middling circumstances the morning meal consists of rice, split pulse, cakes of *bájri* or *juvár* flour, and vegetables of cheap quality. For the evening meal there is

FOOD.

bread and vegetables with milk at times.[1] The diet of the poorer classes of artizans, town-workmen, and field-labourers consists of *juvár* or *bájri* bread in the morning and rice and split pulse cooked together that is *khichadi* in the evening. Among the aboriginal tribes and impure classes the poorer families live on the cheapest kinds of grain *kodra* or *banti* and on *bhadku*, a kind of porridge made of buttermilk or *chhás*, and coarse *juvár* flour boiled with a little salt. Rice is a luxury to be enjoyed only on holidays, or when they are entertained at feasts given by people belonging to the higher classes. Except labourers and cultivators, who in the busy season eat thrice a day, Hindus generally take no afternoon meal. The well-to-do families keep rolls and other preparations of clarified butter sugar and wheat flour in store in the house, and poor families have parched grain for the use of children and adults. A portion of the food prepared in the morning is also set aside in the cooking room for the children of the family. Animal food is used by Rajputs, aborigines, and low class Hindus.

The following are the usual arrangements for procuring supplies of different articles of domestic consumption. Among townsmen, except the poorest, a yearly store of grain pulse and firewood is laid in; enough oil and clarified butter to last for a month is purchased at one time, and each day a fresh supply of vegetables and miscellaneous articles is brought from the market. Among well-to-do villagers at harvest time a store of grain enough for at least one year is put by, their own cattle supply butter and milk, while spices and miscellaneous articles are bought from the village shopkeeper or town grocer.

CASTE ENTERTAINMENTS.

Compared with other parts of the Bombay Presidency, one leading peculiarity of the mode of living among the Hindus of Gujarát is their fondness for public feasts. The extent to which this practice is carried varies considerably in different parts of the province. It is commoner in the south than in the north, and is much more usual among town than among country people. Public dinners in Gujarát belong to three chief classes: trade dinners, social dinners, and religious dinners. Trade dinners are of two kinds, those paid for from the common funds of the guild and those paid for by one of the members. The members of most associated trades hold a yearly guild-feast, meeting the cost either by a special subscription or from the common fund. The chief occasion when one member feasts the whole body is when he

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[1] The mode of living of rich and middling high caste Hindus differs only in the free or stinted use of costly articles such as milk clarified butter and vegetables. The family of a trader or a Government servant in receipt of Rs. 200 a year would narrow its expenses by avoiding milk entirely and limiting the use of clarified butter vegetables and spices both on ordinary days and on holidays, so as to enable it to live within the minimum limit.

CASTE ENTERTAINMENTS.

joins the guild. When, as is generally the case, all the members of a trade guild belong to one caste, the arrangements for holding a trade dinner are the same as those for holding a caste dinner. If members of more than one caste are joined together in the same trade guild, the food is cooked by a Bráhman and the members of different castes dine in distinct groups. On such occasions women do not attend but only men and children.

Social dinners are of three kinds: those given by the whole caste, those given by one member of the caste, and open-air picnics where each party brings its own supplies. The first, called *ochhav*, are held generally once, but in some cases as often as twice or three times a year. The occasion is, for the most part, to do honour to some god or saint, the chief day being the anniversary of the *kuldevi* or tutelary divinity of the caste. On the day of the festival the whole caste is generally astir early. In their gayest dress, some walking, but most of them in carts or carriages, men women and children make their way to the dining place. For the management of *ochhav* feasts held in the caste dining hall,[1] there is generally among the chief members of the caste a keen competition. The cost is as a rule met from caste funds.[2] But to improve the feast, many a manager spends from his private means.

By far the largest number of caste feasts are given by individual members in honour of some family event. Though the feasting of castefellows is not enjoined by religion, custom in Gujarát has divided entertainments of this kind into compulsory and optional. Almost every Hindu family gives at least four caste dinners, that is on the occasion of the wife's first pregnancy; of an investiture with the sacred thread; of a marriage; and of a death. At those times, besides the caste dinners, one or two feasts are generally given to friends and relations.[3] Of optional feasts some are ordinary, others

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[1] In the towns of Gujarát most of the higher castes have, by the liberality of some one of their number, either had built for them or have raised by subscription a caste dining-hall or *vádi*.

[2] Besides the income from fines for breaches of discipline, most castes have a fund, the gift of some rich member, or a sum raised by subscription. The common capital is lent either to one or several members of the caste, who, for the use of the money, pay interest at from four to six per cent a year. The different castes vary much in wealth. In many cases the yearly interest amounts to from Rs. 300 to Rs. 400.

[3] Among Kanbis, whose number in some places exceeds five thousand, only the relations, friends, and some castepeople are asked; while in the case of the smaller castes more than one dinner is given to the whole body. Besides the dinners given on the occasion of a death, small parties are invited to dinner every month *másiso* for one year, and on the twelfth month or *varsi* a dinner is sometimes given to the whole caste.

CASTE ENTERTAINMENTS.

occasional, and a third class special. The ordinary feasts are those held on the anniversary of a death *samachri* and *shráddh*.[1] These are not, as a rule, given to the whole caste. The occasional feasts are on finishing a new house, the *vástushánti* or home-peace feast to atone for the loss of life caused in its building; on performing a vow; on coming back from a pilgrimage; on completing some religious observance or *vrat*; on recovering from a serious illness; on a birthday; on the birth of a son; on naming a son; on shaving his head; on first sending him to school. Special feasts are given by rich men anxious either to gain or to keep up a name for liberality. The givers are generally Vániás, and the occasion is to do honour to the memory of some deceased relation.

Caste picnics or *ujáni* are generally held by the lower castes at the shrine of some saint or divinity, either in fulfilment of a vow, on the disappearance of a disease, or on the anniversary day sacred to the caste goddess. After offering cocoanuts or fruit, each party brings out its own stock of food, wheaten cakes vegetables and sweets, and, sitting about the shrine in groups, they eat or talk for an hour or two and start before sunset on their way home.

On two classes of occasions, those calling for purification such as ceremonies in honour of the dead and on finishing a house, and those calling for the returning of thanks such as completing a course of fasting and other religious observance, ending a pilgrimage, recovering from sickness or obtaining a successful answer to prayer, some Bráhmans should be invited. When the giver of a religious feast is a Vánia or other man of high caste, he hires a Bráhman cook, and Bráhmans go to the host's house and join the feast eating apart. When the host is not a high caste Hindu the Bráhman guests go to the host's house and receive a share of uncooked food such as grain vegetables and sweets. This, called *sidhu*, is carried away by the Bráhmans and eaten at their homes. But, besides sharing in these dinners, Bráhmans of all classes are sometimes asked to a special feast of their own. This, from the traditional number of Bráhman subdivisions, is known as a *chorási* or dinner of the eighty-four. Among Shrávaks dinners called *sangh* are given on a large scale to all Jains meeting at religious gatherings.

Except a few old men who dislike to appear in public, the only case in which castefellows invited to an entertainment fail to attend is when they are in mourning. Women keep in mourning longer than

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[1] As a rule anniversaries of deaths are observed for two generations. *Shráddh* dinners are given once a year on one of the fifteen days set apart for the purpose in the dark half of *Bhádarva* (September-October).

CASTE ENTERTAINMENTS.

men and men longer than children. Widows in most castes are held to be mourners, and sometimes after the loss of a son or a son-in-law, a younger brother or sister, the mourner refuses for years or perhaps for the rest of his life to go to a public entertainment. In ordinary cases the mourning days do not last for more than one year.

A family which has to give a caste dinner is busy some days previously laying in supplies of grain and pulse, sugar and clarified butter, ordering firewood, and collecting cooking pots.[1] On the morning of the feast the family priest is sent round from house to house to ask the guests.[2] The host's friends come and help in cleaning and preparing vegetables and spices, and directing the hired servants in cooking, bringing water, and sweeping and clearing the dining place, and, except in the rainy season, a part of the street near the host's house. Except among very large castes such as the Kanbis, who meet about three in the afternoon, and among Shrávaks, whose religious rules compel them to finish their dinner before sunset, the ordinary time for holding caste dinners is in the evening a little before dusk. In small castes the women and men dine at the same time in different rows. In large castes they dine separately, the women beginning in some cases and the men in others. Boys, except the very youngest, dine with the men, babies and girls with the women. As the dinner hour draws near the guests begin to gather. All are dressed in their best and are decked with ornaments either borrowed or their own. They are generally of two classes, those who come to dine and those who come to look on. The onlookers, most of whom are men of high position and personal friends of the host, are led to raised seats *pát* ranged near the entrance. The other guests take their place in rows on the ground. For each are laid out two leaf trays, one for use as a plate and the other as a mat to sit on, with two earthen or leaf cups and brass ones for Shrávaks. Each guest brings his own drinking pot and cup. When all are seated the members of the host's family and castepeople serve the dinner viands on the leaf-plate. First some salt, salted ginger, pickles, then vegetables, then sweets, and last of all split pulse curry and rice. After dinner the guests wash their hands

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[1] If the host has not enough of his own cooking pots he must borrow the caste cooking pots. In Gujarát every well-to-do caste has its own cooking pots.

[2] This is the general practice; but in some castes, and on certain occasions, the women and children of the host's family, with music and singing, passing from house to house lay down in front of each a few grains of red-coloured rice and ask the people of the house to come to the feast. Among Brahma-Kshatris the Bhát, and among Rajputs and Thákardás the barber, invites the guests. No answer is given to the invitation; but, as he passes, the priest, in return for his trouble, receives from each house a handful of rice wheat or millet.

and mouth, and while betelnut and leaves are handed round, the fragments of the feast are gathered. When the guests have left, Dhedás and other lowcaste people rushing in pick from plates and cups any scraps they can find.

CASTE ENTERTAINMENTS.

The kind of dinner, though to some extent it varies with the season and the occasion, depends chiefly on the caste of the man who gives it. Whatever his wealth, a man of high caste is expected to give a high class dinner, and though of late years there have been a few exceptions, the rule that the lower classes should content themselves with the coarser and cheaper kinds of food is still generally observed. The cost of these feasts depends on the kind of sweets, the variety of vegetables, and the quantity of clarified butter. First class caste dinners consist of *shiro* or wheat-flour mixed with sugar *ghi* and spices with *puri* or cakes of wheat, vegetables, and *biranj* that is rice and pulse cooked in butter and mixed with spices and sugar; or of *shrikhand*, *básudi*, and other preparations of milk; and vary in cost from about 12 annas to Rs. 1¼ a head. A second class dinner of *ládu* or rolls of wheatflour mixed with butter and sugar, and *dudhpák* that is boiled milk sugar and rice, costs from 8 to 12 annas a head; and a third class of *ládu* or rolls of wheat-flour mixed with *ghi* and sugar or molasses, from 5 to 6 annas.

STIMULANTS AND NARCOTICS.

The stimulants and narcotics in use in Gujarát are, in the south fermented and distilled drinks and preparations from hemp, in the north preparations from the poppy, and over the whole province tobacco, betel and areca nut, tea, and coffee.

Fermented and Distilled Drinks.

Fermented and distilled drinks belong to two chief classes, that is drinks prepared in the country and drinks imported from Europe. Of Indian-made liquors there are two chief kinds, fermented and distilled. The only fermented liquor much drunk in south Gujarát is made from the juice of the wild date palm *khajuri* Phœnix sylvestris. Like the fermented juice of the brab palm *tád* Borassus flabelliformis, the liquor prepared from the wild date is called *tádi* or toddy. To draw its juice from the wild date a slit is made at the top of the stem close to one of the fresh shoots, and over the opening an earthen pot or *ghadin* holding about ten pints (ten *sers*) is tied.[1] In the

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[1] To the early European travellers in Gujarát this new liquor and the strange way of drawing it were matters of much interest. Most of them describe the process. Perhaps Ovington's (1690 A.D.) account is the clearest and most detailed. "The palm trees afford a pleasant juice from their head and upper branches which the Moors (Musalmáns) as well as Europeans drink of plentifully. A quart of it may be got for a pice or two, and is so strong that it turns the brain as soon as English beer, for want of which the sailors take up with this juice to refresh themselves. It distils from the tree into earthen jars which are fixed to the branches of the tree, when they are cut off to a

STIMULANTS AND NARCOTICS.
Fermented and Distilled Drinks.

early morning the toddydrawer, by the help of a loose belt of bamboo or rope, climbs the tree, and from the earthen pot empties into a large bottleshaped gourd slung to his waist the juice that has collected during the night. He then cuts a fresh slit in the shoot and replaces the pot; and when, after he has been up several trees, the gourd at his waist is filled, its contents are emptied into a large earthen jar holding from four to eight gallons. Four or five of the large jars placed on a cart, or a pair of them hung one at each end of a long shoulder-pole, are taken to toddy taverns in the cities.

Intoxicating drinks are distilled from dates and raisins. But the chief liquor is made from the flower of the *mahuda* Bassia latifolia tree, brought most of it from east Gujarát. To improve its flavour or its colour different varieties of fruit, flowers, or herbs are sometimes added to the simple liquor.

Of European wines and spirits considerable and increasing quantities are imported into Gujarát from Bombay. Of this class of liquor the most popular varieties are the coarser kinds of brandy and cheap ports and champagnes.

Drinking Classes.

Surat is the only district in Gujarát where the practice of drinking toddy prevails to any great extent. In Surat, except the higher Hindus, all classes drink toddy, and so strong is the craving for intoxicating drinks among the aboriginal tribes, that for a cup of liquor they will pledge their clothes and even their labour.

Toddy is generally drunk in taverns. The large jars brought in from the country are set in a row along the front wall of the shops sheltered as far as possible under the shade of the eaves. On a wooden bench outside of the door the tavernkeeper sits. During the heat of the day only an occasional customer drops in. But towards evening from about two to three hundred collect about the

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foot-length and are put to the hole in the tree which by incision is made one inch deep and three wide; and in one night's time a jar containing above a quart will be filled with the juice of one tree. When it distils into a jar that has been formerly used, it suddenly taints and grows harsh and turns sour in less than the space of twenty-four hours. In the morning it is laxative and costive in the evening. The name of this liquor is toddy, but the *niro* which is drawn from the tree in a fresh earthen vessel is as sweet and pleasant as milk, but more lively, without any mixture of a hard or sharp taste. Several Europeans pay their lives for their immoderate draughts, and too frankly carousing these cheerful liquors, with which once they are inflamed, it renders them so restless and unruly, especially with the additional heat of the weather, that they fancy no place can prove too cool, and so throw themselves upon the ground, where they sleep all night in the open fields, and this commonly produces a flux of which a multitude in India die."

STIMULANTS AND NARCOTICS.
Drinking Classes.

tavern. These people belong to two classes, the respectable customers who come into the tavern to drink, and the poorer classes who are served with liquor as they sit in an open space outside. The first class, all of them men, are mostly artizan Hindus. Those sitting inside the tavern chat together, drinking from small cups called *tumdi*. Many artizans are regular frequenters of toddy taverns. But the greater number drink in moderation contenting themselves with a draught of liquor to refresh them before their evening meal. Customers belonging to the depressed and aboriginal tribes generally come in parties, men women and children together. They do not enter the tavern, but collecting outside in groups are served with liquor as they sit in the open ground in front of the tavern. Unlike the more favoured customers inside, they do not drink from cups, but swallow the liquor poured from the jar either through a funnelshaped leaf or from their own hollowed hands. After drinking they sit smoking and chewing parched grain, sometimes raising a song after their meal is over. By eight o'clock all leave the tavern and find their way home. No fixed amount can be named; but, as a general rule, a well-to-do Hindu artizan in the Surat district will spend on toddy from a half to three-fourths of an anna daily. On account of what they spend in this way, though wages are high, their condition is by no means so good as that of the Ahmedábád workmen of the same class.

All toddy drinkers will indulge in country-made distilled liquor when they can afford it. As with toddy the evening between five and seven is the time for drinking country spirits. The spirit shop is often close to the toddy tavern and is generally the groundfloor of a dwelling house, where, seated on benches at the side of the room, the customers take their liquor from mugs of tin and glass. Besides what is drunk publicly in the liquor shops, country-made spirits are, especially by Pársis, taken privately in their own houses. At public dinners of some low caste Hindus, liquor is served to both men and women guests towards the close of the entertainment.

The chief consumers of European wines and spirits are Pársis. All classes who drink toddy and distilled country-liquor also drink European wines and spirits when they can obtain them. But this they can seldom afford to do. As a rule high caste Hindus indulge in no distilled or fermented drinks. To this rule there are two exceptions: a class of orthodox Hindus who drink country-made liquor, and a class of innovators who drink European wines and spirits. The liquor-drinking orthodox Hindus are known as *shâktas* or *vámamárgis*, and are followers of the sect which worship one of the powers or *shakti* of Devi, the spouse of Mahádev. Among

STIMULANTS AND NARCOTICS. *Drinking Classes.*

persons of this class the drinking of intoxicating liquor is held to be a religious duty. Though of different castes, the followers of this sect, both men and women, are said to hold private festivals at which they eat and drink together. Among the youth of high caste Hindu families the practice of drinking European wines and spirits has of late years spread so rapidly, that what twenty years ago (A.D. 1880) would have caused excommunication, is now (A.D. 1900) passed unnoticed. Still a certain dishonour attaches both to the orthodox and to the innovating liquor-drinker. As a rule both are anxious that but a few boon companions only should know that they drink. Among high caste Hindus a few who have taken to drinking European wines and spirits frequent shops where such liquors are sold. But the usual practice is for a party of friends either to meet together at the dwelling of some one of their number, or to hire a house in an unfrequented part of the town and there hold drinking parties.

Hemp Preparations.

Three preparations from hemp *ambhári* Cannabis indica, that is *bháng yákudi* and *gánja*, are used in Gujarát. *Bháng* is made from the leaves flower and seed of the plant. These are first baked over a fire, then well washed in cold water and ground very fine, the intoxicating power depending to a considerable extent on the fineness of the powder. According to the taste and means of the consumer, dry rose-leaves almonds cardamoms pepper and other spices are pounded and mixed with the powder. The whole is again ground with water or with milk, sweetened with sugar, and strained through a cloth. The preparation is now ready to be drunk. *Bháng* is a cheap luxury, one-sixteenth of a pound being enough to last an ordinary man for three days and costing but ½ anna. A poor man, as a rule, drinks his *bháng* mixed only with blackpepper and poppy. On festivals and holidays many kinds of spices are added and in this way the mixture becomes costly. A few Pársis and Musalmáns drink *bháng*, but it is chiefly consumed by the higher classes of Hindus, Bráhmans Káyasths Sonis Vániás and others, who drink no other intoxicating liquor and do not eat opium. None of the preparations of hemp are taken by women. In the hot season, and throughout the year on holidays and festivals, *bháng* is generally drunk, but only a few people take it regularly. As a rule it is drunk in the afternoon before sunset. In small quantities it is cooling and slightly intoxicating, causing at the same time a keen feeling of hunger. Though under its influence Gujarát jewellers are proverbially clever, it soothes rather than stimulates the brain, and its appetising powers are of great value to begging Bráhmans, who under its influence can at a caste feast eat enough to

STIMULANTS AND NARCOTICS.
Hemp Preparations.

last them for twenty-four hours or more. *Yákudi* or *májam* is *bháng* boiled in clarified butter. The clarified butter is flavoured with sugar and spices and is often tinged with vermillion and saffron. As a conserve *yákudi* is generally eaten before sunset chiefly by well-to-do Hindus and Musalmáns. A man who drinks *bháng* would also take *yákudi* and smoke *gánja*. *Yákudi* is an expensive article and when regularly taken costs from one to two rupees a month. This drug is prepared by professional dealers called *májamválás*, chiefly Vániás by caste. It is also prepared by Hindu physicians.

The dried hemp plant which has flowered and from which the resin has not been removed is called *gánja*. This is generally bought in its crude state and made ready by the consumer. To prepare the plant for smoking, a small quantity is taken on the palm of the hand, and the seed, if the flower contains any, is removed. The plant is then washed four or five times, dried, and mixed with tobacco. The classes chiefly addicted to smoking *gánja* are religious mendicants, the lower order of Bráhmans, and a few artizans. As a rule *gánja* smokers are found at shrines or temples. But some of them resort to special houses called *akháda* where *bháng* and *gánja* are prepared. Men addicted to the practice keep taking whiffs of *gánja* about every half hour. Its effects are sudden and strong. Three or four pulls at a *gánja* pipe will prostrate a man not accustomed to smoke it. Especially among the weakly and ill-fed the use of *gánja* is said to harm the mind and nerves and in some cases to cause death.

Opium.

Opium used either as a drug or as a narcotic is taken in several ways. Either a small quantity from a few grains to a pennyweight is rolled into a pill and swallowed, or the opium is first dissolved in water and then drunk. This preparation of opium and water is called *kasumba*. The practice of smoking a preparation of opium or *chandul* is less common in Gujarát. In south Gujarát, except by a few Musalmáns and Hindus of advanced age, opium is seldom used. On the other hand in north Gujarát and Káthiáwár, except among the literary and mercantile classes, the majority of the adult population are habitual consumers of the drug. The ordinary time for taking opium is before meals early in the morning and in the afternoon. By Rajputs opium is held in high esteem as the seal of hospitality and the great healer of disputes. It is taken dissolved in water, and at the close of every visit as a token of goodwill to the guest the opium cup is produced, and from some soaked cotton a small quantity is squeezed into the guest's hands and drunk by him.

Tobacco.

Tobacco is consumed in three ways: it is chewed; it is smoked; or it is taken in the form of snuff. The practice of chewing tobacco

STIMULANTS AND NARCOTICS. *Tobacco.*

either plain or along with betel-leaves and areca-nut is common among Hindus, both men and women; among Musalmáns, particularly women; and to a limited extent among Pársis. Tobacco is smoked either in pipes or in cigarettes. Two kinds are in general use, the longstemmed *huka* or hubble-bubble whose smoke is cooled by being inhaled through water, and the short almost stemless bowl or *chalam*. Tobacco to be smoked in the *huka* or hubble-bubble is cut in pieces and pounded in a mortar. It is next mixed with molasses and a few drops of water and the whole rolled into small balls. This preparation of tobacco is called *gadáku*. It is principally used by Garásiás or landed proprietors and the better class of people. Except a few Bráhmans, among Hindus men of all classes smoke tobacco; women seldom smoke a pipe, but many among the labouring and cultivating classes use cigarettes. Musalmáns both men and women smoke; but among Pársis it is strictly forbidden and seldom practised.

Tobacco to be used as snuff is for two or three days soaked in water and while still damp is pounded on a flat stone and when dry it is ready for use. The custom of taking snuff prevails among men both of the upper and middle classes. Among women of the higher classes the practice of taking snuff is also common. Snuff is generally carried in small round wooden boxes about an inch in diameter and three-fourths of an inch deep. Country-made snuff is generally pulverised finer than snuff imported from Europe. But to make it more pungent it is often adulterated with a mixture of pounded lime or carbonate of soda.

Betelnut.

Besides the above, *pán* Charica betel and *sopári* Areca catechu are, except by the poor, used by all classes both men and women. Along with their *pán* and *sopári* the rich eat cardamoms and other spices.

Tea and Coffee.

Tea both Chinese and Himálayan is also used by Hindus. Tea with milk and sugar is taken early in the morning. It is seldom drunk twice in one day. The poor sometimes brew tea mixing pepper and dry ginger or cinnamon in it to cure indigestion. Within the last few years (A.D. 1890-1900) the use of tea has spread greatly among the upper classes of Hindus and Pársis. Among Musalmáns coffee is the favourite drink. It is seldom used either by Hindus or Pársis.

RELIGION.

Except the early tribes who worship their own guardians or *devs*, Gujarát Hindus are either Bráhmanical or Jain, the latter chiefly Vániás. A belief in demonology, sorcery, witchcraft, the evil eye, and omens is found, more or less, in almost all Gujarát castes, Among religious practices, worship of ancestors, the elements, planets, the sea, rivers, animals, plants, and birds is also common. Káthis, and in a lesser degree, the Parmár Rajputs of Muli

in Káthiáwád worship only the sun; the Parajiás worship only fire; the Lohánás worship Dariápir or the spirit of the Indus; and the Mahia Kolis the Mahi river. RELIGION.

Family Gods.

Excepting the Jains,[1] Hindus generally hold in veneration Bráhmanic gods and goddesses, Kanbis and Vániás being more devout and religious than other Hindus. Almost every Bráhmanical Hindu householder keeps his family gods, some or all of the Hindu Pancháyatan or The Group of Five, a stone *ling* pyramid for Mahádev; a stone *shäligrám* or round pebble from the Gandaki or the Narbada river or a picture of Shrináthji for Vishnu; and a picture or metal image of Śakti, Bhaváni, or Mátá, as the goddess or mother, typifying divine energy; Ganpati or the god of wisdom; and Surya or the Sun, or Hanumán the Monkey-god. Ganpati is worshipped especially on auspicious occasions, his holy day being the fourth of the bright half of every month. Khetarpál or the boundary-guardian is worshipped chiefly by classes other than Bráhmans Vániás and craftsmen.

Śakti.

Śakti, or deified energy, is worshipped by all classes of Hindus as Lakshmi by the followers of Vishnu; and as Párvati, Bhaváni, or Durga by the Shaivs. She is the energy of the Supreme Being, coexistent with Him as his bride and counterpart. Her rank and priority as the producer and mother of both gods and men appear in the names Lakshmi-Náráyan, Bhaváni-Shankar, Umá-Máheshvar, and Párvati-Parameshvar. As the active will of the Deity she is the mother of all creation or *Mátá*. As all matter and created things are regarded as illusory in Vedantic teachings, Śakti or Mátá is also called Máyá (illusion) or Mahámáyá (great illusion) and Prakriti (primeval nature). She is generally invoked under the three forms of Mahákálí, Mahálakshmí, and Mahásarasvatí.

Mátás.

In north Gujarát the most favourite and almost universally worshipped deities are the goddesses Ambá Bhaváni, Káliká, and Bahuchará.[2] They form the theme of most Gujarát songs. "*Je Ambe*" is the war-cry and the Holi shout of Gujarát. "*Ado Bhaváni*" that is the first Bhaváni, is another common invocation of the goddess. Their shrines are visited by Hindu pilgrims in large numbers. The goddess Káliká, Durgá, or Chandí in her fierce and angry mood is held in high veneration, but not so universally as Ambá the ideal mother with her radiant and cheerful maternal smile.

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[1] See below pages 105 - 115.

[2] Most Bhárvads and Rabáris worship only a *Mátá* or goddess without any special name.

RELIGION. *Mátás.*

Káliká is held in special respect by coppersmiths or Kansárás as their family goddess. Bahuchará is believed to be a deified Cháran lady who preferred death to dishonour, but is more probably an old Koli goddess. Besides Ambá, Káliká, and Bahuchará, most Hindu castes have their own special tutelary deities, the chief of them being Áshápurí or the wish-fulfiller of the Lád Vániás and Jádeja Rajputs; Bhildi of the Sindhvás; Chámunda of Chávda and Vághela Rajputs; Hingláj of the Bhansális, Bhávsárs, Darjis, and weaver-Khatris; Khodiár of the Gohel Rajputs; Rándel Mátá in most ceremonial songs but chiefly of the Lohánás; Umiya of the Kadva Kanbis and Turis; Unái of the Anávlás, and Vindhyavásiní of Jethvá Rajputs.

The Trimúrti.

Of the Hindu Trinity or *trimúrti*, Brahmá has a solitary temple at Khed-Brahma in Mahi Kántha. Shiv and Vishnu (the latter in his two incarnations of Rám and Krishna) divide in faith the generality of the Gujarát castes. Among Shaivites almost all are Bráhmans with a sprinkling of other castes. By Vaishnavs are meant, in Gujarát, the followers of Vishnu in his eighth incarnation of Krishna, according to the cult popularly known as the sect of the Mahárájás, otherwise called Vallabhácharí or Pushti Márga. All non-Jain or *meshri* Vániás are followers of this sect. Rám as the seventh incarnation of Vishnu is held in high veneration by all including Shaiv Bráhmans and Vallabhácharí Vániás, and has many temples with images of Rám, his wife Sita, and his brother Lakshman, and in a niche on one side the monkey-god Hanumán. Except for a few extremists, Shiv and Vishnu are held in equal veneration by most Hindus.

Sects.

Among Hindu castes other than Bráhmans and Vániás a striking feature is the great hold which comparatively modern cults called "ways," that is *márgs* or *panths*, have taken upon them. Of these the chief are Rámánandis, Svámi-Náráyans, and Kabirpanthis. The smaller cults are Bijmárgis, Parnámis, or Meherájpanthis; Rámsnehis; Dádupanthis; Sháktas or Vámamargis; Mádhavgars; Ravipanthis; Udásis; Piránás; Rádhá-Vallabhis; Santrámpanthis, and several still smaller sects. Details of these religious sects are given in Appendix C (III).

GUJARÁT POPULATION.

SECTION I.—BRÁHMANS.

Section I.
BRÁHMANS.

THE Bráhman population of Gujarát, including Kachh and Káthiáváḍá, was in A.D. 1891 returned at 568,868 or 5·75 per cent of the total Hindu population. The original Bráhmans of Gujarát form a division of the great class of Drávid or South Indian Bráhmans.[1]

Settlement.

Gujarát Bráhmans may be roughly formed into three groups, the early, the middle, and the modern. The early Bráhmans are in most cases connected by tradition with some holy place chosen in early times by Aryan settlers from Upper India. Most of these early divisions are husbandmen and as a rule darker and sturdier than the more modern immigrants.[2] Among these are the Bhárgavs of Broach who claim descent from the great seer Bhrigu and who still hold a high position among Gujarát Bráhmans; the Anávalás, the vigorous skilful class of south Gujarát landholders whose original settlement or *mahásthán* seems to have been at the Anával hot springs about forty miles south-east of Surat. With them rank the Sájodrás, who take their name from Sajod, a place of early sanctity about eight miles south-west of Broach. Further north are the Borsadiás of Kaira, who claim descent from an early religious settler named Bhadrasiddha. Other divisions of earlier settlers seem to have come to Gujarát from the Dakhan. They are the Jámbus of Jambusar in Broach, the Kapils from Kávi at the mouth of the Mahi, the Khedávals of the Kaira district, and the Motálás of Mota about fifteen miles west of Surat. These classes have all become so completely Gujarátis in appearance speech and customs

[1] The whole Bráhman population of India is divided into two groups, Gaud and Drávid. Each group includes five divisions. The five Gaud Bráhmans are, Gaud proper, Kanoja or Kányakubja, Maithila, Sárasvat or Misra, and Utkal. The five Drávid Bráhmans are, Drávid proper, Ándhra or Tailang, Karnátak, Maháráshtra, and Gurjjara. A classification in the Journal Bom. Br. Roy. As. Soc. VIII.-2, places Gurjjara Bráhmans in the Gaud group. But this seems to be wrong, and the arrangement given above agrees with the current opinion and written texts recited by the Bráhmans of Upper India, the Dakhan, and South India, and with the classification given in Steel's Hindu Castes and Customs page 85.

[2] According to local legends some of these early Bráhmans belonged to the pre-Aryan tribes and were made Bráhmans by early Hindu heroes and demigods. Pre-Aryan tribes may in some cases have been raised to the rank of Aryans in reward for signal services. But such cases are doubtful. The explanation of these local classes of early Bráhmans seems to be that they are the descendants of settlers from Upper India who entered Gujarát either by sea or by land from Sindh. These settlers were joined by others of their own class who, marrying with the women of the country as was sanctioned both by the law and the practice of the early Bráhmans, founded a local Bráhman colony. The process of founding these local Bráhman classes is thus described by Megasthenes (B.C. 300). When Megasthenes wrote the process would seem to have been still going on. "Persons who desire to live the same life as the Bráhman hermits cross over and remain with them, never returning to their own country. These also are called Bráhmans; they do not follow the same mode of life, for there are women in the country from whom the native inhabitants are sprung and of these women they beget offspring." McCrindle's Megasthenes, 121.

Section I.
BRÁHMANS.
Settlement.

that they must have been long settled in the province. Copperplates show that the Jámbus at least were in their present villages as early as the beginning of the fourth century after Christ (A.D. 320).

The second group of Bráhmans represent small bands of immigrants from Upper India whose settlement the kings of Anahilaváda (A.D. 961-1242) encouraged by grants of land. These small bands of settlers came from different parts of Northern India, and receiving separate grants in different parts of the province have never associated and have been one of the chief causes of the minute division of Gujarát Bráhmans. The chief divisions that belong to this group are the Audichya, Harsolás, Kandoliya, Khadáyata, Modh, Ráyakvál, Shrimáli, and Vadádra. The Nágar, the chief division of Gujarát Bráhmans, seem to be earlier settlers as copperplates from the fifth to the eighth century mention Nágars at Junágadh Vadnagar and Valabhi.

The middle group includes another set of divisions of whose arrival no record remains but who seem to have come from Márwár and Rajputána before the times of the Musalmáns, driven south, it is believed, by famine. Of this group the chief divisions are the Desávál, Jhálora, Meváda, Palivál, Shrigaud, Udambara, and Uneväl. Of modern Bráhmans, that is of immigrants since the time of Musalmán rule, the chief are Marátha Bráhmans of the Deshasth Konkanasth and Karháda tribes, who in the early part of the eighteenth century accompanied and followed the Marátha conquerors of Gujarát. Under British rule no large bodies of immigrants have entered Gujarát. But there has been a slow steady stream of settlers from Márwár.

Subdivisions.

Ordinary accounts and the lists in the Mirăt-i-Ahmedi (A.D. 1742-1768) and in Dayárám's poems give eighty-four divisions of Gujarát Bráhmans. As the details of these lists do not agree, as they contain the names of many classes not now found in Gujarát and omit many well known classes, it seems probable that eighty-four is only a traditional number used, as it often is used, vaguely or with some mystic meaning.[1] As far as has been traced, exclusive of subdivisions there are seventy-nine divisions of Gujarát Bráhmans who do not intermarry, though most of them eat together. Except the Anávalás, who are all laymen or *grahasth*, each of these divisions is either entirely cleric that is *bhikshuk*, or contains two classes, *bhikshuk* or cleric and *grahasth* or laymen.[2] Except Bhárgavs Nágars and a few other Bráhmans who have among them families believing in one of the other Vedas, all Gujaráti Bráhmans are generally followers of the Yajurveda. Each division includes from five to twenty *gotras* or family-stocks, each stock claiming descent on the male side from one of the *rishis* or seers. Among members of the same family-stock marriage is forbidden. But except among the

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[1] Races of the North-West Provinces, II. 47-48.

[2] The chief difference between a cleric and a layman lies in the number of their privileges. The cleric enjoys six privileges, studying the Veds, teaching the Veds, giving alms, receiving alms, offering sacrifices, and officiating at sacrifices; the layman has but three privileges, studying the Veds, alms-giving, and offering sacrifices.

Section I.

BRÁHMANS.

Subdivisions.

Nágars, religious and lay families, if not of the same stock, may intermarry. A man's position as religious or lay is hereditary. It is in no way affected by his calling.[1] Among the fifty-four main divisions of Gujarát Bráhmans, seven, Audichyás, Khedáváls, Mevádás, Modhs, Nágars, Shrigauds, and Shrimális are found over the whole province including Kachh and Káthiáváḍa. The remaining forty-seven divisions are found only in special towns and localities. The following list shows the names and distribution of the leading fifty-four Bráhman divisions:

Bráhmans, 1891.

No.	Class.	Ahmedábád.	Kaira.	Panch Mahāls.	Broach.	Surat.	Native States.	Baroda.	Total.
1	Abotis	...	...	...	...	1935	2626	622	5183
2	Anávalás	116	22	19	104	26,590	2335	11,148	40,334
3	Audichyás	18,487	9522	1587	3268	5777	116,507	49,460	204,608
4	Bhárgavs	21	13	8	778	620	42	402	1884
5	Bhojaks	9	2	...	...	...	571	426	1008
6	Borsadás	1	730	...	278	2	14	522	1547
7	Chovisás	...	4	6	69	17	338	1064	1498
8	Dadhichs	...	505	...	449	...	40	79	1073
9	Desáváls	5	16	...	...	34	6	167	228
10	Gauds or Shrigauds ...	857	1942	1967	395	388	7635	2873	16,057
11	Gáyaváls	27	...	9	9	...	..	43	88
12	Girnárás	1	1	...	5	...	3354	90	3451
13	Gomtiváls	591	6	3	11	3	1923	128	2665
14	Guglis	43	...	3	5	...	1103	1884	3038
15	Harsolás	158	...	...	2	60	32	4	256
16	Jámbus	...	4	1	529	5	63	5777	6379
17	Jhálorás	19	6	15	...	...	27	214	281
18	Kálatiyás	78	107	...	4	...	62	113	364
19	Kandoliyás...	2	1	...	1	93	1250	401	1748
20	Kapils	...	...	...	363	...	...	6	369
21	Khadáyatás	85	167	3	2	10	83	17	367
22	Khedáváls	526	9343	175	822	359	4882	4235	20,342
23	Mevádás	3303	4307	920	174	848	16,292	7015	32,859
24	Modhs	4067	3201	531	570	3056	15,338	12,129	38,892
25	Motalás	41	5	4	39	1249	96	22	1456
26	Nándorás	3	718	78	51	1	598	1396	2845
27	Nágars	3582	1437	249	148	907	12,222	9705	28,250
28	Nandvánás	...	...	...	...	3	1044	...	1047
29	Nápals	...	240	...	1	...	...	105	346
30	Páliváls	440	353	246	350	227	3640	20	5276
31	Parájiyás	...	...	...	...	...	2461	...	2461
32	Párásaryás	1	2	...	...	78	61	5	147
33	Pushkarnás or Pokarnás.	68	1	17	1	17	2969	59	3132
34	Rájgors	241	5	3	2	9	22,239	1095	23,594
35	Rávals	57	171	13	4	18	305	132	700
36	Rayakváls	1045	228	13	257	104	549	353	2549
37	Rayathalás...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
38	Rundhváls	426	43	4	...	...	47	...	520
39	Sáchorás	114	15	...	21	59	1512	351	2072
40	Sajodrás	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
41	Sárasvats	130	90	17	182	27	8494	125	[illegible]
42	Sárthipurás	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
43	Shevaks	...	...	2	...	13	230	6	251
44	Shrimális	1342	302	79	243	224	10,469	2100	14,759
45	Sompurás	5	...	...	...	...	789	25	819
46	Sorathiyás	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
47	Tapodhans	3141	2906	171	131	589	6689	5451	19,078
48	Udambarás	56	110	130	...	...	285	14	595
49	Uneváls	827	184	...	323	143	2992	1628	5597
50	Vadádrás	169	2300	7	127	18	178	314	3113
51	Válams	1125	501	9	11	...	1481	1155	4282
52	Váyadás	17	19	...	...	18	...	...	54
53	Vedánts	...	...	...	...	...	472	...	472
54	Vyás	1008	569	4	151	4	762	801	3299
	Unspecified	2162	1103	864	3364	1192	18,937	20,168	48,570
	Total ...	43,896	41,201	6957	14,244	44,697	274,024	143,849	568,868

N.B.—The head "Unspecified" includes Sajodrás Sorathiyás and other division of Gujarát Bráhmans, likewise 18,002 Dakhan Bráhmans.

[1] The present tendency among *bhikshuk* Bráhmans who obtain steady secular employment is to give up their clerical privileges and live as laymen.

Section I.
BRÁHMANS.
Abotis.

Abotis, numbering 5183 are found in Kachh and Káthiáváda. They trace their origin to the sage Valmik's younger son, who, with other sages, was brought by *Garud* or Vishnu's eagle to a sacrifice performed by Krishna at Dwárka. As a class they are poor, living as temple servants beggars and confectioners. A few are found as cultivators in the Barda district. They are Vaishnavs in religion. Their family god is Dwarkánáth of Dwárka.

Ana'vala's.

Ana'vala's, also known as Mástáns and Bháthelás, numbering 40,334, are found in the Surat district and the neighbouring Baroda territory. They are the best cultivators of south Gujarát. The name Anávala is derived from Anával a Gáikwár village about forty miles east of Surat, famous for its hot spring. The origin of the names Mástán and Bháthela is uncertain. Mástán, according to one account, means proud or overbearing, a meaning-making which agrees well with the character of the former revenue farmers and village managers of this class. According to another account, Mástán is a shortened form of Mahásthán or Great Place, a name supposed to be the record of some former settlement of the tribe.[1] But it probably means the chief community of south Gujarát as such phrases as Soni Mástán the goldsmith community, and Khadáyata Mástán the Váni community, are in common local use. Of the term Bháthela two explanations are offered; one would connect it with the tribe of Bháts, the other would, from *bhát* rice, translate it rice-men, a name well deserved by the Anávalás, the most successful rice-growers of south Gujarát.[2] But, besides the difference in letters, the name Bháthela is always considered disrespectful. It was probably given by some of the later Bráhman settlers from North India and seems to be a corruption of Bhrashthela or Fallen. According to local tradition, Ráma on his return from the conquest of Ceylon, halted at a place called Pátarváda in the hills of Bánsda, about forty-five miles south-east of Surat. Determining to hold a sacrifice he required the services of a large body of priests. He searched the country round, and failing to find priests enough collected eighteen thousand of the hill-tribes and made them Bráhmans. The legend that certain classes were made Bráhmans by Ráma, Krishna, and other heroes and demigods is found in all parts of India. The usual explanation is that in early ages, when the greater part of the continent south of the Vindhya mountains was under forest, bands of Bráhmanic Hindus, pressing southwards, ousted the earlier tribes from their forest clearings and established a more regular mode of life and tillage. In later times fresh bodies of Bráhmans, bringing with

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[1] The peasant Bráhmans of Orissa are also called Mustáns. In Mr. Beames's opinion the name is derived from Mahásthán or Great Place. Ind. Ant. I. 142, 195.

[2] In the Etwa district of the Agra division in the North-West Provinces, is a class of peasant Bhatheli Bráhmans, who are said to be an offshoot of the Sanádhs, nearly all of whom are Kanojiya Bráhmans. It seems worthy of notice that in Gujarát some families of Bháthelás in the village of Kátargám near Surat are known as Kanojiyás. In Kángra (Panjáb) the two main tribes of Bráhmans are Bátehrus and Nágarkotiás. Kangra Gazetteer, I. 82.

them from the north a more elaborate social and religious system, found the descendants of the early settlers opposed to them in many points of faith and practice. Unable to deny their claim to be Bráhmans, the newcomers, by the device of some local legend, strove to show that the original settlers were Bráhmans of a lower order than themselves.[1] In the present case it seems probable that the founders of the class were Bráhmans who gathered round some early settler who had chosen the Anávala hot springs as the place of his hermitage. That Anávala Bráhmans are the earliest Bráhman settlers in south Gujarát is supported by the fact that, unlike other Bráhmans, the whole body of the Anávalás are laymen or *grahasths*, and that it was under their management the south of Gujarát was redeemed from forest and brought under tillage.

Almost all Anávala Bráhmans worship Shiv. But as a class they are lax in religious observances and careless in enforcing caste rules. Though obstinate and somewhat rough and quarrelsome, they are a contented and orderly community, enterprising, friends to education, hospitable, and liberal. Fifty years ago almost all were peasants, and though tillage is still the occupation of most, a considerable number learning to read and write have become village accountants and schoolmasters. Some have become lawyers and others traders in articles of food, and some entering Government service have risen to posts of trust and responsibility. Socially Anávala Bráhmans are divided into an upper or *desái* class, the original colonists of south Surat, afterwards revenue farmers and superintendents and still holders of grants of money and land, and a lower or *bháthela* class the ordinary cultivators. Before and for some years after the introduction of British rule, as farmers of land revenue and as village managers the *desáis* enjoyed considerable power and wealth, claiming the rank of superior landlords with the titles of *zamindárs* and *tálukdárs*, and possessing households of as many as four hundred dependants.[3] Under cover of their office they levied taxes on their own behalf, and for a time the bulk of the peasants were practically their tenants-at-will or their bondsmen. The gradual extinction of the practice of farming the land revenue (A.D. 1803-1812), and the establishment of the mass of cultivators as direct holders from Government, took away from the *desáis* the source of much of their wealth. Many of them are said to have sunk into poverty, and, falling into the hands of money-lenders, have been forced to mortgage their lands and houses.

In spite of these changes a marked social distinction is still maintained between the representatives of the *desái* families and the

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[1] Muir's Sanskrit Texts, II. 425, 487.

[3] Captain Newport in his settlement report of the Párchol (now Jalálpor) sub-division of the Surat district (A.D. 1816) para. 46 footnote mentions the case of an old village manager or *desái* who had as many as 400 *halis*. There are no such households now. A full account of *halis* or bondsmen is given in the Statistical Account of Surat, Bombay Gazetteer, II. 198 - 200.

Section I.

BRÁHMANS.

Anávalás.

ordinary peasants or *bháthelás* and among the whole community three houses still receive special respect as *pehediválas* or men of family. Though the large households of *hális* or ploughmen are now much reduced, a few well-to-do *desái* families still leave to their dependants the heavier parts of field-work. They eat with all the members of their caste, but object to marry their daughters into any except *desái* families. Successful men among the lower class of *desáis* and the richer *bháthelás*, anxious to improve their social position, try hard to marry their daughters into *desái* families. This rivalry for the hands of men of good family has led to some unusual practices. Polygamy is not uncommon. A *desái* who finds himself in difficulties marries another wife, receiving from the bride's father money enough to enable him to pay off his debts. Another result of the rivalry is that expenses consequent upon marriage, such as payments in honour of the bride being sent to her husband's house, in honour of pregnancy, of the birth of a child, and on other occasions, are made not by the husband but by the wife's father. So heavy are these charges[7] and such large sums are required as marriage portions, that among the *desáis* some families, where daughters have been numerous, have fallen into debt and been forced to mortgage their lands and houses. In other cases, after the marriage ceremony has been performed, fathers have been unable to meet the expense of sending their daughters to their husbands' houses. Cases have occurred in which, for this reason, girls have remained at their fathers' house till they have reached the age of eighteen or twenty. Under these circumstances the birth of a girl in a *desái's* family is looked on as a calamity.

Free from such special expenses, the position of the ordinary *bháthela* peasant has improved under British rule. Though less frugal and hardworking than the Kaira Kanbis, they are successful cultivators. In the best Surat villages the largest holdings, the richest crops, the finest cattle, and the best built houses belong to Bháthelás. During the last ten years (A.D. 1886-1896) important changes have taken place in respect to marriage customs. Nearly 300 families have bound themselves to reduce marriage expenses, to stop polygamy, and to marry their girls among themselves without reference to *kul* or family. The movement is so successful that most of the *desáis* do not now get large sums of money on account of their son's marriages.

Audichyás.

Audichya or Audich Bráhmans numbering 204,608 are found all over Gujarát. According to the local saying All Audichyás are seers *Audichya sarv Rushiya.* The name Audichya or Northerner shows that they entered Gujarát from Upper India. According to their caste traditions, they were invited to Gujarát by Múlarája king

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[1] Before the marriage a large sum of money from Rs. 500 - Rs. 2000 and clarified butter weighing from 800 to 1600 pounds valued at Rs. 400 - Rs. 800 are given by the bride's father to the father of the bridegroom.

Section I. BRÁHMANS. Audichya's.

of Aṇahilaváḍa (A.D. 961-996) to help him in holding a sacrifice.[1] When the sacrifice was over the king offered them presents and grants of land to induce them to stay in his country. Some agreed, and others at first refused till they were persuaded by the grant of a spot of special holiness at the mouth of the Mahi. Those who first agreed were a thousand strong, and so became known as the *Sahasra* or Thousand Audichyás; those who first refused were, because they formed a band or *toli*, known as Tolakia Audichyás. The Sahasras are again divided into Sihorás[2] and Siddhapurás from the towns of Sihor near Bhávnagar in east Káthiávaḍa and of Siddhpur near Mehsana in north Gujarát, which Múlarája is said to have bestowed on their ancestors.

Most Audich Bráhmans live on alms; a few of them are cultivators; the rest are cooks or family or village-priests. Many are particularly successful as exorcists, fortune-tellers, and magicians. A few in Kachh are horsebrokers *dháraks*. The question of the amount of dishonour that attaches to a Bráhman who acts as family-priest to low-caste Hindus has caused dispute and division among the Audichyás. In north Gujarát the practice is held so degrading that those who follow it have been excommunicated; in south Gujarát the practice is allowed. In the northern districts family-priests excommunicated for serving low-caste people have given rise to several subdivisions. Of these the chief are Kanbi-gors who serve cultivators, Darji-gors who serve tailors, Gandhrap-gors who serve musicians, Hajám-gors who serve barbers, Koli-gors who serve Kolis, and Mochi-gors who serve shoemakers.

A special branch of cultivating Audichyás is settled in Vágad in Kachh. This branch because they carry cooked food to the fields, smoke the *huka* hubble-bubble, and allow widow-marriage are held degraded and treated as outcastes. Still they are allowed to give their daughters to Audichya Bráhmans of Hálávád in Káthiáváda, whose daughters again marry with Dhrángadra Audichyás, and the daughters of Dhrángadra Audichyás with the Audichyás of Viramgám Ahmedábád and Siddhpur, who are the highest Gujarát representatives of their caste.

Bha'rgavs.

Bha'rgavs, numbering 1884 and found almost solely in Broach and Surat, claim to be the original Bráhmans of Broach. They take their name from the great seer or *rishi* Bhragu, the founder of Broach, and are said at one time to have been all-powerful in the city. A trace of this influence remains in the practice

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[1] To perform this sacrifice, Múlarája is said to have collected Bráhmans from various places: from the junction of the Ganga and Yamuna, 105; from the Chyavanáshram, 100; from the country of Kányakubja, 200; from Benares, 100; from the Kurukshetra, 272; from Gangádvár, 100; and from the Naimisha forest and Kurukshetra, 132; total 1009.

[2] The sanctity of Sihor arose from a fountain of healing waters in which king Múlarája was cured of an inveterate disorder. In thankfulness for his recovery he granted Sihor and its lands to the Bráhmans. Sihor remained in their hands until internal dissensions ended in so deadly a fight that the survivors determined to place themselves under the Gohel of Gogha. Tod's Travels in Western India, 269.

Section I.
BRÁHMANS.
Bhárgavs.

observed by the whole population, including Pársis, of paying a fixed sum to the Bhárgav community on marriage occasions. Besides at Broach and Surat, settlements of Bhárgav Bráhmans are found on the Tápti at Mándvi, about forty, and at Kámlej, about fifteen miles above Surat. Formerly the Broach and Mándvi Bhárgavs were closely related to each other. But some generations back a wedding party starting for Mándvi was upset in the Narbada and drowned. Since this ill-omened accident marriage relations between the Broach and Mándvi communities have ceased. In addition to the ordinary Bráhmanical distinctions between the priest or *bhikshuk* and the lay or *grahasth*, the Bhárgavs are divided into Visa and Dasa. Between these divisions intermarriage is forbidden. The Bhárgavs of Broach are an intelligent good-looking body of men, many of them with a name for learning. Except a few families who hold positions of trust under Government and in native states the Bhárgavs are not well-to-do. This is specially the case with the Mándvi and Kámlej Bhárgavs, many of whom are peasants and labourers, positions which a Broach or Surat Bhárgav considers degrading.

Bhojaks.

Bhojaks, returned as numbering 1008, are found in considerable numbers in Káthiáváda and Kachh. Many Shrimáli Bráhmans adopted the Jain faith for a living, and having dined with Osvál Vániás were called *bhojaks* or eaters, and formed a separate division. Bhojaks chant songs in Jain temples and eat with Shrávaks. They allow widow-marriage.

Borsada's.

Borsada's, numbering 1547 chiefly in Kaira, take their name from the Kaira town of Borsad.[1] Their calling as husbandmen and their position as heads of villages mark them as one of the early Bráhman colonies. They say that in the time of Máhmud Begada (A.D. 1500) after they had for ages been settled in the land, a Musalmán beggar came to their town and killing a goat was severely handled by the Bráhmans and fled for his life. Máhmud Begada hearing of this insult to his religion ordered his troops to

[1] The following local tradition of the origin of the Borsad Bráhmans is supplied by the Reverend J. S. Taylor: They, as well as the town of Borsad, take their name from Bhadrasiddha, a Brahmachári or ascetic, who with some followers fixed his hermitage here. At that time Borsad was a *van* or wild, inhabited by a few Kolis. These ascetics were induced to enter the married state under the following circumstances. In honour of the recovery of Nal Ráj from a severe sickness his queen Damyanti held a horse-sacrifice near Borsad. No unmarried Bráhmans were allowed to attend. Bhadrasiddha and his followers, unwilling to be absent, went to some cowherds or Rabáris and asked them to lend them their daughters for the occasion. The Rabáris agreed and the girls passed as the Bráhmans' wives. When the ceremony was over the Bráhmans took the young women back to their homes to hand them over to their parents. But the parents refused to take them for as they had in the most public manner been declared the wives of Bráhmans, their daughters could never be given in marriage to any one else. From the union thus formed sprung the Borsad Bráhmans who settled about the hermitage of Bhadrasiddha and founded the town of Borsad. Another account states that Borsad was founded about A.D. 656 (S. 712), and called after a certain Várahsiddha. This Várah, along with others of the Siddha tribe, is said to have redeemed this part of Gujarát from forest, and to have settled colonies, marking them by the tribal name Siddha, which appears as *sad* in Vásad, Virsad, and Karamsad.

destroy the place and take possession of the land. The Bráhmans have since by degrees regained some of their old estates, but much land is still in Musalmán hands.

Chovisa's.

Chovisa's numbering 1498 are found in Káthiáváḍa and Baroda. They are of two classes, *Mohota* or large and *Náhána* or small.

Dadhichs.

Dadhichs are returned as numbering 1073 and found in the Kaira and Broach district. They are said to take their name from Dadhich, the seer or *rishi* whose backbone formed the thunderbolt with which Indra killed the demon Vriatrásur. They say that they originally belonged to the Audichya Sahasra stock, and obtained their present name by settling in the village of Dehván near Vijápur, where is an *áshram* or hermitage of Dadhich Rishi. At present most of the Dadhich Bráhmans are village headmen, money-lenders, and cultivators.

Desa'va'ls.

Desa'va'ls are returned as numbering 228 and found chiefly in Surat and Ahmedábád. They take their name from the town of Dísa in Pálanpur, and are priests to the Desával Vániás.

Gauds.

Gauds. See SHRIGAUDS, page 19.

Ga'ya'va'ls.

Ga'ya'va'ls, returned as numbering 88 and found in Ahmedábád, are an offshoot from the mendicant Bráhmans of Gáya.

Girna'ra's.

Girna'ra's are returned as numbering 3451. According to the Prabháskhand they came originally from the foot of the Himálayas. They take their modern name from Girnár, and are found in Káthiávaḍa and Kachh. They have a tradition that they were settled at Girnár by Krishna after he rose from the Dámodar reservoir in the bed of the Sonarekha river at Junágaḍh. They are found all over Káthiáváḍa and are in greatest strength near Girnár and in Máḍhavpur, a sea port under Porbandar. They are considered specially sacred, and have the monopoly of the office of priests to pilgrims visiting Girnár and Prabhás Kshetra that is Somnáth Pátan. They are followers of Vishnu and have four subdivisions, Ájakiás, Bardáis, Chorvadiyás, and Panáis. They are Vaishnav temple-priests, beggars, traders, moneylenders, cooks, and husbandmen. The Kachh Girnárás, who number 800, belong to the Panái subdivision. They claim to be of the solar race and marry with Káthiáváḍa Girnárás.

Gomtiva'ls.

Gomtiva'ls, returned as numbering 2665 and found in Ahmedábád and Sunth in Rewa Kántha, are said to take their name from the seer Gautam. A more likely origin is from the old city Gomti among the Barda hills in south-west Káthiáváḍa. At present most of them live on alms.

Guglis.

Guglis, numbering 3038 are found in Dwárka. They are said to take their name from Gokula sacred to Krishna near Mathura.[1] They are Vaishṇavs by religion, chiefly *pujáris* or priests in the

[1] According to another account Guglis take their name from *gugal* or aloe incense, because by offering incense they succeeded in scaring away a demon who prevented them from settling at Dwárka.

Section I.
BRÁHMANS.

temples of Krishna at Bet Dwárka and Dákor. Numbers of them in Bombay are servants to the Vallabhácharya Mahárájás, of whom they are enthusiastic supporters. They are not much respected by other Bráhmans. But as great numbers of rich pilgrims flock to the shrines of Bet and Dwárka, the Guglis are a well-to-do class.

Harsola's.

Harsola's, returned as numbering 256 and found in Ahmedábád and Surat, take their name from Harsol in the Ahmedábád district. Most of them act as family-priests to Harsol Vániás.

Ja'mbus.

Ja'mbus, returned as numbering 6379 and found in Broach and Baroda, take their name from the town of Jambusar in the Broach district. They are said to be descended from the great Hindu sage Yajnavalkya, and according to the legend are the first colonists of the town of Jambusar, where copperplate grants show that they were settled as early as the beginning of the fourth century (A.D. 322 - 337). They are said at one time to have been a large and learned community. At present they act chiefly as family-priests and astrologers. The rest are traders, moneylenders, village headmen, and cultivators.

Jha'lora's.

Jha'lora's, returned as numbering 281 and found all over Gujarát, take their name from the town of Jhálor in Márwár. Most of them act as family-priests to Jhálora Vániás.

Ka'latiya's.

Ka'latiya's, returned as numbering 364 are found all over Gujarát. They take their name from *káltu* or the eleventh-day funeral ceremony which they alone conduct. They perform this service for all upper class Hindus. In addition to their special duties, men of this class act as family-priests for such low castes as fishermen and shoemakers. A few of them earn their living as native doctors.

Kandoliya's.

Kandoliya's, returned as numbering 1748 are found in Káthiáváda and Baroda. They take their name from the village of Kandol near Thán in the Jhálváda division of Káthiáváda. They act as family-priests to Kapol and Sorathiya Vánjás, and as cooks to Rajput chiefs. Their caste history states they were at one time 18,000 strong.

Kapils.

Kapils, returned as numbering 369 and found in Broach, boast descent from the seer Kapil. Most of them are settled at Kávi and Sárod in the Jambusar sub-division of the Broach district. They are chiefly cultivators.

Khada'yata's.

Khada'yata's, returned as numbering 367 and found in Kaira and Umreth like the Khadáyata Vániás whom they serve as family-priests, take their name from Khadát, a village near Parántij in Ahmedábád. Unlike other Bráhmans they take gifts only from Khadáyata Vániás, on whom they consider they have a claim for maintenance.

Kheda'va'ls.

Kheda'va'ls, returned as numbering 20,342 and found in large numbers in Kaira, take their name from Kheda or Kaira, the headquarters of the Kaira district. Their chief settlement is at Umreth in the A'nand sub-division of the Kaira district. According to their

tradition they are descended from a band of Tripravari and Panchpravari Bráhmans, who, under the lead of Shankar Joshi and Shod Dave, moved from Shrirangapatam in Mysor and settled in Kheda during the reign of a certain Mordhvaj, a Rajput of the lunar stock. The truth of this story is supported by the fact that Khedávâls are still connected with Shrirangapatam. Khedávál Bráhmans are divided into outsiders *báj* and insiders *bhitra*. The origin of the division is said to have been that the Kaira chief, anxious to have a son, once offered them gifts. The greater number, refusing his gifts, left the town and settled outside in twenty-four villages, all ending in *li*, like Ghumteli, Khadáli, Saudli, and Sureli. The few who accepted gifts settled in the town and became known as *bhitra* or insiders. Unlike most Gujarát Bráhmans, Khedáváls are robust hardworking thrifty and pushing, and have a special name for stinginess. Their women do not join marriage processions or caste dinners. They wear a necklace *chiták* and earrings *káp* of the same shape as those worn by Dakhan Bráhman women, and, like them, their widows dress in white. The insiders or *bhitrás*, of whom there are but few, are as a class poor, most of them with the name Dave, acting as family-priests to the Lád Vániás, to whom according to the proverb, the *Dave* is as a sharp axe to a dry tree.[1] The *báj* or outsiders boast that they never take presents and, as large landholders moneylenders and traders, are most of them extremely well off. Keeping their connection with Kaira, many of them, as jewellers and traders, are settled in Madras Bengal and other parts of India. In Mahi Kántha Khedáváls of both divisions are found. Though not at present connected with them, the Mahi Kántha Khedávál community is, according to their tradition, of the same stock as the Khedávál Bráhmans of Kaira. At the same time they trace their name to Khed Bráhma in the Idar state, not to the town of Kheda.

Meva'da's.

Meva'da's, returned as numbering 32,859 and found throughout Gujarát, take their name from Mevád in Rájputána. They are divided into three classes Bhat, Chorási, and Trivedi. These three do not intermarry. They are mostly beggars, family-priests, and a few of them peasants. Many of them have been reduced to comparative poverty by the large sums they spend on clarified butter at their caste feasts. There is a curious custom among the Trivedi Mevádás. Before marriage the bridegroom reposes on a cot and the bride applies molasses to the navel of her husband. After this the bridegroom goes to the marriage hall.

Modhs.

Modhs, returned as numbering about 38,892 and found throughout Gujarát, take their name like Modh Vániás from Modhera on the banks of the Vátrak river.[2] They are divided into six classes,

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[1] *Lád suka jháda, Dave vajra Kuháda* : The Lád is a dry tree, the Dave a sharp axe.
[2] Modhera is a place of great age. It stands in a level plain on a low hill or mound formed of the ruins of brick buildings. It was probably once a sea-port, and is called by the Jains Modherpur or Modhbank Patan. Rás Mála, I. 206.

Section I.
BRÁHMANS.

Agiarasna, Cháturvedi, Dhinoja, Jethimal, Tándalja, and Trivedi. The Jethimals are wrestlers in the service of native states and they permit widow marriage. Except a few peasants, all those of the other divisions are family-priests and beggars, many of whom are famous for the success of their begging tours.

Motá'las.

Mota'la's, numbering 1456 and found in Surat, take their name from the village of Motá, about sixteen miles south-east of Surat. Other centres of the caste are Olpád and Saras, two villages in the north-west of the Surat district. According to a legend the Motála Bráhmans were brought into Gujarát by Hanumán from Kolhápur.[1] The tradition is that the Motálás, the Jámbu or Jambusar Bráhmans, and the Kapil or Kávi Bráhmans, are of the same stock, and came to Gujarát from the Dakhan about the same time.[2] The cause of this immigration was, according to one account, the cruelties practised on the Hindus of the Dakhan by Malik Káfur (A.D. 1306); another version puts their arrival in Gujarát somewhat later, and gives as the reason the pressure of the great Durga Devi famine which from A.D. 1396 to A.D. 1408 laid waste the Dakhan. But, as has been shown above in the account of the Jambusar Bráhmans, these settlements are probably much older records existing of as early a date as the fourth century. In addition to their appearance which is more Dakhani than Gujaráti, four points support the tradition that the Motála Bráhmans came from the Dakhan. Their family-goddess or *kul-devi* is the Kolhápur Mahálakshmi. At the time of marriage and for four days after, the bride keeps her head

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[1] A legend says that Rám king of Ayodhya or Oudh after destroying Rávan the demon king of Ceylon, returned to Panchávati near Násik. From Násik on his homeward march he passed by way of Peth (Peint) through the south of Gujarát. Near the village of Saras, fifteen miles north-west of Surat, he worshipped the great god Shiv and raised a *ling* or stone-home in his honour which is still worshipped as Siddhnáth. At the same time the *hom* or sacred-fire ceremony was performed, and a supply of water obtained by shooting an arrow into the earth. The hollow from which the water gushed is still known as Rámkund or Rám's Well. On the same occasion Rám went against and slew a demon who lived not far from Rámkund. According to this story, where the head or *shir* of the demon fell became known as Saras, where the body or *ur* fell was called Urpátan now Olpád, and where his hands or *háth* fell was named Háthisa. Unfortunately the demon was a Brahmarákshas, and so deep was the guilt of taking his life that it haunted Rám in the form of a second shadow. To free himself from this hateful companion, Rám consulted certain sages who were mortifying themselves on the banks of the Tápti not far from Rámkund. Unable to help him, the holy men advised Rám to consult the sages of Bodhán, a village about eighteen miles north-east of Surat. To Bodhán Rám went, and was there told to travel still further east. He obeyed, and, after a time, found that the shadow ceased to dog his steps. Here Rám stopped, and in thankfulness for his release determined to offer a sacrifice. At his invitation the sages came from Bodhán. But the ceremonies required a larger company of priests. In his difficulty Rám sought the aid of Hanumán, who starting for the Dakhan, brought back seated on his tail, a company of Bráhmans from Kolhápur. On the spot where the sacrifice was performed Rám raised an emblem of the god Shiv under the name Muktináth or god of salvation. At the same time he founded a village for the Kolhápur Bráhmans and, in honour of the god, called it Mukti-puri. This is the modern Mota, and the Motálás are its Bráhman inhabitants.

[2] In support of this tradition it may be noticed that though at present distinct, up to a century ago intermarriages took place between the Motála and Jámbu Bráhmans. At Saras a hundred years ago the wife of a Motála Bráhman bore the surname Jámbudi, to mark, it is said, that she was by birth a Jambusar Bráhman.

Mota'la's.

uncovered and fastens the end of her robe from left to right. The marriage-wrist-cord is made of wool instead of cotton thread. They belong to the Kánva Shákha. In all of these points except the first, the practice of the Motála, Jámbu, and Kapil Bráhmans is the same and agrees with the practice of the Dakhan Bráhmans. One peculiar custom among the Motálás is that marriages take place on the same day every fourth year. The Motála Bráhmans are an intelligent active and hardworking body of men. The priestly class, who act as family-priests only to men of their own caste, have a name for learning superior to that of most other subdivisions of Gujarát Bráhmans. The laymen are chiefly engaged as clerks in Government and private offices. Many of them are employed in Bombay as accountants in merchants' offices.

Na'ndora's.

Na'ndora's, numbering 2845 and found in Kaira and Rájpipla, take their name from Nádod or Nándod the capital of Rájpipla. To this class belong the family-priests of the Rájput chiefs of Rájpipla and Dharampor. The rest except a few peasants live chiefly on alms.

Na'gars.

Na'gars numbering 28,250 souls are divided into six main subdivisions: Chitroda, Krashnora, Prashnora, Sáthodra, Vadnagra including Dungarpura, and Visnagra.[1]. None of the subdivisions intermarry or dine together except that food cooked by Vadnagra Nágars is eaten by all the other classes. Of the six divisions Sáthodrás Vadnagrás and Visnagrás are again divided into *grahasth* or laymen and *bhikshuk* or priests. Among them there is a further division called Bárads, consisting of men who unable to procure wives in their own communities, have taken wives from other castes and lived apart. Chitrodás and Krashnorás are not found in Gujarát. Prashnorás are found chiefly in Káthiáváda as *vaids* medical practitioners and readers of *puráns* holy books. Sáthodrás, who take their name from Sáthod, about twelve miles from Dabhoi, are numerous in Ahmedábád and Kaira as clerks moneylenders and landholders. Visnagrás, who take their name from Visnagar in Baroda territory, are found chiefly in Ahmedábád Surat and Baroda as moneylenders cultivators and servants. Vadnagrás are found all over Gujarát and hold an important position among Bráhmans. They are handsome, intelligent, and pushing. They have played an important part in the politics of Káthiáváda. The Nágar Bráhmans claim as their original seat the town of Vadnagar[2] in Gáekwár territory about fifty-two miles north-east of Ahmedábád. Their claim to be old inhabitants of Vadnagar derives some support from two grants of Valabhi kings. One made by Kharagraha in A.D. 656 (Gupta 337) and the other by Siláditya VII. surnamed Dhruvabhatta in A.D. 766 (Gupta 447). In both grants the receivers were natives

[1] Nágar Bráhmans are also found in the North-Western Provinces. Races North-Western Provinces, I. 151.

[2] Vadnagar has been identified with Ánarttapura or Ánandapura. Both these names of the town were in use in the times of the Valabhi kings (A.D. 544-770). Bombay Gazetteer, I. Part I. 6.

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BRÁHMANS.
Nágars.

of Ánandapura (Vadnagar) and Bráhmans of the Śarkarakshi *gotra* or family stock, which the Nágars maintain is to be met with in no other caste than their own.

There are several traditions current among Nágar Bráhmans about their origin. One tradition says that they were created to officiate at Shiv's marriage. Brahma went to officiate at Shiv's marriage with Párvati. He was smitten with Párvati's beauty and being unable to control himself left the marriage booth. Finding that there was nobody to officiate at the ceremony Shiv threw down six grains of rice and from them arose six Bráhmans. There being no Bráhman girls, Shiv married these newly created Bráhmans to six Nága girls to fit them to officiate as priests at the ceremony. The other version of the tradition is that Párvati's mother asked Shiv to assume a comely form lest her daughter should be terrified at his ungainly appearance. In his attempt to change his form Shiv dropped six grains of rice from his forehead and from them arose six Bráhmans. After the marriage the newly created Bráhmans with their Nága wives settled at a place which they called Vadnagar and installed under the name of Hátakeshvar the golden *ling* or *phallus* of Shiv which they had obtained from Shiv. According to another tradition they were created to officiate at Shiv's sacrifice. Brahma once performed a great sacrifice to which all Bráhmans were invited. Shiv's wife Párvati became jealous of Brahma and pressed Shiv to perform a similar sacrifice. As all the Bráhmans were already engaged by Bráhma Shiv created a new set of Bráhmans and asked them not to associate with other communities. As to how they came to be called Nágars this tradition gives a good illustration of fanciful meaning-making. It says that when the sacrifice was over they were sent down to the lower world where they got into trouble with the whole Nág or serpent race. They sought help from Shiv, who advised them to repeat the words *na* (not) *gara* (poison) as an antidote against snake-poison.

The third tradition is that a certain prince married a snake-charmer's daughter. After some time he became leprous, when the snake-charmer's daughter fed him with snakes and cured him of leprosy. Her co-wives who had grown jealous of the snakecharmer's daughter informed the prince that his new wife was feeding him with *nágs* (Naga tripudians) a food improper for Kshatriyas. When charged with this fault, the snakecharmer's daughter told the prince that the reptiles killed for his medicine were ordinary snakes and not *nágs*. She knew of only one *nág* and that was living in a lake in the neighbourhood. The prince became anxious to see the *nág* and his wife sought the help of her father and uncle by name Lálvádi and Phulvádi. They sent to the prince their most skilful disciple. By virtue of his spells he brought the *nág* to the surface of the lake. Thus annoyed the *nág* with jets of his poison burnt the prince, the snakecharmer's daughter, and the disciple, the spells recited by the last two proving of no avail. When the snakecharmer and his brother came to know of this, they went to the lake to punish the *nág*. Finding that he was not a match for their power, the *nág* assumed the form of a Bráhman, fled to Vadnagar, married a Bráhman girl and had several children by her.

In the meantime, bent on avenging themselves the snakecharmer and his brother travelled far and long, and at last traced the *nág* to his abode at Vadnagar and were going to kill him, when his wife and children besought their mercy and they spared his life. The whole story was bruited about the town and the family came to be called Nágar Bráhmans.[1] They attribute the split in their community to Shiv's wrath whose temple was excluded from Vadnagar when the town wall was built. It is said that from that day the Nágars commenced leaving Vadnagar and the town now contains but one family of Vadnagar Nágars. Another tradition attributes the Nágar migration to certain Nágars taking presents from Visaldev, the chief of Visnagar, in spite of the orders of their chief to the contrary. The subdivisions are named after the places of their settlement after the split. The Vadnagrás from Vadnagar, the Visnagrás from Visnagar, the Prashnorás from Pushkar in Ajmir, the Sáthodrás from Sáthod, the Chitrodás from Chitod, and the Krishnoras from Krishnanagar or Krishnaságar.[2]

Section I. BRÁHMANS. Na'gars.

Na'ndva'na's, numbering 1047 found in Kachh and Káthiáváda claim descent from the sage Nándi who, when officiating at a horse sacrifice was cursed by Brahma's wife Sávitri. Blighted by this

Nandva'na's.

[1] These traditions suggest several points. According to the first two stories Nágars, like other made Bráhmans, were not created by Brahma, the creative power of the Hindu Triad, but were rather created out of spite towards Brahma. This might be interpreted in the sense that Nágars are Bráhmans of later creation and the fact that one of the Gujar tribes has the name Nágari suggests a northern origin. The Nágar Bráhman is not a solitary instance of 'made' Bráhmans. The Chitpávans or Konkanasths who like the Nágars are intelligent and pushing and who attained the highest political power in the Presidency in the last century are said to have been created by Parshurám, the sixth incarnation of Vishnu. Bom. Gaz. X. 111. Again all the three traditions connect in one way or another the Nágars with the Nágs. The first tradition makes them children of Nág mothers and Bráhman fathers and the third children of a Nág father and Bráhman mother. The Prashnora subdivision of the Nágars sometimes call themselves Ahichhátrás from the town of Ahichhátra which literally means the land of Ahis or Nágs (serpents). The first and the third traditionary accounts agree in stating Vadnagar as the place of their first settlement in Gujarát and the first account says that the Nágars named the place of their settlement Vadnagar. According to the Rás Mála (II. page 233) Vadnagar was founded in A.D. 144 by Kanaksen, who came from the most northern parts of India. Later information shows that Kanaksen might have possibly been a grandson of the great Indo-Skythian or Kushán king Kanishka. Bombay Gazetteer, I. Part I. 101. It is probable that some of the Nág followers of Kanaksen intermarried with local Bráhmans and settled at Vadnagar under the name of Nágar Bráhmans. Even at the present day the Nágars say that their women are Nág *kanyas* or Nág maidens. The Nágs seem to have spread in early times over more or less the whole of India. Bombay Gazetteer, I. Part II. 281-282 note 2. They are referred to in legends. The Mahábhárat hero Arjún is said to have married a Nág princess; and the legend about his grandson's death by snakebite and his great-grandson's attempt at the wholesale destruction of the serpent race probably alludes to a Nág rising and their severe punishment. The Siláháras claim their descent from Jímutaváhana, who is said to have saved the Nág race. They figure prominently in the early history of Kashmir. A division of the Banvási province was called Nágarkhand; the first component of the name Nágar being the Kanárese genitive plural masculine of the word *nág* points to its denoting the territory of the Nág people (Bombay Gazetteer, I. Part I. 281 note 3).

[2] Some derive the word Sáthodra from *sath* or sixty, the number of the families of the original emigrants and Prashnora from *prashna* or question, an interrogation put by some as to the place of their future settlement. The Prashnoras who call themselves also Ahichhátrás, trace their descent from Drona the preceptor of the Pándavs and Kauravs. Drona with the help of his pupils wrested from king Drupada, his fellow-student, the town of Ahichhatra, and from this town his descendants came to be called Ahichhátrás.

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curse his descendants lost all scripture knowledge, but by the kindness of their family goddess Vánkal at Viráni in Márwár they regained their knowledge and are admitted to be priests. They are traders and cultivators.

Na'pals.

Na'pals, returned as numbering 346 and found in Kaira, take their name from Nápa, a village in the Borsad sub-division of Kaira. They are chiefly peasants, and say that they originally belonged to the Audich stock.

Pa'liva'ls.

Pa'liva'ls, numbering 5276 and found in Ahmedábád Kachh and Káthiáváda, belong to the Kányakubja division of Bráhmans and take their name from Páli, a chief trade centre of Márwár. Some are peasants but most traders and merchants.

Parajiya's.

Parajiya's or A'hir Gors numbering 2461 are found in Kachh and Káthiáváda. They belong to the Audich stock, and formerly lived at the village of Ismáliya whence they emigrated to Paraj near Junágadh. They became the priests of A'hirs and Chárans and ate with them. They allow widow marriage and are a degraded class.

Pa'ra'sarya's.

Pa'ra'sarya's found in very small numbers (147) scattered over Gujarát are priests to Rajputs of the solar race. They are considered to be degraded. Párásaryás are found in great numbers in Jeypur and Udepur.

Pushkarna's.

Pushkarna's or **Pokarna's** numbering 3132 are found in large numbers in Kachh and Káthiáváda. They take their name from the Puskar or Pokar lake about eight miles north-west of Ajmir.[1] They act as family-priests to Bhátiás, and like their patrons are willing to follow any calling. They are chiefly engaged as husbandmen, confectioners, contractors, and clerks. Strong robust and enterprising, unlike other Gujarát Bráhmans they travel to various parts of India, and many are anxious to visit Zanzibar and Arabia though prevented by their caste rules. They are followers of Vallabhácharya and their family-goddesses are Lakshmiji and Chámunda in Márwár. They sometimes wear the sacred thread putting it on with little ceremony, generally at a relation's marriage or at some place of pilgrimage. Gujarát Bráhmans do not dine with Pokarnás who eat cakes and balls cooked by Bhátiás. On the sixth day after a birth the women of the family, singing as at a marriage, bring a clay horse from the house of the mother's father to her husband's house. At marriages the men dance in the procession and the women sing immodest songs.

Ra'jgors.

Ra'jgors otherwise called **Ra'jgurus** or chiefs' priests, returned as numbering 23,594, are found in large numbers in Káthiáváda and

[1] Pushkarnás are said to have gone to Pushkar from Shrimál now Bhinmál, about fifty miles west of A'bu. According to another account they were called Pushpákarn, because they offered flowers to Lakshmi, and being cursed by Párvati for refusing to eat flesh, migrated from Jesalmer to Sindh, Kachh, Multán, and the Panjáb. Other castes assert that the Pokarnás are the illegitimate offspring of a Bráhman devotee and a Mohani fisherwoman, who imprudently undertook to ferry the holy man across a stream. Burton's Sind, 310, 311.

Ra'jgors.

Kachh. Though considered degraded by other Bráhmans, the Rájgors, who are of the Audich stock,[1] are in Káthiáváda and Kachh a favoured class, owning lands and villages. They are priests to Rajput and Káthi chiefs, and in consequence enjoy several privileges. At marriage and other ceremonies they are the ministering priests and receive large gifts, especially on the death of a chief or of a member of his family. They are also priests to the Osvál Shrávaks. They allow widow-marriage and eat with Vániás and Kanbis. They have considerable influence over Rajputs and generally settle their marriage contracts.[2]

Ra'vals.

Ra'vals, returned as numbering 700 and found in Kaira and Káthiáváda, take their name from Rával, a village in Káthiáváda. They say they are a branch of the Válam Bráhmans who, in consequence of some dispute, formed a separate community. Some of the Kachh and Káthiáváda Rával Bráhmans have been degraded for eating and intermarrying with Chárans.

Ra'yakva'ls.

Ra'yakva'ls are returned as numbering 2519 and found chiefly in Ahmedábád and a few in Baroda, where they have a name as teachers *shástris*. They take their name from Ráika near Dhandhuka, about fifty miles from Ahmedábád. They are divided in two classes *Mohota* or great and *Náhána* or small. The members of the small community are degraded and in many respects correspond with Kanbis. Three stories are current regarding the cause of this division. First a Ráyakvál Bráhman married a herdsman's daughter at Dodi, a village about half a mile from Ráika; Second a Ráyakvál girl who became a widow immediately after her marriage was remarried; And lastly a younger brother married the widow of his elder brother. The Ráyakváls claim descent from Saiyngava Rishi who was excommuniated by other Rishis for having, at the desire of the king of Magadha, caught by charm a bird which was said to bring calamity on the king. Except a few Ráyakváls engaged in service, the majority support themselves by cultivation and begging.

Ra'yathala's.

Ra'yathala's, chiefly found in Lunaváda, Patan, and Harsol are said to have come to Gujarát from Márwár. They take their name from *ráyasthal* or royalplace that is dwellers in capital towns. They are mostly beggars and shunned by people as men of evil omen.

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[1] Audichs were first employed as family-priests by the Sammas of Nagar Tatha.

[2] The bridegroom is called *var* and the bride *kanya*. Proposals of marriage are symbolised by a cocoanut, which is sometimes richly studded with gems. The proposals emanate from the house of lesser pretension, and the father of either bride or bridegroom, who seeks to ally his child to the redder blood of a more distinguished *kul* or clan, must balance the scales with gold. If the families are considered to be on an equality, the father of the bride makes the proposal and money is not demanded on either side. When the bridegroom is of high rank, so that he is under no difficulty as regards providing himself with a wife, he has frequently many proposals made to him. The family-priest or a relation is then sent to ascertain by personal interview that the young ladies are neither blind, lame, nor afflicted with other bodily defect, and that they are in every respect eligible. The priest, or *gor*, however, it is said invariably fills a purse for himself, and not unfrequently, to increase his gains, behaves treacherously to those who have employed him by concealing the ladies' defects or exaggerating their good qualities. There is a Hindu saying, founded on the mendacity of the priest upon such occasions, which states that sufficient weight of sins to bear him down to hell is accumulated by a king in three months, by the head of a monastery in three days, and by a *gor* in three hours. Rás Mála, II. 339.

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Rundhva'ls.

Rundhva'ls, returned as numbering 520 and found chiefly in Ahmedábád, are peasants and beggars. Not long ago they were suspected of engaging in gang robberies.

Sa'chora's.

Sa'chora's, returned as numbering 2072 and found chiefly in Kachh and Káthiáváḍa, take their name from Sáchor in the south of Márwár. They are divided into Visa and Dasa, and do not eat food cooked by other Bráhmans. Though some are cooks in Vallabhácharya temples, beggars, and traders, most are peasants. A few act as *mukhiyájis* or chief priests in Vallabhácharya temples. In Kachh they are mainly cultivators.

Sajodra's.

Sajodra's, returned as numbering 3875 in 1881 and found in Broach, take their name from Sajod, a village in the Ankleshvar sub-division of the Broach district. The tradition is that Rám made them Bráhmans to assist him in the performance of a sacrifice and in a small mound near Sajod sacrificial ashes and burnt betelnuts are said still to be found. Agriculture is their only occupation, and like other peasants they till their fields themselves. A few families are known by the name of Desái, who like the *desáis* of the Anávala Bráhmans, enjoy a superior social position. Though at present they have no social intercourse, the occupation appearance and manners of Sajodra Bráhmans support their belief that they are of the same stock as the Anávalás.

Sa'rasvats.

Sa'rasvats,[1] returned as numbering 9065 are found in larger numbers in Kachh and Káthiáváḍa. They are said to take their name from the Sarasvati[2] river from which according to their story they came to Kachh by way of Sindh.[3] They abound in the Panjáb where their community, with no fewer than 470 subdivisions, holds the first place among Bráhmans. They seem to have left the Panjáb with their patrons the Lohánás Bhansális and Kshatris.[4] Besides as family-priests[5] they follow many callings, reading holy books, preparing birth-papers, teaching in schools, trading, and serving as accountants soldiers and constables. They once held high offices, but have long lost their special position and are now degraded, eating with their patrons, whom they say they saved from Parashurám's persecution. The Sindh and Kachh Sárasvats who are the largest class of Kachh Bráhmans, and the Sorathiya Sárasvats[6] of Káthiáváḍa, allow widow-marriage, and freely travel across the seas to collect payments from Kachh Vánia traders in Mozambique and Arabia. In religion they are Shaivs and goddess-worshippers, their

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[1] Sárasvat is a very ancient Bráhmanical tribe, which still inhabits one of the earliest seats of Hinduism, a tract in the north-west of India beyond Dehli, once watered by the famous Sarasvati river, which figures so constantly in Hindu annals and mythology. Sherring's Tribes, I. 62.

[2] Another account derives their name from Brahma's daughter Sarasvati, and traces their descent to her son the sage Dadhichi.

[3] Sindh and Kachh Sárasvats eat animal food.

[4] Sorathiya or Káthiáváḍa Sárasvats act as priests to Parajiya goldsmiths.

[5] In south Káthiávaḍa the chief Sarasvat subdivisions are Ghugha, Kaniya, Pasiya, and Sámdani. The Kaniyás are family priests to the Parsaka or Parajiya Sonis who worship fire morning and evening and offer incense or *dhup* to the fire.

[6] In Kachh Sorathiya Sárasvats have a great local name for learning.

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family-deity being Sarasvati, whose chief place of worship is on the Panjáb river of the same name. The Sárasvat priests of the Brahma-Kshatris of Surat Broach and Ahmedábád do not allow widow-marriage, and, except that they dine with their patrons, observe Bráhman rules of life. They are respected and well treated by the Brahma-Kshatris upon whom they are admitted to have a claim for maintenance. As a whole this subdivision is well-to-do. Some are in Government service and others pleaders and moneylenders. Some of them have amassed fortunes, and most of them are said to be gradually becoming independent of the Brahma-Kshatris, though, however rich a priest of this class becomes, he does not cease to receive presents from those to whom he ministers.

Sarthipura's.

Sarthipura's, found in Surat, are priests and beggars.

Shevaks.

Shevaks numbering 251 are ministrants in Vaishnav temples. They are considered degraded Bráhmans.

Shrigauds.

Shrigauds, returned as numbering 16,057 and found all over Gujarát, belong to one of the five classes of Gaud Bráhmans who abound in Rajputána. The Kharola and Derola Shrigauds, found chiefly in the Panch Mahál̇s, take their names from Kharola and Derola, villages of the Godhra sub-division. As a class they are intelligent and especially the women good-looking. They are employed chiefly as astrologers family-priests and doctors. They are famous for their power of drinking melted butter. At the close of their feasts a lighted lamp decked with flowers and ornaments is brought in round which the party sit and drink melted butter, some of them being able to swallow as much as five or six pints. Their weddings are marked by unusual merrymaking, some of the bride-groom's party wearing flaxen beards and moustaches, fastening wheat and pease-meal cakes with holes in the centre to their ears, putting conical hats of *khákhra* Butea frondosa leaves on their heads, and on the hat a lighted lamp.

Shrima'lis.

Shrima'lis, returned as numbering 14,759 and found all over Gujarát including Káthiáváḍa and Kachh, take their name from Shrimál about fifty miles west of Mount Ábu which from about the sixth to the ninth century was the capital of the Gurjjar kingdom.[1] A few act as family-priests to Jains of the Osvál and Porvád division. The rest officiate chiefly among Shrimáli Sonis and Vániás. The well-known Sanskrit poet named Mágh was a Shrimáli Bráhman.

Sompura's.

Sompura's numbering 819 are found in Káthiáváḍa. They take their name from Somnáth in south Káthiáváḍa. They are priests and beggars, the descendants of the priests that used to minister in the famous temple of Somnáth. Some of them are still attached to the modern temple that was built by Ahaliyábái Holkar (A.D. 1800) instead of, but not on the site of, the historical Somnáth four times destroyed by the Muhammadans.[2] They are now scattered and in poor

[1] Bombay Gazetteer, I. Part I. 449 - 488.

[2] By Máhmud Ghaznavi in A.D. 1024, by Alagh Khán about A.D. 1300, by Muzaffar Sháh about A.D. 1400, and by Ahmed Sháh about A.D. 1420. Aurangzib about the middle and again about the end of the seventeenth century ordered the complete ruin of Somnáth. It is doubtful whether either order was carried out or even that they referred to the historic temple which Ahmed Sháh apparently turned into a mosque.

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circumstances, and depend for their living on alms and the charity of pilgrims. A few Sompura Bráhmans are considered degraded as they follow the occupation of sculptors in Dhrángadhra.

Sorathiyás.

Sorathiya's are found chiefly in Káthiáváda. They are considered as degraded Bráhmans; they eat with clothes on, and do not observe the Bráhman rules of purity. They are labourers, water-bearers, and servants.

Tapodhans.

Tapodhans also called Bharadás, returned as numbering 19,078, are found all over Gujarát. They are ministrants or *pujáris* in Mahádev, Máta, and Shrávak temples. They do not act as family-priests, and as they are guilty of the sin of using the offerings made to Mahádev, they are held degraded. Those not engaged in temple service are husbandmen, labourers, and a few bricklayers. They allow widow marriage.

Udambara's.

Udambara's, numbering 595 and found chiefly in Kaira and the Panch Maháĺs, are said to take their name from the sage Udambara. They are family-priests, beggars, and a few are peasants.

Uneva'ls.

Uneva'ls, returned as numbering 5597 and found chiefly in Baroda and Káthiáváda, are said to take their name from Una, a village in Káthiáváda, which was taken from them by Vejo, the leader of the Veja and Vádhal Rájputs. Most are peasants and beggars.

Vada'dra's.

Vada'dra's, returned as numbering 3113 and found mostly in Kaira, take their name from Vadád, about fourteen miles north-east of Ahmedábád. At present most of them live in Mehmadábád, about seven miles east of Kaira. The Vadádra Bráhmans are engaged in agriculture and moneylending. As a class they are well-to-do, spending on their marriage and death ceremonies sums varying from Rs. 500 to Rs. 2000. They live by begging. A Vadádra begins life as a beggar and soothsayer, and, after gathering a sum of money, becomes a husbandman and moneylender. Starting with one or two companions in the beginning of the cold season, they move from town to town, and sometimes going as far as Bombay and Malwa, return before the beginning of the rainy weather. When a Vadádra comes to a town, he gathers the people and calls on his deity, the goddess Amba or Becharáji, to protect the residents of the street. Then he begins a course of soothsaying, foretelling the events of the coming year. When this is over he performs as a juggler, taking from his mouth large quantities of betelnut cocoanut redpowder and silk cloth. They are said to be less popular and not so well paid as they were twenty years ago.

Va'lams.

Va'lams, returned as numbering 4282 and found chiefly in Ahmedábád and Kaira, take their name from Valam, a town in the Pátan sub-division of the Gáikwár's territory. Most of them are beggars and peasants. In the fourteenth century they are said to have been settled as priests to Káyasths at Valla the famous Valabhipura on the western shore of the Gulf of Cambay. A dispute with their patrons drove them from Valla to Dhandhuka, Vaso, Sojitra, and other towns in Ahmedábád and Kaira.

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Va'yada's are returned as numbering 54 and found in small numbers all over Gujarát. They are priests of the Váyada Vániás and are said to have originally come from Bet Island in west Káthiáváḍa. They take their name from Váyad, a village near Pátan about fifty-four miles north-west of Ahmedábád.

Veda'nts.

Veda'nts, numbering 472 found in Kachh, claim descent from the sage Vedavyása. They are a well-to-do class. Though some are priests and schoolmasters, most are husbandmen. The chief place of worship of their family goddess Sarasvati is at Banares. They dine with Vániás and are a degraded class.

Vya's.

Vya's, returned as numbering 3299, are found chiefly in Kaira and Ahmedábád. They are said to be the descendants of 108 Bráhmans of several subdivisions, among them Nágars Audichs and Shrimális, who, about 400 years ago at Bhálod on the Narbada, conducted the penance ceremony performed by a Bráhman jester in the service of one of the Musalmán kings of Ahmedábád. The families who took part in these ceremonies were excommunicated and formed a separate caste. During the government of the Peshwás, the Vyás of Mehmadábád were traders and grain-carriers. They are at present husbandmen clothsellers moneylenders and beggars. They allow widow marriage and in dress and appearance resemble Rajputs and Kanbis. Shortly after the formation of the Vyás caste, certain members of the community began to act as *bhaváyás* or strolling players. At present these men, under the name of Targálás, are chiefly maintained by Kanbis, with whom they associate and eat.

Appearance.

Except the fair and regular-featured Nágars and Bhárgavs, most Gujarát Bráhmans, compared with the trading and other high-caste Hindus, are somewhat dark rough-featured and strongly made. Except in Kachh where some men wear long flowing Rajput-like whiskers and except some who in fulfilment of a vow allow the hair on the head and face to remain uncut for a few months or a year, Bráhmans as a rule wear only the head hair within a space that could be covered by a cow's hoof. This hair is generally long and tied in a knot from behind especially when engaged in religious worship. Women have their forehead marked with a circular *kanku* redpowder dot; the men's forehead is marked with a sandal or *kanku* circle or two or three horizontal lines. Most families own good houses with brick walls and tiled roofs, but they are smaller and not so well furnished as Vániás' houses.

Dress.

Unlike Vániás, who are always amply and cleanly clad, the every-day dress of most Bráhmans is little more than a turban and a waist and shouldercloth, and the every-day dress of most of the women is simple and cheap. Still all have some store of good clothes; the men a rich turban and silk dining dress, the women at least two good robes one of them of silk. Compared with other high-caste Hindus the men have few ornaments. But the women have nearly as large a store of jewels as the women of any other caste. Except the few who break caste rules, they are careful to avoid all animal food. In north Gujarát and Káthiáváḍa some take opium, in the south of the province some of the poorer smoke hemp-leaves or *gánja*, and hemp-seed-water or

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bháng is used by some but seldom to excess. Except Anávalás, who are great cigarette smokers, Bráhmans do not as a rule openly smoke tobacco, but most either chew or snuff tobacco. Though Bráhmans rank as the highest of Hindu castes, many Vániás show them little honour, and on the whole Gujarát Bráhmans meet with less consideration than the Bráhmans of other parts of the Presidency.

Occupation.

The occupation of Bráhmans is not, as enjoined by the Shástras, confined to the six duties of learning and teaching the sacred books, giving and receiving alms, and offering and conducting sacrifices. Callings that were hateful to Bráhmans fifty years ago are now followed without scruple. Occupation returns are not available for the census of 1891. According to the census of 1881 in the five British districts of 55,825 men 34,194 or 61·3 per cent were secular and 21,631 or 38·7 per cent religious, that is priests and almstakers. Secular Bráhmans belong to six main classes: Government servants, lawyers and medical practitioners, landholders and husbandmen, traders and clerks, craftsmen, and house servants. The 3682 Bráhmans in Government service held clerkships or superior posts in the different branches of the civil administration. No Gujarát Bráhmans take military service. Of lawyers, medical practitioners, and law clerks there were 691. Of landholders and husbandmen there were over 22,000, including, besides the cultivating Anávalás and Sajodrás, individuals from almost every division of Bráhmans. A few are overholders whose lands are worked by tenants, but most labour in the fields with their own hands and are as skilful and sturdy as Kanbi or other cultivators. Of 13,728 traders and clerks 796 or 5·79 per cent were bankers and moneylenders; 927 or 6·75 per cent were merchants and shopkeepers; 520 or 3·86 per cent were dealers in grain, leafplates, and food suppliers; 319 or 2·32 per cent were dealers in grass and fuel; 222 or 1·61 per cent were dealers in tobacco betel-leaves and intoxicating drugs; 91 were dealers in dairy produce; 17 were dealers in metal; 14 were dealers in jewels and precious stones; 13 were printers and booksellers; and 1523 or 11·09 per cent were clerks, brokers, agents, and railway servants. Of 2000 craftsmen there were 127 silk-cleaners, 55 wire-drawers, 23 turban-folders, and 10 wood-carvers, and 1367 or 68·35 per cent were personal servants chiefly cooks and water-carriers to rich families. The 20,000 religious Bráhmans belong to two chief classes, priests and almstakers. Most priests are village or family priests *ghámots* or *gors*, the rest readers of holy books *puránis*, astrologers *joshis*, divines *shástris*, and temple ministrants *pujáris*. Though they hold the office in little esteem Bráhmans freely serve as family-priests to Hindus of the better class. Of late years, among the lower orders such as fishermen and shoemakers, the practice of engaging Bráhmans to conduct religious ceremonies has considerably spread. And among Audich Bráhmans the question whether a Bráhman degrades himself by acting as priest to the lower orders has given rise to disputes and divisions. As a rule the post of family or village priest is hereditary. Should the son of a family or village priest gain a place in Government service or obtain some other honourable employment, he will probably engage another Bráhman to carry on

his duties as priest. But he will not part with his right to the post. His Bráhman, Vánia, Soni, and Kanbi patrons or *yajmáns* show the family-priest much kindness but little respect.

Besides all religious duties, except certain rites on the eleventh day after death, the family-priest performs many social offices for his upper-class patrons.[1] When there is a party he calls the guests[2] and helps the cook in preparing and serving the food.[3] He escorts the women and children of the family to and from their relations' houses. He is present on all occasions of rejoicing and mourning. His wife or mother helps the women in preparing pickles, serving guests, and carrying dishes to friends and relations. He is consulted in all important family matters, occasionally settles family disputes, is the chief go-between in arranging marriages, and is sometimes sent to the girl's house to make sure that she is not blind, lame, or in any way deformed.

The lower classes treat their family-priests with much respect, and as a rule do not ask any service except the discharge of religious duties. The priest is paid by fees, chiefly in money, on occasions of birth, naming, pregnancy, marriage, and death,[4] and at other times, especially among villagers, by presents of grain.[5] In well-to-do families,

[1] For ten days after a birth and for ten days after a death as the family are ceremonially unclean the worship of the household gods is conducted by the family-priest.

[2] The priest generally takes with him some of the younger members of the family and on reaching the house he gives the invitation to any member of the family who may be at home and before leaving scatters on the threshold some grains of rice stained yellow with *kanku* or vermilion powder. He also goes to call the guests an hour or two before the dinner is ready.

[3] In several castes other than Bráhmans, another of the priest's duties is at the close of a feast to levy a small fine, four to eight coppers, on all guests who leave sweetmeats in their dishes. Among lay or *grahasth* Nágars when the dinner is nearly over a priest or *bhikshuk* Nágar gathers the fragments that are left on the leaf-plates.

[4] Except when the patron is a Bráhman the priest does not accompany the mourners to the burning-ground.

[5] On sixteen days in the year religious and liberal patrons make presents to their priests: on New Year's Day the first of *Kártik* (October-November) when a *vahipunja* or account-book worship is celebrated the priest is paid from 4 annas to Re. 1; on *Devdiváli* the eleventh of *Kártik sud* (October-November) when the sacred basil or *tulsi* is married to Vishnu, the priest gets from Re. 1 to Rs. 5; on the *Kártik* fullmoon, the fifteenth of *Kártik sud* (November), the end of the rainy season when lamps are lit at night in honour of the dead and sent floating on a river or pond the priest gets from 4 to 8 annas; on *Sankránt Pausha sud* (12th January) when Bráhmans receive sesame balls sugarcane gram herbs rice and pulse; on *Mahá-shivarátra* the thirteenth or fourteenth of *Mágh vad* (January-February) when Hindus fast and on the next day feast Bráhmans; on *Holi* the fifteenth of *Phálgun sud* (February-March) when the Holi fire is kindled and worshipped the priest gets 4 to 8 annas; on *Rámnavmi*, the ninth of *Chaitra* (March-April) a fast is observed by all the devotees of Rám and the priest gets from 4 to 8 annas; on *Akhatrij* the third of *Vaishákh sud* (April-May), when the gods are worshipped and an earthen waterpot, a bamboo fan, a pot of fruit, a handful of wheat, and a copper coin are given to the priest that the dead may not suffer from the burning heat of the season; on the fifteenth of *Jeshta* (June-July) newly married people worship the *pipal* Ficus religiosa tree and present the priest with four coppers; on the eleventh of *Ashádh sud* (July-August) when a fast is observed and fruit grain and money are given to priests; on *Balev* or Cocoanut Day, the fifteenth of *Shrávan sud* (August-September) when the sea is worshipped and the priest binds a thread round his patrons' wrist receiving from two to eight coppers; on *Gokuláshtami*, the eighth of *Shrávan vad* (August-September) when a fast is observed in honour of the birthday of Krishna some copper coins are given to the priest; on *Ganesh-chaturthi*, the fourth of *Bhádra sud* (August-September) when Ganpati is

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particularly among Vániás, it is usual to give the priest a daily dole or *panchbhág* of husked rice, flour, pulse, and clarified butter. And when dinners are given the priest is either asked to be present or receives gifts of uncooked food. Village Bráhmans who act as family-priests to all except the impure classes, besides the people's gifts of grain and money, hold plots of land from the state which are called *pasáitás* and pay only a quit-rent. The other cleric or religious Bráhmans, the Purán-reader, the divine or Shástri, and the Joshi or astrologer, are more independent and hold a higher position than the family-priest. They occasionally visit their patrons and in return for their services receive presents of money and grain.

The Reader Purani.

Besides by the name of Puránis, the readers and reciters of sacred books are known as Vyás or Bhatjis. They read either the whole or part of the Rámáyan, the Bhágvat Purán, and the Mahábhárat in Gujaráti. These reciters are engaged sometimes by all the householders in a street and sometimes by a single rich householder. When the Puránis are engaged by all the householders they sit on one of the verandas, the hearers squatting on the road or on the opposite veranda. When they are engaged by one man the reader is given a raised seat in the host's house and is surrounded by a company of the host's friends. Sometimes the reader is engaged by some one who has made a vow to read certain holy books, and sometimes he offers to read without being asked, trusting that his hearers will give him something for his trouble. These readings take place either in the morning, or in the afternoon, or at night from eight to twelve o'clock. The street meetings are always at night. Sometimes the reader is alone and sometimes he brings two or three men, one playing the guitar *tamburo*, one beating the drum *nargha*, and a third the cymbal *manjira* or *jhánjri* or a *mán*. When the reader is alone he generally accompanies himself by striking a ring against a hollow thin-mouthed copper pot. Before the reading begins

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worshipped and a feast given to priests and Bráhmans on the next day; on *Rishi-panchmi*, the fifth of *Bhádra sud* (August-September) when women worship Mahádev and eat wild grain and give a copper and some fruits to Bráhmans; on the *Navarátra*, ten days of *Ashvin sud* (October-November) when the goddess is worshipped, the priest is given from one to two rupees; and on the *Diváli* holidays, thirteenth and fourteenth of *Ashvin vad* (October-November) the priest receives small presents. Besides on these holidays the priest sometimes receives presents either of grain or money on *vaidhrats* that is when the solar or lunar solstice appears on the same side having equal descent but contrary direction, on *vyatipáts* that is when the new-moon falls on a Sunday in the Shrávan or Dhanishtha asterism, on eclipse days, on return from a pilgrimage, on an important family birth-day or death-day, on worshipping the goddess of small-pox, on escape from some calamity, recovery from some disease, or warding off the evil eye, on building a house, on putting a new ship to sea, on *Shrávan* (July-August) and *Márgshirsha* (November-December) Mondays, and on the elevenths twelfths and dark fifteenths when they fall on Mondays *Somvatiamás*. On such specially sacred Mondays some of the women of his patron's family after their morning bath walk 108 times round a *pipal* Ficus religiosa tree, and on the 11th of *Fálgun sud* (February-March) round a tamarind tree. When the ceremony is over a supply of dry or fresh fruit cocoanuts guavas grapes sugarcane betelnuts almonds and plantains, corresponding to the number of rounds, are given in charity at least half of them going to the priest. On a few other occasions when women perform special ceremonies presents are given to the family priest. These are *Maháshivrátri* that is the thirteenth or fourteenth of *Mágh vad* (January-February), the Mungoose's Ninth *Nolinom* that is the ninth of *Shravan sud* (August), and the Cobra's Fifth *Nág-panchem* that is the fifth of *Shravan sud* (August).

one of the chief hearers worships the reader, rubbing his brow with sandal-dust, throwing flowers over his head and a flower garland round his neck, and offering him some fruit or sweetmeats and handfuls of grain. Especially when the elevenths and dark fifteenths fall on Mondays, other hearers pay what they can in money or grain either before or after the reading. When the reader has been worshipped he begins to read at times altering the story by interesting humorous or coarse tales to suit the taste of the audience. The lecture lasts for about two hours when the congregation breaks up. These readers are often good rhymesters enlivening Hindu mythology with local and other touches that cause much merriment. A course of reading generally lasts from a fortnight to four months. During this time the reader is asked to dine or is presented with uncooked food by different hearers on different days. When the course of reading is over some of the chief hearers join in giving the reader a substantial dinner, a headdress, some clothes, and from Rs. 20 - Rs. 200 in cash. In villages the reader is given grain instead of money. After the gifts have been offered a procession is formed, the men walking in front singing *kirtans* or thanksgiving songs, then the reader driving in a bullock or horse carriage, and the women in the rear singing songs. During the month from *A'shvin* fifteenth to *Kártik* fifteenth (October-November) and on all elevenths, especially the elevenths of the four rainy months, all who can afford it and cannot go out employ readers in their houses and do not break their fast until the reading is over. Besides the readers who recite in houses and streets others on the elevenths, on the dark and bright fifteenths, and during the whole intercalary month sit underneath some banian or *pipal* tree on the way to a bathing-place and recite *kathás* or extracts from the Puráns, receiving from the passers handfuls of grain coppers and fruit. Sometimes Bráhmans read sacred books at their own houses during the first seven days of *A'shádh* (June-July). When an elderly well-to-do man dies the chief mourners engage a reader who for nine afternoons reads the *Shiva Purán* or *Garud Purán* which tells of the fate of the soul in the next world. On these occasions men and women break the rule that mourners must keep by themselves and sit listening in a circle. At the end of the days of mourning the reader is paid from Rs. 5 to Rs. 25. Besides these professional readers, some secular Bráhmans read parts of the holy text in some Mahádev temple on *Shivrátri* days, or on the Mondays of *Shrávan* (July-August), and in Devi's temple during the *Navarátra* holidays in *Mágh* (January-February), *Chaitra* (March-April), *A'shádh* (June-July), and *Áshvin* (September-October). The reader is paid from Rs. 3 to Rs. 10.

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The Reader Purani.

Among Gujarát Bráhmans the number of preachers or *Hardás*, literally servants of Hari or Vishnu is small, probably not more than ten. Almost all who follow this profession are Dakhan Bráhmans. The preacher collects a small congregation in a temple or other place of worship, or is sometimes asked to give an address in a private house. Both men and women attend, and people of all the better classes of Hindus are generally present; but in towns chiefly Vániás and in villages Kanbis and Sutárs. When a few hearers have gathered the preacher stands

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up holding in his hand a stringed instrument called *tamburo* which he thrums from time to time. He is supported by two musicians who in the pauses of his address beat drums and clash cymbals. The preacher chooses as his text a verse from some Sanskrit religious book, and tries to persuade his hearers of the profit of a kindly moral life or describes the delights of contemplation and the hopes of final absorption. He generally shows great skill in keeping his hearers alert, stopping for a little music, bringing in a story, or referring to some local event, not afraid to awake laughter so long as he prevents mental drowsiness. With short breaks for music these addresses last from two to four hours. At the close most of the audience embrace the preacher, touch his feet, lay a copper coin in a dish with burning camphor, and withdraw. Some preachers have a great name and draw crowds.

The Divine Shástri.

Of all professions open to Bráhmans that of the divine, with its eagerly coveted title of Shástri, is the most dignified. Most divines have a fair knowledge of Sanskrit literature and each has a special subject, one choosing grammar, a second law, and a third logic or metaphysics. Under the Maráthás, and as late as 1827 when there were no standard Hindu law-books, Shástris were attached to all the higher civil courts. In cases of inheritance and succession the judges used to ask for and base their decisions on the opinions of the Shástris. In 1864 as standard English works on Hindu Law had for some time been available the services of the Shástris were dispensed with and some of them were pensioned. Native states have still their State Shástris in receipt of allowances in money and land. Most Shástris have a certain number of pupils or *vidyárthis*, all of them Bráhmáns. Their ages vary from ten to twenty and the course of study lasts from three to six years. Some of the pupils generally belong to the town where the Shástri lives and others are strangers. Those who belong to the town live in their own houses, but except when at meals spend the whole day with the Shástri. Stranger pupils, if there is no caste objection, eat their meals at their teacher's house and often undertake the management of their teacher's affairs. The pupils are first taught the inflexions of words *rupávali*, then the study of metre *raghuvansa*, then the Sanskrit lexicon *amarakosh*. After this general training they begin the subject which their master has made his special study, grammar *vyákaran shástra*, logic *nyáyashástra*, or law *dharmashástra*. At first the pupils are not taught the meaning of what they learn. Their whole attention is given to learning by rote. For this purpose they rise early, wash, and begin to repeat in a loud voice with proper accents and pauses what they have learnt the day before. While repeating their lesson they either keep before them some grains, or turn the beads of a rosary, and repeat the lesson as many times as there are grains or beads. After passages are learned by heart their meaning is explained and illustrated. The Shástri's object is to thoroughly teach what he does teach and progress is so slow that the pupil generally leaves before the study of the book has been completed. The relations between the Shástri and his pupil are very

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close and friendly. The teacher treats his pupils with fatherly care and affection and the pupil regards the teacher with reverence and the members of his family with affectionate respect. He is considered one of the family, and when the teacher dies his pupils mourn for him as for a father. The pupil values nothing so highly as his master's blessing. After his course of study is over the pupil from time to time visits his master, asks his help in difficult points, and always treats him with unabated respect. Even though his renown for learning should eclipse his master's fame the pupil never sits in the same row with his master and in public shows him the greatest deference. At times when rich men wish to settle difficult or disputed points they call a meeting of Shástris, and sometimes men of learning are tempted to come from great distances. The meeting generally takes place in the evening or at night in a temple or in the house of the man who has invited the Shástris. The conversation and discussion are in Sanskrit. These meetings are seldom satisfactory. There is no authority and no method. The conversation branches into side issues and the point for discussion remains unsettled. Some of the Shástris are well off, own libraries, and spend their time in reading. Others eke out their gains as Shástris by reciting the Puráns or by teaching Sanskrit.

The Astrologer Joshi.

Of the Astrologers or Joshis some are priests as well as astrologers, but most give their whole time to the study of the stars, preparing almanacs and horoscopes and calculating eclipses. When a child is born the father tells the astrologer the exact time of birth. The astrologer ascertains the position of the stars at that time, weighs their influences according to regular rules, and draws up a birth-paper or *janmákshar*. He fixes with what letter the child's name should begin, and, if it has been born in an unlucky hour, he orders certain penances to overcome the evil influences. The cost of a birth-paper varies from Rs. 2 to Rs. 10. A *janmotri* or birth-paper showing the influence of stars during the whole life is also prepared particularly for Bráhmans. In any year an astrologer will supply any one who wishes it with a *varashfal* or a statement of year's events starting with his birthday and showing for every day in the year the influence of the stars. For young children it is the astrologer who fixes when he should be weaned, when the head should first be shaved, and when he should be girt with the sacred thread. When a marriage is proposed the astrologer compares the boy's and the girl's birth-papers and says whether or not the marriage will be fortunate. Some castes pay little attention to the hour at which the marriage ceremony is performed. But with Bráhmans the hour is strictly calculated and an astrologer's presence is always required.[1] When

[1] The precise hour when the lucky moment comes is measured not by ordinary clocks or watches but by the water-clock or *ghadi*. The water-clock is a shallow copper pot with a small hole at the bottom which is set afloat in a basin of water. The water enters through the hole and it takes about twenty-four minutes to fill the pot to the brim. From dawn on the marriage-day the astrologer at the bride's house marks the passage of time by his water-clock. When the lucky moment is but one *ghadi* or twenty-four minutes off he calls out *Sávadhán* Take care, and as soon as the filled pot

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The Astrologer Joshi.

the marriage is complete the astrologer tells when other ceremonies are to be performed. When one of a family sickens, the astrologer is asked whether the stars are friendly or unfriendly, what should be done to overcome evil influences, and whether or not the patient will recover. In building a house or a ship the astrologer is asked to fix the day for beginning the work. And when the work is finished he tells on what day the house should first be used or the vessel be launched. In settling important questions astrologers, besides consulting the stars frame calculations on the result of throws of the dice. The correctness of their calculations and their power of reading the future are believed by almost all classes in Gujarát, by Musalmáns and Pársis as well as by Hindus.[1] Few important matters are undertaken without the approval of an astrologer. In all Hindu states there is a state astrologer who holds money and land allowances and is consulted as to the lucky days and lucky times for undertaking public business.

The Pilgrim's Priest Gor.

At Dákor, Chándoḍ, Prabhás Patan, and other leading places of pilgrimage are numbers of priests or *gors* each of whom has the right to serve and perform ceremonies for certain pilgrims who visit the place. Each of these priests keeps a book with the names of the pilgrims whom his forefathers have served, and the right to act as priest to their descendants belongs solely to the Bráhman who has their forefathers' names on his book. At the same time there is always the chance that a pilgrim may be the first of his family to visit the place or that a priest may fail to trace a pilgrim's forefathers; so every pilgrim is possibly a fresh patron and the striving is so keen among the Bráhmans that at particular halting places far from the place of pilgrimage, Bráhmans may be seen moving about book in hand, trying to identify the pilgrims as their patrons. The priest's first question is the pilgrim's name caste and home and the names of his ancestors. The priests, who by constantly learning them know most of their books nearly by heart, turn up the part of the book where they have patrons of that caste or district, and if they can show the name the other priests withdraw. When a priest has proved his claim to a pilgrim he takes charge of the pilgrim's baggage and making every arrangement for him brings him to his house. The priests' houses are generally large buildings with separate rooms for several families and furniture and cooking and dining vessels for a large company. At Dákor the arrangements are proper and orderly. But at Chándoḍ the pilgrims are handed over to the women of the priest's family and before they leave have generally been befooled into parting with most of their valuables. In return for entertainment and services a pilgrim pays his priest from Rs. 10 - Rs. 100.

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begins to sink and the moment comes when the starry influences are favourable, at any stage of the marriage ceremony, sometimes even before the ceremony has begun, the bride and bridegroom join hands.

[1] Besides astrologers a class of professional dice-throwers, either Musalmáns or Hindus from Northern India, move from place to place or sit in some open ground with dice and paper and pens ready to calculate should any one consult them.

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The Bather's Priest Tirthvála.

Besides the priests who have the monopoly of service at certain centres of pilgrimage, Bráhmans are found in large numbers on river-banks and other places of religious resort. On ordinary days there are not many of them. But on all elevenths twelfths and dark-fifteenths, especially when these days fall on Mondays, on eclipse days, *vaidhrats, vyatipáts*, on the *silisátem* that is the seventh of *Shrávan sud* (August), during the whole of the intercalary month between *Ashvin sud* fifteenth and *Kártik sud* fifteenth (September-October and October-November), and during the month between *Mágh sud* (January-February) and *Fálgan sud* fifteenth (February March) when large numbers of people go to bathe in the morning, the road leading to the river bank is lined by Bráhman priests of all ages sitting on bamboo platforms some in the open, some under umbrellas, and others under a bamboo booth. As the bathers pass the Bráhmans call to them offering to take charge of their clothes while they are bathing. The bather chooses a Bráhman, undresses, puts his clothes and ornaments in the Bráhman's charge, and after bathing comes back to the Bráhman, dresses himself, marks his forehead with red, and gives the Bráhman some handfuls of grain and a copper.[1] Besides on river banks Bráhmans of this class frequent temples, especially Mahádev's temple on Mondays in *Shrávan* (August) when people flock in numbers to bathe in the temple-pond. In some cases they form a guild and hold hereditary rights to sit in certain spots, no outsider being allowed to enjoy the privilege unless he feasts the members of the guild or contributes to a general dinner fund.

The Wanderer.

Besides these Bráhmans who receive alms at fixed places and in return for certain services several classes of Bráhmans, most of them from North Gujarát, wander asking alms about the province. Perhaps the most noticeable of these begging communities are the followers of the goddess Bechara,[2] whose chief shrine is situated in Baroda territory about twenty-three miles from the town of Kádi. They may be seen in the streets of most large towns beating brass plates, fixing Becharáji's trident in the ground, and bringing out of their mouths a marvellous succession of cocoanuts, redpowder, red cotton thread, and silk cloth. Some of them tell the future from their almanacs and read fortunes from palm-marks. The people give them handfuls of rice flour and peas or a copper. They never bring their women with them. These Bráhmans are a large body and are scattered all over the province moving from place to place in bands of twos or tens. Other Bráhmans go asking alms from house to house. Some, especially the Vadádra Bráhmans, make begging tours over the whole of Gujarát and part of Málwa. But most stay in one place, living in their houses and each day visiting a certain number of families. The men and children beg regularly

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1 On these days in addition to what they can earn from bathers some Bráhmans perform funeral ceremonies *shráddha* for low-caste Hindus.

2 An account of Becharáji is given in the Statistical Account of Baróda, Bombay Gazetter, VII. 609-615.

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from door to door and the women also sometimes go and ask for presents. They start on their rounds early in the morning, keep on the move till noon, and then go home and idle the rest of the day. Some of them frequent hemp taverns or *bhángkhánás*. When they come to a house they go close to or inside of the door and ask for alms. In most cases they are treated with little ceremony and ordered off. But they refuse to move and seldom leave without a dole of grain or a few coppers.

House Work.

In a few rich households servants are kept. But in most Bráhman families the women wash the clothes, grind the corn, cook, and do the whole house-work. Besides this, the wives of peasant Bráhmans work in the fields, carry headloads of grass and fire-wood, look after the cattle, and in their spare time spin cotton or embroider in silk; the wives of traders and craftsmen spin cotton and make leaf dining-plates; and the wives of family-priests and beggars, besides cotton-spinning and plate-making, grind corn and beg from their friends.[1]

Condition.

Except the wanderers, many of whom are idle and dissipated, the Gujarát Bráhmans are an intelligent hardworking class, quiet and thrifty in everyday life, and on the whole well-to-do with a high standard of comfort. Even those who live on alms, though beggars and paupers in name, are never reduced to starving point. They live from hand to mouth, and are often in the greatest straits for money, but their style of lodging, food, and clothing is as good as that of a family with a monthly income of Rs. 8 - Rs. 10. And though it may be the labour of years to get the sum together, one of these beggars will spend on his son's marriage Rs. 200 - Rs. 400, Rs. 150 - Rs. 300 in dower and other charges, and Rs. 50 - Rs. 100 in caste feasts.[2] Though better off in having a more certain and less hardly-earned income, the style of living among household and village priests and other religious Bráhmans is much the same as that of the begging Bráhmans. The Bráhman craftsmen are also poor, their monthly earnings not reaching more than Rs. 8 - Rs. 10. Those who serve as cooks are better off, as besides a monthly wage of Rs. 4 - Rs. 5 they live in their masters' houses and are supplied with food and clothing. Most trading and professional Bráhmans are well-to-do, and among Government servants all holding posts worth Rs. 50 a month and over are well provided for.

Religion.

All Bráhmans, except a few who belong to the Sváminaráyan sect, are followers of Shiva and almost all have household gods whose worship some member of the family performs. Their social and

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[1] Bráhman women are neither hard nor well paid workers. They seldom work more than five hours a day or earn more from cotton-spinning or plate-making than one rupee a month.

[2] The following estimates show that these beggars are generally men of some property. House worth Rs. 100 - Rs. 500; furniture cooking and drinking vessels, Rs. 20 - Rs. 50; clothes, Rs. 30 - Rs. 100; ornaments, Rs. 100 - Rs. 1000; total Rs. 250 - Rs. 1650. Beggars of the Vadádra division are rich. An account of them is given at page 20.

Religion.

religious customs are chiefly ruled by the Mayúkh, the Mitákshara, and the Dharm and Nirnaya Sindhu. Except among the younger men most Bráhmans perform the *sandhia* or twilight prayer at least once a day in the morning, count their beads, and repeat the *gáyatri*[1] or sun-hymn. Priests and beggars are almost the only men who observe the regular fasts. But as a rule on Mondays, on the first and fifteenth of each month, and on their great religious festivals, the men are careful to worship in Shiv's temple. The women are careful to observe fasts, but attend the temple less regularly than the men. Bráhmans rarely become ascetics.

With few exceptions Gujarát Bráhmans have no claim to learning. The religious training of family and village priests does not go beyond the learning by rote of the ritual required at the different every-day ceremonies. Except in Baroda, no Sanskrit schools or colleges are maintained either at the cost of the rulers or from private funds. Formerly many learned men kept Bráhman pupils in their houses teaching them free of charge and without cost providing them lodging food and clothes. The teacher in turn trusted for the support of his school to the liberality of his friends. Some schools are still maintained on this footing, but they are few and ill-cared for. Generally the pupils live in some unoccupied dwelling or in a rest-house or temple and beg food from other Bráhmans.

Customs.

Of the sixteen Vedic purifying[2] rites, Gujarát Bráhmans observe only four at their proper time; *Simanta* or Pregnancy, *Upanayana* or Thread-girding, *Viváha* or Marriage, *Svargárohaṇa* or Heaven-climbing.[3]

Guard-binding.

Símanta or hair-dividing, more commonly called *Kholobharvo* that is Lap-filling, is preceded by a minor ceremony called *Rákhadi* or guarding. This guarding, which corresponds with the Vishnubali or the fourth Vedic ceremony, takes place on an auspicious day in the fifth month of a first pregnancy. The pregnant woman wearing rich ornaments and clothes worships the *gotraj* or family goddess. When the worship is over her husband's sister binds round the woman's

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[1] *Tat Savitur varenyam bhargo devasya dhímahi-dhiyo yo naḥ prachodayát* We meditate that excellent glory of the divine Savitri; may he stimulate our understandings (or hymns or rites). Muir's Sanskrit Texts, III. 161.

[2] The account of the Bráhman rites is mainly contributed by Mr. Jamietrám Gavrishankar Shástri, B.A., Acting Vice-Principal of the Ahmedábád Training College.

[3] Of the twelve remaining Vedic rites the ninth Sáryávalokana or Sun-gazing is never performed; the first Garbhádhána or Fœtus-laying; the second Puṁsavana or Male-making; the third Anavalobhana or Longing-soothing; the fourth Vishnubali or Guardian-pleasing are performed together at the Símantonayana or Hair-parting; the sixth Játakarma or Birth rite, and the seventh Námakarma or Naming are performed on the sixth and thirteenth days after, and again in the case of a boy during the twelfth rite of thread-girding when also the eighth Nishkramana or Home-leaving takes place; the tenth Annapráshana or Food-tasting is performed once between the sixth and the eighth month after birth and again at the thread-girding; the eleventh Chúḍákarma or Topknot rite takes place either during the third or the fifth year or at the same time as the thread-girding; the thirteenth Mahánámya or great-name-telling that is a repetition of the Gáyatri hymn takes place on the same day as and after the thread-girding; and the fourteenth Samávartana, or home-returning is also performed on the same day as the Upanayana or thread-girding but after the Mahánámya or great-name-telling.

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Customs.
Guard-binding.

right wrist a silver ornament called *rákhadi* or guard, receiving a money present in return. Close to the *rákhadi* is tied a piece of black silk in which are wrapped dust brought from four cross roads, red ointment from the image of the god Hanumán, and pieces of iron gold coral and pearl. This ornament is worn with the object of keeping the woman and the child from evil influences. On the day of the guard-binding, Bráhmans and relations are fed and from this day the pregnant woman is not allowed to draw water or do any other heavy house-work.

Lap-filling.

The Second, corresponding to the fifth of the Vedic ceremonies is known as *Símanta* that is hair-parting or more commonly *Kholo-bharvo* that is Lap-filling. It takes place on any lucky day between the sixth and the eighth month of a first pregnancy. Seven or eight days before the hair-parting the pregnant woman is rubbed with a sweet yellow powder called *pithi,* and in the evening women come to sing and are given one or two copper coins and betelnuts. The pregnant woman wearing rich clothes sits on a stool fronting the singing women. Into her lap, while the women sing and music plays, a woman who has never lost a child drops five pounds of rice, a cocoanut, five betel-leaves five cloves five cardamoms five betelnuts five lotus-seeds ten flowers and a rupee. The pregnant woman falls at the feet of her mother-in-law to whom she hands the articles dropped into her lap. Silver coins are distributed to the mother-in-law and other relations. The woman goes to bathe at a relation's. On her way back followed by women singing songs she walks on cloth spread for her and under a moveable cloth canopy. At every step her sister drops a betelnut which her husband's sister picks up. When the woman reaches the front of her house a pot filled with water is waved round her head. She then enters and bows before the *gotraj* or family guardian. If the fire is alight it is brightened by pouring clarified butter over it. The woman sits in front of the fire dressed in white with a peacock feather, an arrow-head and spindle needle over her head, and a rosary of 108 *umarda* Ficus glomerata figs round her neck. Offerings of clarified butter are made to the fire with *mantras* or holy verses. The husband[1] takes his seat near the altar, sips water, contemplates the god Ganpati, and makes a *sankalpa* or resolution to perform together all pregnancy rites from the *garbhadhán* or fœtus-laying to the *símantonayan* or hair-parting. He begins by offering clarified butter to the fire to make up for his neglect to celebrate each of the rites at its proper time. He then performs the *garbhádhána* or fœtus-laying the first of the sixteen Vedic rites with offerings to fire and repetitions of *mantras* or charms. Next comes the *Pumsavana* or Male-making, the second of the sixteen purifying rites with offerings and spells, when a piece of the root of the banian tree is crushed and the juice dropped thrice into the right nostril of the pregnant woman.

Womb Guarding.

Third comes the *Anavalobhana* or Longing-soothing also called *Garbha-Rakshana* or Womb-guarding, the third of the Vedic rites

[1] If the husband is bashful or unwilling to perform the ceremonies a Bráhman is asked to do what is necessary.

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Womb Guarding.

when clarified butter is rubbed on each of the pregnant woman's limbs while a charm is repeated. Lastly with offerings to fire and charms *Símantonayana* or hair-parting the fifth of the Vedic rites is performed by drawing the hair back from the woman's forehead in three locks and placing round her neck a garland of banian leaves. Then the woman's relations distribute clothes and each gives cash or clothes to the husband. The woman bows before the elder women of the family who call blessings on her, saying May you give birth to a son.

After the lap-filling the woman is invited to dinner by her husband's relations who give her some silver presents. The young wife generally goes to her parents' house for her first confinement. On the day she leaves her husband's the mother-in-law gives her a small earthen pot covered with silk and containing two pounds of rice some betelnuts and a rupee. Her relations escort the young wife to the first road where a crossing square is traced, and a betelnut and a copper laid in the square. At her father's house, when labour begins the girl is taken to a warm room whose windows are kept shut. A midwife generally of the barber caste is sent for. The exact hour of birth is carefully noted and a brass plate is beaten if the child is a male. Should the child be born in an unlucky hour as when the *Múlanakshatra* or the twenty-fourth lunar mansion is in the ascendant it is believed that either the child or its mother or father will not live long. If a son is born the news is sent to the father and his relations by some young member of the mother's family to whom the father gives some suitable present. If the child is a girl there is no rejoicing. If the child is a boy the midwife is given husked rice molasses and a rupee and sometimes a robe. In some families if a son is born the wife's sister anoints the father with scented oil and bathes him receiving a present according to the father's means.

For nine nights the mother is kept in a closed room with her head tightly wrapped with black cloth. The newborn babe is laid on a wooden stool close to the mother's cot. For two days the child is given a cotton wick soaked in sugared-water to suck, and on the third day is put to the mother's breast. During the first nine days friends and relations come to see the woman. For ten days the members of the husband's family hold themselves impure and are careful not to touch the household god or perform daily rites or draw water from the house cisterns or touch wafer biscuits and pickles. This impurity extends to all connected on the father's side to the seventh degree. It lasts in the case of a male child for ten and in the case of a female child for three days.

Destiny Worship.

On the sixth night after a birth a ceremony is performed called the *Shashthi Pújan* [1] that is the worship of the goddess Shashthi or Mother Sixth. On the same night Vidhátra a form of Brahma writes on the child's brow the chief events of its coming life. In honour of the goddess, in the mother's room is set a wooden stool covered with a

1 Corresponding to *Játakarma* the sixth of the Vedic rites.

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Customs.
Destiny Worship.

white piece of cotton and close to the stool is set a lamp fed by clarified butter. Six small heaps of wheat or rice are laid on the stool and a betelnut and a copper are set on each heap in honour of the six goddesses of luck, Jivanti, Kuhu, Ráká, Shashthi, Siniváli, and Skanda. A picture of Shashthi is drawn on the cloth with redpowder and near it are laid a reed-pen inkstand cocoanut and paper. The husband's sister or other unwidowed woman worships the heaps of rice. The newborn child is laid near the mother's cot and both the child and the mother are marked with redpowder. On the morning of the seventh day all the articles are removed and given to the family priest except the cloth, which is dyed black on the fortieth day and made into a jacket for the child. If the sixth falls on a Sunday or a Tuesday the cloth is carefully kept in the family as it is believed to acquire magical power and to ensure success to any of the father's undertakings. On the seventh the husband's family present the betel leaves cocoanut molasses and clarified butter. On the morning of the tenth the mother and child are bathed and moved to another part of the house while the bedding is changed and the floor of the lying-in room is washed with cowdung. Among certain Bráhmans the mother and child are bathed on the twelfth day and the child is taken into the open yard behind the house to worship the sun. On the eleventh day the husband's sister covers a wooden stool with a white cloth and on the cloth piles eleven small heaps of rice and on each heap sets a betelnut and a copper. Near the stool she places a waterpot covered with a cloth and close to it lights a lamp. She then offers redpowder and flowers to the waterpot, takes off the wet cloth, and fastening the dripping cloth to her waist goes out. The mother walks round the waterpot and bows before it as the virtue of the waterpot secures to the mother an abundant supply of milk.

Naming.

In the case of a boy, on the twelfth or some lucky day after the fortieth comes the *Námkarma* or Naming, the seventh of the Vedic rites. Though occasionally a pet name is chosen without reference to the moon as a rule the choice of name depends on the position of the moon at the time of birth.[1] The husband's female relations go to the mother's and present the child with ornaments and clothes. The child is dressed in some of the clothes presented to him and is seated on the lap of the father's sister who lays it on a white sheet of cloth along with seven *pipal* Ficus religiosa leaves and seven betelnuts. The four ends of the cloth are raised by four children and the babe is rocked four

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[1] The name should begin with one of the initials shown in the following table opposite to the sign of the Zodiac in which the moon may have been at the time of the child's birth:

NAMING RULES.

SIGN.	LETTER.	SIGN.	LETTER.
Aries	A. L. I.	Libra	R. T.
Taurus	B. V. U.	Scorpio	N. Y.
Gemini	K. CH. GH.	Sagittarius	BH. DH. PH. DH.
Cancer	D. H.	Capricornus	KH. J.
Leo	M. T.	Aquarius	G. S'. SH. S.
Virgo	P. TH. N.	Pisces	D. CH. JH. TH.

times, the children and the father's sister singing at each swing:

Joli Poli Pipal Pán.
Phoie Pádiyu Nám.

The sheet the betel and the *pipal* leaves.
From his aunt his name the boy receives.

Naming.

At the end of the swinging and rocking the father's sister names the child.[1] Then the mother's parents present the husband's sister with silver or a robe and distribute among other women and children fried and pounded rice cocoa-kernel molasses and coppers. If the babe is a girl no ceremony is performed beyond adopting a name suggested by a Bráhman astrologer. The rich hold a feast in honour of the name-giving but no cash presents are made to the husband's sister. Though she bathes and changes her clothes on the twentieth and again on the thirtieth the mother is held impure for forty days if the child is a boy and for forty-five days if the child is a girl. On the fortieth or the forty-fifth day she is bathed and given the products of the cow to sip. After bathing she offers water sandal-powder and flowers to the sun, the door-post, the house-well, and the urinal.

Weaning.

On some lucky day within three months of the birth the mother returns to her husband's house, her parents on leaving presenting the child with clothes ornaments and a cradle. On reaching the house the mother bows at the feet of the elderly women of the family and present them with silver. Except that some Bráhmans put it off for a year if the child is a boy, the *Botan* or weaning, corresponding to Annapráshan the tenth Vedic rite, is performed in the sixth or eighth month after a birth and in the case of a girl in the fifth or seventh month. Boiled milk with rice and sugar *khir* or coarse wheat flour mixed with sugar and clarified butter are laid on a rupee and given to the child to lick by the maternal uncle or some other near relation who presents it with a plate a saucer and a water-jar which among some Bráhmans become the property of the father's sister.

Shaving.

The Head-shaving or *Chaul* corresponding to *Chúḍákarma* the eleventh Vedic rite takes place on some auspicious day either in the boy's third or fifth year or at the time of thread-girding. In the morning the father mother and child bathe and wearing rich clothes and ornaments sit in a row surrounded by lines of quartz powder. The usual holiday blessing and lucky-spirit-worship are performed, the sacrificial fire is kindled, and the boy is seated in his mother's lap. The mother sprinkles a tuft of the boy's hair with water and the father taking a razor chops it off. The barber is then called and shaves the head clean.[1] The hair is taken by the father's sister and thrown into a well or river. On her return she is presented with a rich cloth to make a bodice and the barber is given some silver coins. The boy's head is marked with a red cross *sáthyo*. He is bathed and after he is dried

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[1] The names of relations and ancestors are avoided. A Gujarát Bráhman boy has only one name, and by that name he is called throughout life. Few families have surnames. The practice differs from that in use among Dakhan Bráhmans, where besides a surname, every boy has at least two names one given by a Bráhman the other by an elder of the family. The name chosen by the elder the lad, as often happens, adopts through life, unless for reasons of religion or luck he assumes a third name.

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Customs.
Girding.

ashes from the sacrificial fire are rubbed on his brow. The ceremony ends with a feast to Bráhmans.

The *Upanayana* or Thread-girding, corresponding to the twelfth Vedic rite, is performed at any time between the boy's fifth and eleventh year. The boy's father goes to an astrologer and asks him to fix a lucky day for girding the boy. The astrologer refers to his almanac and names a day in one of the five following sun-northing or waxing months: *Mágh* January-February; *Fálgun* February-March; *Chaitra* March-April; *Vaishákh* April-May; and *Jyeshtha* May-June. If the boy was born during one of the five northing months the astrologer must avoid his birth-month and if the boy is the *jyeshtha* or eldest of his family, the astrologer must avoid the month of *Jyeshtha* that is May-June. The thread-girding always takes place between morning and noon, never after midday. Preparations begin a few days before the thread-girding day. Drummers and pipers are sent for and the terms on which they will play are fixed. A booth or porch is built and invitation cards sent to distant relations and friends. Two or three days before the appointed day a carpenter brings four wooden posts called *mánekstambha* or ruby pillars of which the women take charge after throwing rice and redpowder over them. Then the boy worships the posts and while the women sing a carpenter sets them up one at each corner of the booth or bower. The carpenter is given molasses and wheat and all children who are present receive fruit dry dates and molasses. About the same time that is five or six days before the girding the rice-pounding *ghána* ceremony is held and the boy is daily rubbed with turmeric paste. On the morning of the rice-pounding day the family priest makes the boy worship the god Ganpati and the Mátrikás or Mothers who are represented by two large painted earthen vessels with a small pot in the neck of each and in the pot's mouth a cocoanut and mango leaves. A clarified butter lamp is lighted and two baskets called Ranyádeva holding powdered cowdung and grains of wheat are placed close by and a space is surrounded with quartz lines and fresh smeared cowdung. From this day till the thread-girding day the women of the family sing songs both in the morning and evening each time receiving five betelnuts.

A day before the thread-girding the spirit worship suited to joyful events is performed. On the morning of the thread-girding a quartz square is traced in the booth, earthen altars are built, and three wooden stools are laid out. When the boy and his parents have bathed the family priest asks them to perform the thread-girding. They come out of the house and take their seats on the three stools in front of the altar. The father begins the ceremony by giving away some cash to make up for his neglect in failing to perform the *saṁskáras* at their proper time. The family priest places a cocoanut and some wheat in the boy's hands and leads him to the *gotraj* or family goddess before

[1] The Yajurvedi Bráhmans of the Vájasaneyi stock keep unshaved a small tuft on the crown of the head.

whom with a low bow the boy lays the cocoanut and wheat and returning sits between his parents. First to perform the *játakarma* or birth rite a fire is lighted and the father taking clarified butter honey curds and water in a pot dips a gold ring into the mixture and drops what he gathers into the boy's mouth. The mother bathes her bosom and offers first her right breast and then her left breast to the boy to suck. The father touches the boy with his right hand saying 'Be thou as hard as a stone or a pickaxe and pure as gold. Mayest thou who art no other than my own soul live a hundred years.' Next to perform the name-giving the father having ten times dropped clarified butter into the fire writes the intended name on a betel leaf with redpowder and speaks it loudly into the boy's right ear. The worship of the Bráhmans who recite holy blessings ends the ceremony. After the name-giving comes the eighth of the Vedic rites *nishkramana* or going-out ceremony in which the father or mother of the boy holding in one hand a cocoanut a betelnut and some cash and flowers and the boy in the other walks out of the house, offers the cocoanut and other articles to the sun and shows the sun to the boy.

The Yajurvedi Bráhmans perform on this occasion the ceremony of ear-slitting. The place in which the slit is to be made is marked with vermilion and the boy is fed with sweetmeats. The right ear is first bored then the left one. Next follows the *annapráshana* or feeding ceremony. Rice is cooked in a pot placed over the fire on the altar and out of it four offerings are made to the sacred fire kindled on the occasion. A little of the rice is then placed in a gold or silver dish mixed with curds and clarified butter and sugar. The mother places the boy in her lap and takes a little of this mixture on a gold or silver coin and feeds him with it. Then comes the ceremony for ascertaining the calling or profession which the boy will take to in after-life. The boy is seated on the ground and before him are placed a manuscript, a piece of cloth, a pen and inkstand, and a silver coin. The boy is asked to take any one of them and the article picked up indicates the profession he will follow in after-life. Then comes the ceremony of tonsure and of thread-girding.

When the boy is bathed and dressed in rich clothes with ornaments the father or some disciple of the family priest of the same age as the boy leads the boy to the priest who seats him on his right. The boy asks the priest to make him a Brahmachári or ascetic and the priest takes off the boy's clothes and girds him with a *munj mekhala* or girdle. Round his neck is fastened a sacred thread prepared by a maiden or a Bráhman who spins a cotton thread as long as ninety-six times the breadth of four fingers. The thread is first folded into three and again trebled and the folds held together by a knot called *brahmagranthi* or Bráhma's knot. The boy is given a new cloth five cubits long, a *khákhar* Butea frondosa[1] staff as tall as the upraised end of the boy's

[1] The *khákhar* also called *palas* Butea frondosa which is named with honour in the Vedas in the laws of Menu and in all sacred and popular poems is considered a holy plant by the Hindus. This elegant tree gave its name to the memorable battle-plain of Plassey but properly called Palasi from *palas*. Descriptive Account of British India (1833), III. 187.

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top-knot, a piece of deer skin, and a loincloth *langoti*. A wooden stool is set near his father and the boy is seated on it facing east. The preceptor takes water into his hollowed hands and offers it to the boy who thrice sips it. The preceptor then gives the boy a cocoanut and taking him by the hand goes out of the booth and both bow to the sun. On their return to their seats the preceptor takes the boy's right hand and asks him to state his name and to say whose Brahmachári he has become. When the boy mentions his name and says he is his preceptor's Brahmachári, the preceptor lets go the boy's hand, takes him round the sacrificial fire, and seating him by his side drops nine offerings into the fire. He then says to the boy: You have now become a Brahmachári; you must observe religious exactness; you must sip a mouthful of water before taking food; you must not sleep during the day; you must control your speech; you must keep alight the sacred fire and cleanse your mouth after taking food. The Mahánámya or great-name-telling, the thirteenth of the Vedic rites, is then performed. The boy sitting on the north of the fire bows to the preceptor and begs to be initiated into the mysteries of the sacred verse; the boy and his preceptor or father are covered with a shawl and the preceptor thrice whispers the sacred verse or *gáyatri* into the boy's right ear first syllable by syllable, next phrase by phrase, and then the whole verse. That no one whether Bráhman or Sudra man or woman may hear the verse all present go to some distance. Then the shawl is taken away and all return to their seats and kindle the fire by putting on *samidh* or butter-smeared sacred wooden chips three times. The boy holds his hands over the fire and raises them in front of his mouth. He takes the ashes from the altar and marks his forehead with them. He bows to the preceptor and the fire and begs alms from his mother. The mother brings on her head a bellmetal plate marked with a square tracing of redpowder in which are set four balls of sweet rice each weighing about a pound a rupee and a cocoanut. The boy's brow is marked with redpowder and the plate is handed to him. If the boy is betrothed his mother-in-law or any other woman of the girl's family makes a similar present. In the absence of any member of the betrothed's family the boy's maternal aunt presents the articles mentioned above. When the almsgiving is over the fourteenth of the Vedic rites *samávartana* or water-pouring begins. In this ceremony water from eight new pitchers is poured in an unbroken stream over the boy's head who is then rubbed with turmeric powder and bathed. The boy makes over to the priest the loincloth, the staff, the deer skin, and the grass ropes and puts on new clothes presented by his maternal uncle and takes the staff in his hand. He presents the Bráhmans with money, and they repeat blessings over his head. His relations give him a rupee or two.

In the afternoon male and female relations arrive. The boy is dressed in a coat waistcloth shoes and turban, flower garlands are hung from his head and round his neck, in his right hand he carries a bamboo to which is tied a piece of cloth containing seven cakes a manuscript of the Veda is put under his arm and an umbrella is held over his head. As the procession moves music plays and women sing. When it reaches the street corner the procession stops. Two wooden

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stools are placed at the street corner on one of which is set the manuscript of the Veda and on the other the boy. The manuscript is worshipped and round it a circle is drawn on the ground by pouring out water to represent the seven seas. The boy is advised to give up the idea of travelling in search of study as he will have to cross seven oceans and meet with other difficulties. When the worship of the oceans is over the boy rises holding the Veda under his arm and the staff in his right hand. He then runs away and after he has gone a little distance his maternal uncle runs after him to catch him. When his uncle has caught him, he promises the boy if he returns home he will get him a wife. The uncle then takes the boy in his arms and walks under a shawl held over his head by four men. All the way as the procession returns to the boy's house Bráhmans keep reciting Vedic texts or spells. On reaching home his mother waves water round the boy's head and makes him bow low before the family goddess, the family priests, and the family elders. In the evening a caste dinner is given or at least friends and relations are fed. For some days following the boy goes out to dine at the house of different relations and friends and according to custom is given copper or silver coins.

Marriage.

The Third corresponding to the fifteenth of the Vedic ceremonies is *Viváha* or marriage.[1]

Except among Nágars whose girls are seldom married before they are thirteen Gujaráti Bráhmans generally marry their girls between seven and eleven irrespective of the bridegroom's age. In the choice of a husband the chief points for consideration are: That the person chosen belongs to the same subdivision. A girl of one subdivision cannot marry a boy of another subdivision. That the families of the bride and the bridegroom should not be within the forbidden degrees of relationship. The rules are that on the father's side no two members of the same *gotra* or family can marry and on the mother's side that if there is any connection between the mother and the mother-in-law no marriage can take place. In some of the smaller subdivisions the rule against relationship on the mother's side is disregarded. That as far as possible the boy should be intelligent good-looking and a little older than the girl. Among rich and middle-class families other points generally influence a girl's parents in the choice of a husband. Among poor families though this is not always the case, money is wanted and wealth in a son-in-law outweighs suitableness of age, good looks, or intelligence. In some Bráhman subdivisions the position of the family or *kul* is taken into consideration. The form of marriage in use among Gujaráti Bráhmans is the Bráhma wedding according to which besides a dower the bridegroom receives presents with his wife. As regards dowry the practice among most divisions of Bráhmans is fixed. Except

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[1] As among other Hindus the importance of marriage to the Bráhmans is that the performance of funeral rites by a son frees the father's spirit from the hell called *Put*, a virtue which has gained for the son the honoured name of *putra* that is freer from hell. For this reason especially to the women of the family from the birth of a child its marriage is the subject of constant care and planning. A girl is never allowed to remain unmarried and every effort is made by a father to secure a wife for his son.

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in the case of a widower or of a man of lower family or *kul* the practice of the division is followed as a matter of course. The five commonest arrangements are (1) The bridegroom settles a certain sum on the bride called *palla* which becomes a part of the *stridhan* or dower. (2) The bridegroom receives a portion with the bride. (3) The bridegroom pays a sum of money to the bride's father. (4) No stipulation is made about dowry or portion. (5) The marriage is agreed to on the understanding that a counter-alliance will follow. Of these arrangements the first is the commonest, the second is found among Anávala and certain other Bráhmans, the third occurs when the bridegroom is a widower or of inferior family, the fourth is found among very few subdivisions, and the fifth or return-marriage is adopted to gain brides for men of low family or *kul* or for those who cannot otherwise secure them. Betrothal generally takes place some years before marriage. When a betrothal is found to be free from any of the leading objections the horoscopes of the girl and boy are consulted, and if the astrologer finds no obstacle, the girl's father chooses an auspicious day for the betrothal and sends a boy or the family priest to the house of the intended husband to make the formal announcement. The boy or the priest is fed and is given one or two rupees and as a sign of joy the boy's father distributes sugar among his friends and relations. Among Nágars the boy's parents also send a representative to make a formal entreaty that the girl shall be given in marriage and in token of their willingness the girl's parents make presents to the envoy. On some lucky days after the betrothal the girl and boy are invited to dine with their fathers-in-law and are presented with cloths and ornaments or with a packet of sweetmeat and a rupee. Among some divisions this verbal betrothal is binding among others the performance may be avoided by the payment of a fine while among Nágars and others even the offer of a better match is considered reason enough for breaking the betrothal. Among these differences one general rule prevails that if either of the parties to be married becomes maimed or an invalid the other is freed from the promise. No rule prevails regarding the length of time between betrothal and marriage. A marriage takes place at any time after the threadgirding of the boy. But a death in either of the families may put the marriage off several months. The marriage day is fixed in any of the five northing months of *Mágh* January-February, *Fálgun* February-March, *Chaitra* March-April, *Vaishákh* April-May, and *Jyestha* May-June, in which Jupiter and Venus are in conjunction with the sun. For marriage purposes every twelfth year when Jupiter is in the sign of Cancer is altogether avoided. Surat Motálás and Junágadh Nágars celebrate marriages only once every three or four years. Among Junágadh Nágars for three days from the 13th day of the Dewali before the celebration of the marriage all brides worship the *dhatura* Datura alba tree. At the instance of the girl's parents a day on which the moon is favourable both to the girl and to the boy and which is auspicious in all other respects is fixed for marriage and is communicated to the parents of the boy. Great preparations are made on both sides. The house is fresh coloured and whitewashed, wafer biscuits *pápad* and vermicelli *sev* are made for use on the

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marriage days and a booth is built in front of the house. The building of the marriage porch or booth is begun five or ten days before the wedding. Over the entrance a platform is raised for the drummers and pipers. A few days before the marriage at both houses the same rice-pounding ceremony as before a thread-girding is performed and till the day of marriage the boy and girl are daily rubbed with turmeric powder. From the day when the rice-pounding begins both in the morning and evening women come and after singing songs for an hour or so receive five betelnuts or a copper and retire. In Káthiáváḍa on a second or third night before the marriage day the bridegroom richly dressed and decked with ornaments mounts a horse holding a cocoanut in his hands relations and friends both male and female follow on foot and the procession with music and fireworks passes round the town. When it returns the mother of the bridegroom holds her robe over his head and waves water round his head and throws it at the feet of the horse. She then takes a little dust and rubs it on the bridegroom's right cheek, he then enters the house, and the men and women who formed the procession are given betelnuts and disperse.

In connection with a marriage are certain minor ceremonies known as *Varsoddhára* and *Mátrika* installing and the *Abhyadhika Shráddha*. Except when a birth a death or other ceremonially unlucky event is feared in which case they are held several days earlier, these ceremonies are generally performed on the day of marriage at the bride's house and on the day before marriage at the house of the bridegroom. In the morning the head of the house bathes, performs *sandhya*, and worship's Ganpati. He next worships the seven flowing streams or *Varsoddhárás* which are represented by seven *kanku* vermilion spots marked on a wall. These are S'rí, Lakshmi, Driti, Medha, Pragnya, Sváha, and Sarasvati. Molasses rice and *shami* Prosopis spicigera leaves are stuck over the seven spots and along with the *Varsoddhárás* are installed the *Mátrikás* or Mothers. They are set up in the form of sixteen small heaps of rice placed on a piece of cloth spread over a wooden stool set in front of two big earthen vessels each with a small earthen pot in its mouth and in the small pots a cocoanut and mango leaves. Over these vessels are hung two *Ranyádevas* that is wheat seedlings grown in a basket having a cowdung bed and watered from a well.

The worshipper in token that they are set up as gods throws rice on the *Varsoddhárás* and *Mátrikás*. He sets a cocoanut in front of each of them in the hope that they may fulfil his desires. He then begins the *vriddhi* or increase or the *Abhyadhika Shráddha*. Five small bundles formed by twisting and tying the roots and the tips of *kusha* grass are laid on a wooden stool facing the worshipper. In each of these grass bundles when united by the funeral rites ancestral spirits house themselves finding a face in the root knot and feet in the tip knot. Of these five bundles or ancestor-lodgings two represent the Vishvedevas or house-guardians and of the remaining three, one represents the mother the father's mother and the grandfather's mother, a second the father the father's father and the father's grandfather, and a third the mother's father the mother's grandfather and the mother's great-grandfather.

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Water from a copper dish in which have been dropped a blade of *darbha*[1] redpowder and grains of barley and sesame is sprinkled over the bundles. The performer knots the end of his waistcloth sprinkles over his head water from the dish with a blade of *darbha* or *kusha* grass and pours water on his hand in token of his promise to perform the worship of the Vishvedevas and the ancestors. He lays a blade of grass under each bundle to serve as a seat and throws rice over them. Two *khákhar* Butea frondosa leaves are laid on the ground in front of the two Vishvedevas and two blades of *darbha* grass are laid over them with their ends to the east. Water is poured on the leaves and rice and flowers are offered. The blades of *darbha* grass are picked up and laid on the bundles representing the Vishvedevas and the water in the *khákhar* leaves is poured over them. The same details are repeated in the case of the three bundles where the ancestors are lodged. The worshipper then gathers all the *pavitras* or pieces of *darbha* grass and places them on one side. A blade of *kusha* grass is laid in the south-east and on the grass rice is heaped to serve as food for the Vishvedevas. The worshipper then sweeps the ground in front of him and taking into his hands water and three blades of *kusha* grass marked with redpowder pours the contents in three lines from east to west. As food for the ancestral spirits nine balls of cooked rice and *kansár* wheat flour mixed with sugar and clarified butter are laid on three blades of *kusha* grass in three parallel lines. Over each of the three lines of balls is laid a piece of white cloth or in its absence three threads. The balls or *pindas* are then worshipped with sandal-powder and flowers. When the worship is over the worshipper salutes the balls, offers *dakshina* to the Bráhmans and receives their blessing. He then throws rice over the balls, removes the blades of underlying *kusha* grass, and smells the *pindas*. This offering to the fathers differs from other funeral ceremonies in the detail that the worshipper does not wear the sacred thread on his right shoulder.

Planet-soothing.

The next ceremony is the *Grahashánti* or Planet-soothing. It is generally performed in the afternoon of the *Vriddhi Shráddha* and *Mátrika* installing. Early in the morning several women meet and taking a lamp pass singing to their private refuse heap. They dig a small hole close to the heap, drop a copper and a betelnut into the hole, and worship them with redpowder rice and flowers. They fill the hole and return home singing. This ceremony is known as the *Ukardi notarvi* or Dunghill-asking. Next comes the earth-bringing for which a band of women start singing to a neighbour's veranda where a basket has been set filled with earth. They bring back the

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[1] The *darbha* Poa cynosuroides also called *kusha* is held in such peculiar veneration by the Hindus that every law-book and almost every poem in Sanskrit contains frequent allusions to the holiness of the plant. The fourth Veda has the following address to it: Thee, Oh Darbha, the learned proclaim a divinity not subject to age or death; thee they call the armour of India, the preserver of regions, the destroyer of enemies; a gem that gives increase to the field. At the time when the ocean resounded, when the clouds murmured, and lightnings flashed, then was Darbha produced, pure as a drop of fine gold. Descriptive Account of British India (1833), III. 213.

basket singing all the while and use the earth in making altars for the *grahashánti* or planet-soothing. To represent the planets and constellations balls of rice and wheat are heaped on cloth spread over two wooden stools. Opposite the stools with the earth brought in the basket three small altars are raised and on them are set offerings of clarified butter and sesame. At the end of the ceremony Bráhmans are worshipped and presented with gifts of money or clothes. After the planet-soothing is over if the bride belongs to another village the *ján* or procession of carriages starts to go there. The bridegroom having bathed and put on the clothes received from his maternal uncle mounts a horse holding in his open and joined hands a cocoanut a betel leaf some rice and a rupee. The procession starts, first the drummers and pipers then the male relations then the bridegroom on his horse then the women singing. On reaching the outskirts of the village or town the bridegroom dismounts and takes his seat in a bullock carriage. While the procession draws near the bride's village word is sent and the bride's parents despatch a party of men in carriages to meet the procession. After receiving cocoanuts these envoys hasten home. When the procession arrives at the village the parents and the male relations of the bride go to receive them. The girl's father embraces the boy's father salutes him and escorts the procession to some house in the village which has been specially engaged for their use. When the bride and the bridegroom belong to the same village such processions are not necessary.

The newly arrived guests dine with the girl's father. After dining they return to their lodgings and again visit the girl's house taking on a large copper salver ornaments silk clothes crystal sugar cocoanuts redpowder dried dates and brow-spangles. In front of the girl's house a square is traced with rice and on the square a wooden stool is set. The bride takes her seat upon the stool and the father of the bridegroom washes her right foot with milk or water, sprinkles grains of rice over it and marking the backs of her hands with redpowder gives her a rupee and puts ornaments in her lap. The girl retires into the house and the bridegroom's party return to their quarters.

Next the bride's male and female relations make ready to go with music to the bridegroom's quarters to offer *kalvo,* that is four sweet balls several sweet-cakes sugar and *ghi* held in a big brass dish. The sweet balls are served to the bridegroom by the bride's female relations who afterwards wash his hands with sugar and water. The bridegroom grasps the robe of one of the women who have been serving him and does not let it go till he has received a present in cash and in return a present is made to the women who have washed the brass dish in which the *kalvo* was brought which is filled with dried dates and the bride's relations go home. On their return from the *kalvo*-giving some divisions of Bráhmans send the bride with music on horseback to the bridegroom's lodgings. On arrival she is covered with the marriage robe called *chundadi* and is given a rupee and returns home.

In the evening just before the bridegroom starts for the marriage a few of the bride's female relations bring for his use hotwater a sacred

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thread a new waistcloth a turban and shouldercloth. The boy bathes and puts on the clothes and ornaments. When the bridegroom is ready he mounts holding in front of him in his joined and open hands a cocoanut rice and betelnut, and the marriage procession starts for the bride's with fireworks and music men and women accompanying on foot. At the bride's the bridegroom dismounts and is made to stand on a wooden stool at the entrance of the marriage booth. The bride's mother with the priest and several women accompanied by the husband of one of the bride's sisters go to where the bridegroom stands.[1] The bride's mother waves a miniature plough, a grinding pestle, a churning stick, and an arrow four times over the heads of both the bridegroom and the bride's sister's husband and throws pieces of *juvár* Sorghum vulgare stalks in all directions. She piles at the bridegroom's feet one over the other two earthen lamps each containing betelnut copper and rice with cotton threads drawn over the mouth. She makes a mark with redpowder on the bridegroom's forehead and squeezes his nose. The bridegroom breaks the earthen pots and entering the booth takes his seat on a stool in front of the altar. Then the marriage service begins with its ten rites of feet-washing, honey-sipping, rice-throwing, moment-naming, present-making, clothes-worship, bride-giving, oath-taking, seven-steps, and feeding. When all are in their places the bride's mother washes the feet of the bridegroom who thrice offers the water to the sun. Honey sugar butter and curds are laid in the bridegroom's right palm and the priest repeats in Sanskrit, the bridegroom saying the words after him, 'I see and take thee my bride with the eyes and strength of the sun; I mix thee with honey and take away all that is hurtful in feeding on thee; I eat that sweet nourishing form of honey, and may I thus be of choice sweet well-nourished temper.' He touches the different parts of his body saying 'May there be speech in my mouth, breath in my nostrils, sight in my eyeballs, hearing in my ears, strength in my loins, and may my whole body and soul keep sound.' Then the bride clad in her marriage robe and decked with jewels is carried in by her maternal uncle and set on a stool facing the bridegroom and a cloth is drawn between them. The priest joins the right hand of both and throws round their necks the marriage garland or *varmál* of twenty-four threads of red cotton. Until the lucky moment arrives the family priests and the astrologers chant verses the bride chews rice and the bridegroom chews betel while the relations and others clustering round the bride and bridegroom at the end of each verse keep silently throwing a few grains of rice over them. When the lucky moment is come the priests cease chanting and the cloth is drawn towards the north. A brass plate is beaten with a stick and at the signal the musicians raise a blast of music the bride and bridegroom squirt at each other the rice and betelnut they have been chewing and the guests depart with presents of betel leaves and cocoanuts. While the women of the bride's family sing marriage songs, the bride and bridegroom receive money and

[1] On the wedding day the bride and her parents and her mother's brother keep a strict fast.

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jewelry from their friends and relations, each present being duly noted in writing by one person belonging to the bride's and by another belonging to the bridegroom's family.

The priest separates the hands of the bride and the bridegroom and repeats their names and the names of their fathers grandfathers great-grandfathers and families and the names of their stock branch and Veda. The bridegroom then offers the wedding robe called *chundadi* to the bride who puts it on and ties one end of it to another end of the bridegroom's robe. The bridegroom then adorns the eyes of the bride with black pigment, combs her hair, gives her a hand mirror to look into, and throws round her neck a garland of betelnuts dates and small pieces of cocoa kernel. While women sing songs, the bride and bridegroom fasten the *midhal* Vanguieria spinosá bracelet round each others' wrists. The bride and bridegroom are then led near the altar to offer sacrifices. The bridegroom takes his seat facing east and the bride sits on his right. The priest having made eighteen offerings of clarified butter or *ghi* in the name of eighteen gods and five more in addition the father or the brother of the bride applies the *ghi* ladle to her head and blesses her. The bridegroom takes the bride's open right hand into his own right hand, saying 'Oh wife, I hold thy hand that till our old age we both may live together.' The priest sets on the north-east corner of the altar an earthen waterpot full of water into which coins have been dropped and its mouth closed by mango leaves. The bridegroom makes the bride rise and with his left hand holds her right toe on a stone set to north of the fire repeating the sacred verse which enjoins the bride to be firm as the stone. He takes a round of the sacrificial fire and the stone, the bride following him closely. When the round is finished, the bridegroom holds the bride's palm over his own and in the bride's palm the bride's father drops some *ghi* and fried grain and the bride lets them fall as an offering into the fire. The circuit-making and offering of fried grain are repeated four times. To the north-east of the fire seven small heaps of rice are piled and the bride levels them one by one with her right toe. These are the seven steps which when once taken the marriage cannot be annulled. Water from the pot set to the north-east is then sprinkled over the heads both of the bride and bridegroom. Afterwards the bridegroom lays his right hand to the bride's right shoulder, the priest repeating on his behalf the verse 'Oh bride, give your heart to my work, make your mind agreeable to mine. May the god Brihaspati make you pleasing to me.' The bride and bridegroom are then taken out and shown the Polar Star. Fresh offerings are made to the fire and the bride and bridegroom bow low before the family gods, the priest, and the elders including the father-in-law and the mother-in-law. Then the bridegroom with the bride and his own relations returns to his home.

Next morning or in some divisions two or three days later the bridegroom goes to the bride's house to perform the ceremony called *charubhakshana* or cooked-food-eating. The bride and the bridegroom both put on silken clothes and take their seat in front

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of the fire altar. The fire is kindled and rice is cooked over it. Some of the cooked rice is dropped into the fire and some drops of *ghi* left in the ladle are dropped into a leaf cup. After the offering is over, while the priest repeats verses, the bridegroom takes the leaf-cup and empties the drops of *ghi* over the head of the bride. Of the remaining rice the bride and bridegroom each give the other four mouthfuls, the bridegroom saying: 'I unite thy soul with my soul, thy bones with my bones, thy flesh with my flesh, and thy skin with my skin.' They wash their mouths and bowing before the fire withdraw. In the afternoon or on the following day the bride and bridegroom are taken[1] to some neighbouring temple where they bow and make presents of silver coins. The father of the bride gives a special caste dinner in honour of the guests. On that day among a few subdivisions the father of the bridegroom and his relations appear dressed as *sádhus* devotees. The Shrigód Bráhmans observe the special practice of making the bridegroom's father and his near relations drink *ghi*. The last ceremony is the giving of presents to the guests. According to the caste custom, these presents are made either on the day after marriage or four to five days later. The priest brings a plate containing redpowder mixed with water, and the bride's father and the father of the bridegroom dip their hands into the red water and rub it on each others' cheeks chest and back. The bridegroom's father then receives a shawl a turban or a present of cash. The other relations of the bridegroom, both men and women, receive presents in the same way. The bride and bridegroom dip their hands into the redpowder and with their red hands mark both of the door-posts. The bridegroom is given a couch bedding a plate and a jar by the bride's father besides other articles of value. The procession then returns to the bridegroom's village or house. At the bridegroom's house both the bride and bridegroom alight and stand on wooden stools till water is waved over their heads. When they proceed to enter the house some young members of the family keep the door shut until the bridegroom promises from outside the door to arrange for their wedding. On entering the house the bride and bridegroom take their seats in front of the *Mátrikás* or house guardians. Here they untie the *midhal* bracelet from each others' wrists, unfasten the ends of their robes which have been knotted together, and play with *kodis* Cypræa moneta shell money. The baskets of wheat seedlings are worshipped and each lashes the other with a *korda* or twisted cloth. In honour of his marriage all relations and guests and castemen are fed at the bridegroom's house. On a lucky day within a month of the marriage a party comes and fetches the bride back to her father's. Among the Nágars of Káthiáváḍa and other parts of Gujarát certain rites are observed

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1 Among Girnárás and Trivedhi Modhs the bridegroom's maternal uncle dressing as a *jhanda* in woman's clothes from head to waist and in man's clothes below, smears his face with oil and daubs it with redpowder and armed with a sword goes with the bride and bridegroom to the temple. Jhanda who in quaint costume is often represented by strolling players or *bhaváyás* was it is said a Páthan *fakir* or religious beggar.

during the year after marriage principally on the 9th of *A'shádh sud* (June-July) on the thirtieth day called the Vatsavitri Day, and on the first of the month *Mágh* February-March following Holi Day. On the 9th of the waxing *Áshadh* (June-July) the bride receives from the bridegroom a bundle of rich clothes. On the *Vatsávitri* the bride and bridegroom are taken to a banian tree, which they worship and hang on one of its branches the wedding garland called *Vado Hardo* made of betelnuts and cocoa kernel. When the banian worship is over the bride is presented with a good robe *sári*.

Death.

Svargárohaṇa, literally heaven-climbing, are the funeral ceremonies performed to help the spirit of the dead to reach heaven. When a Bráhman seems to be on the point of death, penances for the purification of his body and *Vishnupúja* or Vishnu worship are performed and money, clothes, grain, and if the family is well-to-do a cow are distributed to Bráhman priests. In the case of a Bráhman who is himself a priest, these things are distributed among his own castemen. The dying person is stripped of his or her ornaments and clothes except a waistcloth in the case of a man and a robe and a bodice in the case of a woman. The body is washed with water and in the case of a man the head except the topknot and the face except the moustache are shaved. The body is laid with the head northwards on a part of the floor which has been prepared by cleansing it with cowdung and strewing sacrificial grass sesame and barley. A silver coin is placed in the right hand and a Bráhman is called to receive it from the hand of the dying and close by is set a lighted lamp fed with clarified butter. If they have or can get any Ganges water the relations pour some drops into the mouth and lay in the mouth a leaf of the basil *tulsi* Ocymum sanctum and some curds. The relations and friends gather round the dying and until life is gone call on "Śrí Rám." If the dying person is a woman whose husband is living her cheeks and forehead are smeared with red pigment. The friends and relations go outside and sit in the veranda weeping. The news of the death spreads and the caste people come for the funeral. When near relations come they cry out from the furthest end of the street. The women stand in a circle near the door bewailing the deceased singing a funeral dirge beating their breasts in sad accompaniment. The mourning for the young is more bitter than for the aged. The dirge which consists of unconnected cries of grief is led by one or two women the rest joining in chorus. In north Gujarát and in Káthiáváḍa the breast-beating is most severe, the nearest relations using such force that through exhaustion some of them fall insensible. When the beating of the breasts is over, the women sit and wail covering their faces with their robes. Each woman either laments for the deceased or for her own long dead children or relations. This alternate breast-beating and wailing is repeated each time a fresh female mourner reaches the house. Both the breast-beating and wailing are stopped by the intercession of an elderly woman whose entreaties are generally respected. If the deceased has left a wife she sits indoors in a corner her face covered

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bewailing her fortune. While the women are wailing, two or three men fetch from the market two bamboo poles coir ropes and pieces of bamboo, and if the deceased is a married woman a silk robe and a red thread called *nádu*. The pieces of bamboo are fastened to the poles by coir ropes at short intervals. The bier is then washed with water and is taken inside the house. The body is laid on the bier and tied to it by the coir strings[1] and shrouded with a silken robe in the case of an unwidowed woman, or with a shawl or other costly cloth in the case of a rich man, and with a white linen sheet in other cases. The bier-bearers bathe and dress in silk or in wet waistcloths. The bier is raised on the shoulders of four of the nearest relations and is borne forth feet first preceded by one of the nearest relations carrying an earthen or copper vessel with fire and cakes of cowdung. The relations and castefellows follow calling upon Rám.

The women accompany the funeral party to the first meeting of four roads where they beat their breasts and return wailing. They then wearing a robe and a bodice go outside of the city town or village to bathe. After bathing they return either in wet or in fresh clothes and the nearest relatives wait in the house till the funeral party or *dághus* return from the burning ground. On their way to the burning ground the funeral party halts at a fixed place when the bearers of the corpse reverse its position and henceforth carry it head foremost. When the burning ground is reached which is usually on the banks of a river, the bier is laid on the ground close to the water's edge. Two or three persons go to fetch logs of wood if they are to be had close by. If no wood is to be had close to the burning ground it is brought along with the body from the village or town. The logs are of sandal or other costly wood if the deceased is rich and of *bábhul* wood mixed with sandalwood pieces in other cases. When half of the logs are piled the body is removed from the litter and laid upon the pile with its head to the north. The religious part of the ceremony is then performed by the son or other nearest of kin and in the case of a married woman by her husband except when the husband is likely soon to marry again. The religious part of the ceremonies consists in the chief mourner offering to the dead balls of rice flour and as he offers each ball repeats the proper *mantra* that is verse or charm. The first ball is offered at the time of moving the body from the inside of the house, the second at the entrance of the house, the third at the first street corner, the fourth at the place of halt, and the fifth when the body is laid on the half-built pyre. When the pyre is complete the chief mourner repeating verses or charms puts fire into the mouth of the corpse and lights the pile. The care of the pyre is left to a few of the more experienced of the party. The rest of the mourners go to a distance and sit talking until the body is consumed. They then return and pour butter on the fire to complete the burning. When the fire is burnt out they gather the ashes and throw them into the river or if no stream is near, drop them into a pit

1 Among Jethmal Modhs a cocoanut is tied to the four corners of the bier on which the corpse is carried to the burning ground.

dug for the purpose and sprinkled with water. The sixth remaining ball is laid on the spot where the body was burnt. The chief mourner who kindled the pile chooses two small pieces of bone and carries them with him with the object of throwing them with suitable ceremonies into a sacred river such as the Ganges or Narbada. In some cases these pieces of bone are laid on the spot where the head of the body rested. At the funeral of a rich man a cow is milked on the site of the pyre and the milk is sprinkled around. The chief mourner fills with water the earthen pot in which the fire was carried and throws it backwards over his head. When this last rite is over the whole party leave the burning ground lamenting but never looking back. On their way home at a river or pond the son and other relations offer the deceased sesame and water, and then all bathe, wash their clothes, return to the house of mourning, and go back to their homes. One man from each house of the subdivision is expected and in some divisions one man is compelled to attend a castefellow's funeral. A child's funeral does not differ from the funeral of a grown person. The exception is a babe of less than eighteen months who is slung in a hammock-like shroud from a bamboo carried by two men or is borne on the shoulder of the chief mourner and accompanied by a few of the nearest relations is carried to the burning ground and there buried with less ceremony than attends an ordinary funeral. In ordinary cases on the day of the funeral or on the day after friends and relations meet at the house of the deceased. In some subdivisions they meet on the evening of each of the first nine days when if the deceased is old a Bráhman reads to the women of the house the Garud Purán detailing the fortune of the spirit after death. In other cases the women meet mourn and beat their breasts.

The holy books lay down that if when life has reached the throat, that is when death is close at hand, a man abandons the world he will be free from the treadmill of re-births. In this hope certain Bráhmans when death draws near perform penance, have the head including the topknot and the face including the moustache cleanshaved, and become ascetics or *śanyásis*. An ascetic is called and the dying man receives initiation, an ascetic name, and brick-coloured garments. So long as life remains, friends relations and townspeople come and pay their respects bringing presents of grain and cloth. When life passes no wailing or grief is allowed. The body is bathed and dressed in tawny clothes and rosaries are hung round the neck and arms. The ascetic is seated crosslegged on a wooden stool each corner of which is bound by a coir rope to a pair of wooden poles. On the way to the burying ground conches are blown brass bells are rung and handfuls of redpowder are scattered while the mourners and carriers repeat the name *Nárάyan Nárάyan*. When the procession reaches the river-bank the body is either buried or thrown into the river. When the body is buried a pit is dug and the body placed sitting the top of the skull being rubbed or fractured by a blow from the point of a conch shell to secure an upper opening on the flight of the soul. The pit is covered with earth and after some years a masonry platform adorned with a pair of feet is raised by the heirs of the deceased. When the body is to be thrown into the river, it is

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placed on board a small raft. A bagfull of grain or a heavy mill-stone is tied to the neck, and the body is thrown overboard in the middle of the stream. As by this treatment the ascetic passed through the round of births into nothing he stands in need of no further rites. On the day her husband dies the widow breaks her bracelets and on the tenth day after the funeral causes her head to be shaved. Contrary to the general rule a young widow is allowed to wear her bracelets and her hair until she is about thirty years old. Then on the occurrence of a death among her near relations her bracelets are broken her head is shaved and she begins to wear the sombre clothes of a widow. In ordinary cases when the widow is a grown woman, for a whole year she mourns seated in a corner of the house, living on coarse food, and never leaving the house since no one should see her. So long as she lives she takes no part in any happy gatherings for her shadow is unlucky. Except in the case of widows and of aged parents who in white or in dark coloured garments mourn their dead children or their widowed daughters all the days of their life, the time of mourning varies from less than a month to a year according to the age of the deceased and the nearness of relationship. Members of the same family stock, who are younger than the deceased, have their heads and moustaches shaved on the tenth day after a death. During the first twelve days of mourning they are held to be impure and their touch to cause defilement. They keep aloof and never change their dress. In twelve days the son, or the person who has lit the pile, covers his head with a scarf until on the thirteenth day his father-in-law or other relation presents him with a new turban. On the tenth eleventh twelfth and thirteenth days after a death *shráddha* or memorial rites are performed and afterwards monthly on the day of the month on which the death occurred, and yearly on the anniversary. A separate mind-rite is performed on one of the fifteen days assigned for *shraddha* in the month of *Bhadrapad* (September-October). As part of the mind-rites caste dinners are given on the eleventh twelfth and thirteenth days after death. Dinners are also given every month to relations and the last caste dinner is held on the anniversary when a *shráddha* is performed. A man is fed daily throughout a whole year and the family priest is liberally paid. On the twelfth a Bráhman is presented with what is called a *sejja* or cot which besides a cot includes bedding metal pots and ornaments amounting in the case of a rich man to the value of Rs. 200. With the cot a cow is presented to a Bráhman, the cot for the use of the departed soul and the cow as a carrier across the Vaitarna to heaven. The soul, or one of the souls, of the deceased for twelve days sits on the eaves of his home and for its use pots of water and milk are set on the roof. On each of the ten days after a death the chief mourner offers a rice ball or he offers ten riceballs all at once on the tenth day. On the eleventh day the performer of the rites bathes and to become pure makes *práyaschitta* or atonement. He then performs the *vishnapuja* or worship of Vishnu and the *vrishotsarga* or Bull-leaving in which calves are worshipped and given to Bráhmans. Then follows the eleventh day *shráddha* in which a ball of cooked rice is offered to the dead. On the twelfth day the sixteen monthly

shráddhas are performed together and after them the *Sapindikarana* or ancestral *shráddha* by which the dead joins the fathers or *pitris.* With the thirteenth day *shráddha* the funeral rites come to an end.

Bráhmans have a less complete caste organization than trading and most other classes. In rural parts all members of the division hold an equal position. But in towns each division has one family which, with the title of *patel*, takes a leading place. The divisions differ considerably in the strictness with which they enforce caste rules. But, on the whole, they are somewhat laxer than other leading Hindu castes.

Prospect.

Two influences, the scantier employment and support given to scholars and the greater success with which Bráhmans compete for Government service, keep lowering the number of priestly and raising the number of lay Bráhmans. As a class Bráhmans are most anxious to learn. Every year large numbers of the children of begging Bráhmans, taught in Government schools, start in life with every chance of earning a good living as schoolmasters clerks and pleaders. The number of Bráhman boys is nearly twenty per cent of the total of boys of all races attending school.

SOUTHERN BRÁHMANS.

Of foreign or non-local Bráhmans whose home-speech is not Gujaráti, there are, besides Telangs from the Karnátak and Madras, five classes of Dakhani or Marátha Bráhmans,[1] Deshasths and Yajurvedis from the Dakhan; Konkanasths or Chitpávans and Devrukhás from the Konkan; and Karhádás from both the Konkan and the Dakhan.

The Telang.

Though they include several divisions, Karnátak and Madras Bráhmans are in Gujarát generally included under the term Telang Bráhmans. They occur in small numbers over the whole province and are in considerable strength in Baroda. Except that they are darker and more robust, they differ little from Dakhani Bráhmans. They are poor and thrifty, seldom wearing a coat or a turban. All of them are religious beggars and makers of sacred-threads. Most of them have their homes in Madras. Except a few in Baroda almost none bring their women to Gujarát and almost all live in public rest-houses and temples. Their customs and religion are much the same as those of Dakhani Bráhmans, and they are much more largely supported by Dakhan people than by Gujarátis. Their practice of pressing unasked to share in gifts of alms has made their name a by-word for greediness.[2] Few of them have any claim to learning and none of them send their boys to school.

The Dakhani.

Dakhani or Maháráshtra Bráhmans, with a strength of 18,002 came to Gujarát during the eighteenth century, the time of Marátha supremacy.[3] Besides in Baroda where they form a strong rich

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[1] In Gujarát or rather among Gujarátis a Dakhani Bráhman means a Maráthi-speaking Bráhman from the country to the south of Gujarát, no matter whether he is from the Konkan or the Dakhan including Khándesh and Násik.

[2] 'Don't be a Telang,' a father shouts to a boy who tries to get more than his proper share of food at table.

[3] The peculiarities in the customs of Khedával and Motála Bráhmans which seem to show they are early settlers from Maháráshtra, have been noticed above pages 11 and 12.

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The Dakhani.

community they occur in small numbers in most of the larger Gujarát towns and in many Baroda villages as accountants and clerks. Of these Dakhan and Konkan Bráhmans, about three-fourths may be said to have adopted Gujarát as their native country, and though of late years with easier means of travelling the practice may have grown somewhat commoner, they seldom marry out of Gujarát except when they fail to find a suitable match at home. A few still look on some Konkan or Dakhan village as their home, pay visits to their relations, and go to their native place for marriages and thread-ceremonies.

In language, food, dress, faith, and customs the Dakhani Bráhmans in Gujarát have kept to the practices of their native country. They drink water from the hands of Gujaráti Bráhmans, but unless it has been cooked in milk they eat no food prepared by a Gujaráti Bráhman. On the other hand except Nágars Bhárgavs and a few subdivisions of north Gujarát all Gujaráti Bráhmans eat food cooked by a Dakhani Bráhman. The home-speech of all is Maráthi. In Baroda and other towns, where there is a considerable body of their own people and where the children can attend Maráthi schools, they generally speak the language purely. In outlying parts the dialect in use is often much mixed with Gujaráti. Out of doors most of the Dakhanis, both men and women, speak pure Gujaráti and the rest a mixture of Maráthi Gujaráti and Hindustáni. The arrangements at a Dakhani Bráhman's feast differ in several points from the arrangements at a Gujaráti Bráhman's feast. Unlike Gujaráti Bráhmans the Marátha does not join a feast till a message reaches him that it is ready. He brings nothing, the host providing water and other necessaries, while in some Gujarát divisions the guest brings water both for drinking and bathing, a leaf-plate, a leaf-pot, and his own pickles. The dinner is never held in the street and the floor of the dining hall is decorated with designs of flowers creepers and birds traced in white and red powder.[1] No one sits down till all the party are present; none is helped except by an attendant; and, on pain of making the dish unclean, no one may either touch the servant or his neighbour. Among Dakhanis the dinner begins and ends with rice, while Gujarátis always begin with a sweet dish and eat little if any rice. The Marátha Bráhman burns pastils *udkádis* while the dinner is going on, and when they are available dines off plantain instead of *khákhar* Butea frondosa leaf plates. At most marriage feasts music is played and verses *shloks* are sung by one or more of the guests. After dinner the guests wash their hands and mouths and meet in the reception hall where betel-leaves and spices are handed round, rosewater is sprinkled on the clothes, and essence or *attar* is rubbed on the back of each guest's right hand. In their cooking, unlike Gujarát Bráhmans, who, except the Nágars, use no relish but sugar and

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[1] A brass or copper tube called *rángola* is drilled all round with a number of holes. The powder inside it falling through the holes makes figures and tracings in the form of flowers and birds.

clarified butter, the Marátha Bráhmans are fond of spices and make many piquant and pungent dishes.[1] Except that his turban is broader and flatter the dress of a Dakhani is the same as the dress of a Gujaráti Bráhman. On the other hand the women's dress differs in several points. Instead of the openbacked bodice *kánchali*, Marátha Bráhman women wear a *choli* covering both back and bosom.[2] Again as no Marátha women wear the petticoat or *ghághra* their upper robe or *lugada* is from sixteen to eighteen cubits long about twice as full as the Gujarát robe, and unlike the Gujarát robe it is passed between the legs and tucked in at the back. The Dakhanis wear the outer end of the robe passed round the left side and falling over the right shoulder, while the Gujarátis pass it round the right side and let it fall over the left shoulder. Few Gujarát women mark their brows with the round red spot which all Marátha women except widows wear. On the other hand, except some young girls, no Marátha women wear the bright Gujaráti brow-spangles or *chándlás* of mica and silver. Ordinary Marátha ornaments are more costly than those worn by Gujarátis, as they are not generally hollow or plated. Again Gujarát wowen wear jewels only on their uncovered arm while Marátha women are careful to adorn both arms alike. Finally instead of bone or wood the Marátha bracelets are of glass.

In religion like Gujarát Bráhmans the Dakhanis are both Smárts and Bhágvats. But they are more ceremonious, more scrupulous in observing ceremonial purity, and keep more closely to religious rules than Gujarát Bráhmans. In social customs the Dakhani differs in many points from the Gujaráti Bráhman. They make presents on other occasions besides marriage and instead of cash always give clothes. As a rule the present consists of a turban and shouldercloth *shela* or of a turban alone for the boy and of a robe *lugada* and bodicecloth *khan*, or of a bodicecloth alone for the girl; shawls and ornaments are seldom given; money almost never.

At deaths the women wail only in the house, never out of doors or in the streets. They sit weeping and never stand in circles or beat their breasts. Only near relations and a few persons are asked to the funeral feast. On marriage death and other ceremonies charitable gifts are distributed on a much larger scale than among Gujarátis. At Dakhani caste dinners the host gives each guest a money present of from ¼ to 4 annas. The distribution of *ápta* Bauhinia racemosa and *shami* Prosopis spicigera leaves on Dasara Day (September-October) and of sugared sesame on *Makarsankránt* (12th January) is peculiar to the Dakhanis. On certain occasions Dakhani women have parties of female guests.

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[1] From their different ideas of cooking the Dakhanis call the Gujarátis *ládva kháu* eaters of sweetmeats and *ghi kháu* butter-eaters; in return they call the Dakhanis *bháji* or *chatni kháu* vegetable and relish eaters. The only Gujarát dishes that have been adopted by the Dakhanis are the Gujaráti way of cooking rice and split pulse *khichadi* and soup or liquid *dál*. They sometimes also prepare wheaten-flour sugar and molasses in the Gujaráti form of *malpuva*.

[2] Gujaráti widows wear the backed instead of the open bodice; Marátha widows wear no bodice.

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The Dakhani.

During the month of *Chaitra* (March-April) a hall or room is decorated and a small brass statue of the goddess Gauri is set in its midst and parties of women friends come in the afternoon between half-past four and seven, stay chatting for a time, and, on leaving, are presented with red and yellow powder *halad-kanku,* grain, and betelnut and leaves. Sandal-powder is rubbed on their arms and they are sprinkled with rosewater. They recite rhyming verses bringing into them their husbands' names which at other times they are most careful never to utter. A number of the meetings are held at different houses on the same evening and parties of women go from one to the other. Widows are present but take no part except conversing with the guests. On the *Padva* or first day in *Diváli* (October-November), the practice, common among the Dakhanis in Gujarát as well as in other parts of the Presidency, of waving *divás* or lighted lamps by married women before their husbands and on the second or *Bháu-bij* day before their brothers, is unknown to the Gujarátis. On these occasions the women receive in return presents as a rule in cash varying from 4 annas to Rs. 2 and in exceptional cases in gold *mohars* and ornaments. If a child sickens with small-pox or measles the child and its mother keep to the house for twenty-one days, the child unbathed, the mother bathing as usual but leaving her hair uncombed and careful to touch no one who is not of her caste. On the twenty-first day the child is bathed, dressed in new clothes, and with music and accompanied by a party of friends is taken by the mother to the goddess Shitla Máta. On their return a dinner is given to five seven or more married women. On the seventh of *Shraván sud* (July-August) a day known as the *Tádhi-shil* Stalefood Day, Dakhani women observe the Gujarát custom of bathing in cold water and eating no food but what was cooked the previous day.[1] During the nights of the bright half of *Ashvin* (September-October), some Dakhani women have adopted the Gujarát practice of moving in a circle round a number of lights singing songs and at intervals clapping their hands. Unlike the Gujarátis with their caste divisions each with a separate organization the Dakhanis keep to the Dakhan practice of calling together the members of the five leading Marátha Bráhman divisions, Deshasths, Konkanasths, Karhádás, Yajurvedis, and Telangs and together settle any caste or social dispute.

Of the Dakhani Bráhmans some are priests and men of learning, but most follow secular callings, working as cooks, schoolmasters, and in the lower and higher grades of native states and of Government service. In spite of the decay of Marátha power and the growing competition for Government employment Dakhani Bráhmans are a well-to-do class able to hold their own against any rivals. Besides Maráthi and Gujaráti most of them are careful to teach their children to read and write English.

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[1] This corresponds to the Dakhan and Konkan *Shild-saptami* or Stone-seventh, when, after bathing, women go to a pond river or well, and gathering seven pebbles take them home and offer them curds and rice. Then with the offering they take them back and set them where they found them in the morning.

SECTION II.—WRITERS.

UNDER Writers come three classes, Brahma Kshatris 2509, Káyasths 2607, and Prabhus 3891, with a strength of 9087 souls or ·091 per cent of the total Hindu population. The details are:

Writers, 1891.

CLASS.	Ahmedábád.	Kaira.	Panch-Maháls.	Broach.	Surat.	Native States.	Baroda.	Total.
Brahma-Kshatris ...	32	179	16	...	355	218	1709	2509
Káyasths	162	48	20	105	873	942	457	2607
Prabhus	8	45	40	38	151	677	2932	3891
Unspecified	1	3	...	...	...	2	74	80
Total ...	203	275	76	143	1379	1839	5172	9087

N.B.—The census figures of 1891 are evidently incorrect. For instance no Brahma-Kshatris are shown in Broach, whereas Broach is the principal town of the Brahma-Kshatri community and had a population of 692 persons in 1872. Ahmedábád contained a population of 536 in A.D. 1872, whereas only thirty-two persons were returned at the 1891 census. Again Valmik Káyasths and Káyasth Prabhus seem to have been grouped together in some places.

Brahma-Kshatris.

Brahma Kshatris are found chiefly in Broach Ahmedábád and Surat, and a few in Junágadh Káthiáváda and Kachh. Though small in number their intelligence and wealth give Brahma Kshatris a high position among Gujarát Hindus. They are said to be the descendants of Kshatriya women, who, at the time of Parashurám's massacre, were saved by passing as Bráhman women.[1] Besides the main body of Brahma Kshatris there are two minor divisions, Dasa and Páncha, said to be the offspring of a Brahma Kshatri and a woman of another caste. The members of these minor divisions neither eat with each other nor with the rest of their castefellows.[2]

History.

When and under what circumstances the Brahma Kshatris came into Gujarát is not known. The tradition is that about 500 years ago they emigrated from the Panjáb and settled at Chámpáner in the Panch Maháls. On the capture of Chámpáner by Mahmud Begada (A.D. 1484) the Brahma Kshatris are said to have moved to Ahmedábád, where they occupied the quarter of the city at present known by the name of Khádiyu. The oppression of the Musalmáns compelled them to migrate to other parts of India. Some of them went as far as Haidarábád in the Dakhan, where a few families still marry with Gujarát Brahma Kshatris. Some who went to Banáras and Lakhnau are now known as Gujarát Kshatris. The report of the 1865 census of the North-West Provinces says[3] 'It is a subject of dispute whether the Kshatris are the old Kshatris or a mixed class.[4] The tradition

[1] Campbell's Indian Ethnology, 112; North-West Provinces Census of 1866.

[2] The division of an estate in Broach between ordinary Brahma Kshatris and members of the Dasa subdivision is said to perpetuate the shares granted by the original holder to his legitimate and illegitimate children.

[3] Vol. I. page 34.

[4] In Sir George Campbell's opinion the Brahma Kshatris have a fair claim to be the descendants of the original Kshatris. The old Sanskrit books, he says, make the Bráhmans and Kshatris to have remotely sprung from a common origin. May it not be that in early Aryan days the Bráhmans of Káshmir may have first become literary and civilised and ruled on the Sárasvati by peaceful arts after the fashion of the earliest

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most generally believed is that when Parashurám, the Bráhman warrior, subdued the Kshatris, he persecuted them to such an extent, and was so determined to annihilate their race, that he violently caused the miscarriage of every pregnant woman whom he could find. Through fear some of the women in the family-way took protection with certain Bráhmans, and when detected, the protector saved them by giving the persecutor to understand that they were Bráhmanis. The Bráhmans ate food from the hands of the women, and thus satisfied the persecutors that they were actually Bráhmanis. The children of these women were the ancestors of the present Kshatris. In proof of the truth of the tradition, they point to the fact that Sárasvat Bráhmans still partake of food cooked by Kshatris.'

This tradition is generally believed by the Brahma Kshatris of Gujarát. The fact that their priests *purohits* are Sárasvat Bráhmans who are considered degraded for eating with Kshatris; the fact that they are called Khakha Kshatris like the Panjáb Kshatris[1]; the fact that the Brahma Kshatris, though engaged in peaceable occupations, have not wholly lost their martial spirit; and the fact that some of their customs are identical with those of the Brahma Kshatris of the Panjáb, tend to support the assertion that they belong to the original Kshatri race and that they came into Gujarát from Northern India.

Appearance.

They are a handsome fair-skinned class, some of them with blue or gray eyes, in make and appearance like Vániás, only larger and more vigorous. Except at their weddings, they dress like other high caste Gujarát Hindus. The only special marks are, among the men a small tightly-wound turban, and among the women a heavy cloth veil or hood sometimes worn in public to hide the forehead. Though most of them live on vegetables and drink no intoxicating liquors, animal food and spirits are not forbidden, and of late their use has become more general. Unlike other Gujarát Hindus in their caste dinners the men and women sit out of sight of each other, the men serving food only to the men and the women to the women.

Language.

Brahma Kshatris speak Gujaráti with a few Hindustáni words, such as *roti* bread for *rotli*, *chácha* uncle for *káka*, *bua* father's sister for *phoi*, *nána* mother's father for *ájo* or *vadvo*, and *barát* marriage-procession for *ján*. Each household has its family-goddess or *kul-devi* who is held in high respect. It often happens that when a Brahma Kshatri family has left its former home it keeps the old shrine, and on special occasions goes to worship at it. Except in Káthiáváda, where the landholding Brahma Kshatris are Vaishnavs of the Vallabhácharya sect their favourite objects of public worship are Shiva and Shakti.

Egyptians, before the art of war was invented, and that later a cognate tribe of Kshatris of the Kábul country, rougher and more warlike, may have come down upon them like the shephered kings and assumed rule as the military caste of early Hindu history. Ethnology of India, 112-113. It is perhaps more probable that the Brahma Kshatris represent some of the Central Asian Saka or Yavana conquerors of the centuries before and after Christ who embracing Hinduism were accepted as Kshatriyás and a few centuries later were styled Brahmas as the champions of the Bráhmanic faith in its reaction against Buddhism.

[1] Hoshiarpur District Gazetteer, Panjáb, 59.

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They keep the rules laid down for Bráhmans, reading the sacred books, worshipping, meditating, repeating prayers, making offerings to the sun, and at meals putting on a silk robe. They wear the sacred thread and observe the regular investiture, marriage, and death ceremonies. Their family-priests who belong to the class of Sárasvat Bráhmans eat with them. As a class Brahma-Kshatris are well off. Some are hereditary district officers *desáis*, others pleaders or moneylenders, and many are in Government service where several hold places of trust and importance. They are shrewd and independent, polite, and fond of show and pleasure.

Customs.

On the evening of the day on which a child is born the mother's breasts are worshipped and the child suckled. Among a few families in Káthiáváda a woman while in confinement eats only fruit and roots or such food as is used on fast days. On the sixth day after birth the goddess of fortune *Vidháta* or *Chhathi* is worshipped. The first giving of cooked food or *botan* takes place in the sixth month after birth. The rite of hair-cutting or *mudan* takes place between the age of five and seven, when girls as well as boys have their hair cut. Like the thread-girding and pregnancy ceremonies, hair-cutting is performed at the place sacred to the family-goddess. Except in Káthiáváda, at the first hair-cutting a minor ceremony called *devkáj* is performed. The child's mother and father go to the mother's house with music and a following of women. There the pair tie the ends of their garments together and bathe, and then wait in their wet clothes until some woman of the mother's family whose husband is alive spots with saffron the clothes of the father's maternal uncle and gives him sweets to eat. When this is done the mother and father put on fresh clothes, return home, and worship the family-goddess.

Three four or five days before the hair-cutting, as also at thread and pregnancy ceremonies, the family-goddess is worshipped. A black male kid five or six months old is bought, kept in the house, and fed with green grass and grain till the last day of the ceremony. On that day the family priest slits the kid's right ear and touches with blood the forehead of the child, its parents, and other members of the family. The kid is then let loose in one of Devi's temples and allowed to roam at pleasure. This custom is kept by many families. In a few families during the eight or nine days of the ceremony six or seven male black kids are brought every day and their foreheads marked with redpowder. The priest kills the kids, and the flesh is cooked, offered to the goddess, and eaten by the members of the family, friends, and relations including the priest himself. In almost every family one or other of these customs is kept.

The thread-ceremony is performed when the boy is between six and eight in mainland Gujarát and between six and eleven in Káthiáváda. Betrothals generally take place two or three years before marriage. At betrothals the boy, accompanied by the women of the family, is brought on horseback to the girl's house. Here he is taken by the girl's mother, and if young is set in her lap and fed with sugarcandy and almonds. In some families the betrothal ceremony is performed on the booth-consecrating *mándva murt* day, that is three days

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before the marriage-day. During the time between betrothal and marriage presents are exchanged, and on holidays the boy is asked to dine at the girl's house or the girl at the boy's house.

Three days before the marriage, booth-consecrating *mándra murt* and Ganesh-invoking ceremonies are performed. The marriage customs differ in some particulars from those of Gujarát Bráhmans and other high-caste Hindus. The day before the marriage at the boy's house the *sakran-man* or sweet-curd ceremony is performed. Two big clay pots, one containing 1 cwt. 3 qrs. 4 lbs. and the other 1 cwt. 8 lbs. (5 and 3 *mans*) are filled with curds mixed with sugar and a little clarified butter. An old woman whose husband is alive and who is a relation of the bridegroom stirs the curds with her hand. The family-priest worships the pots and presents are made to the woman who stirred the curds. Next the priest takes the pots, accompanied with music, to the bride's house and there gets the bride to worship them. The big pot is kept at the bride's house and the little pot is sent to her maternal uncle, and the contents of both pots are distributed among the castepeople. When this is done the priest brings what is called *dahiáni* from the bride's house. This *dahiáni* consists of a brass dish with two clay pots *kodia*, a letter naming the day and hour of marriage, and a certain amount of cash.[1] After these presents the betrothal cannot be broken. On the wedding-day, shortly before the marriage hour, the bridegroom, his face covered with flower garlands and wearing a long tunic and a silk waistcloth *pitámbar*, escorted by the women of his family, goes to the bride's house on horseback in procession. Here, in presence of a company of the bride's friends, he stands at the central square of the marriage-hall, and looking down into a large earthen pan full of water, from their reflection in the water, touches with the point of his sword four saucers hung over his head.[2] He then goes back to his father's house, and after two or three hours his friends setting him on horseback escort him to the bride. Before the bridegroom's party arrive the bride, dressed in a headcloth bodice and loose Musalmán-like trousers, is seated in a closed palanquin or *balai* set in front of the house. The bridegroom, on dismounting, walks seven times round the palanquin, the bride's brother at each turn giving him a cut with an oleander *karena* twig and the women of the family throwing showers of cakes from the windows. He retires and while mounting his horse and before he is in the saddle, the bride's father comes out, and, giving him a present, leads him into the marriage hall. In Káthiáváda, on the morning of the marriage-day the bride bathes in water drawn from seven wells. She then puts on *chatudi* or Panjáb

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[1] Along with the dish are taken two clay pots containing ground turmeric and *majith* or madder and covered by pieces of turmeric and madder dyed cloth. The sum received from the bride's house regulates the amount the bridegroom has to pay. If Rs. 25 are received, ornaments worth Rs. 700 should be sent to the bride; if Rs. 50 are received, ornaments worth Rs. 1000 should be sent; and if Rs. 100 are received, ornaments worth Rs. 1300 should be sent.

[2] This seems a relic of the *matsyavedha* or fish test, in accordance with which, to prove himself worthy, the suitor of a Kshatri maiden had from the reflection in a pool of water to shoot a fish hung over his head.

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bracelets sent by her maternal uncle. She wears yellow trousers reaching to the knee and a red robe. The girl keeps her eyes closed throughout the whole day not opening them until the bridegroom is ushered into the marriage-booth so that the first object she sees is her intended husband. On the first Monday. Thursday or Friday after the marriage the bride is hid either in her own or in a neighbour's house. The bridegroom comes in state and with the point of his sword touches the outer doors of seven houses and then begins to search for his wife. The time is one of much fun and merriment, the women of the house bantering and taunting the bridegroom, especially when he is long in finding his wife's hiding place. When she is found the bridegroom leads the bride to the marriage hall, and they sit there combing each other's hair. After a time the women of the party in sport douse the bridegroom with dirty water. Then the couple have to bathe and sit together on a cot and gamble with dice. Fresh clothes are put on instead of the wedding garments and the marriage ceremonies are over. Among the Brahma-Kshatris the pregnancy ceremony lasts for eight days instead of for one or two. When a Brahma-Kshatri is on the point of death he is made to give presents to Bráhmans and others, is shaved, bathed, and laid on a part of the floor of the room which has lately been cleaned with a wash of cowdung. After death he is carried to the burning ground, where the ceremonies are the same as those performed by Bráhmans. Contrary to the Gujarát practice of beating only the breast, the Brahma-Kshatri women strike the forehead breast and knees. For thirteen days after a death women weep and beat their breasts thrice a day, at morning noon and evening. Afterwards they weep and beat their breasts every evening till a year has passed, not even excepting Sundays Tuesdays or Hindu holidays. During this year of mourning the female relations of the deceased used to eat nothing but millet-bread and pulse; but this custom is being gradually given up. The cloth-water *kápdepáni* ceremony takes place a month and a half after death, when all the deceased's relations, both men and women, meet, and the women sit down and beat their breasts and all of them eat millet-bread pulse and dates. This custom also is being gradually given up. The Brahma-Kshatris have no headmen. They are a prosperous intelligent class and anxious to give their boys a good schooling.

Ka'yasths.

Ka'yasths[1] are found chiefly in Surat. Though few in number their intelligence and education give them a high place among Gujarát

[1] The earliest reference to Káyasths appears in a Kanaswa inscription in Malwa dated 795 of the Málwa era (A.D. 738-739). The inscription is of a Maurya king named Shivagana and the term Káyasth is used there as a common noun to mean a writer. Ind. Ant. XIX. 56. Mularája's grant of Vikrama Samvat 1043 (A.D. 987) is written by a Káyasth named Kánchana. Ind. Ant. VI. 192-193. A Káyasth named Shripati the son of Máhava is mentioned as having 'by the king's command' written an inscription of the Sambhar king Visaladeva. The inscription is on the Dehli Siwálik pillar and is dated Vikrama Samvat 1220 (A.D. 1164). The inscription adds that the Káyasth was of Gauda (Bengal) descent and the term as used in the text mentions Káyasth as a proper name of a member of the Káyasth class, and not meaning a 'writer' as in the Kanaswa inscription. Ind. Ant. XIX. 219. Káyasths of Valamya and Naigama families appear as donors in the Bhinmal inscriptions (A.D. 1183-1277). Bombay Gazetteer, I. Part I. 475, 478, 479,

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Hindus.[1] They claim descent from Chitragupta.[2] Of the twelve branches of Bengal Káyasths only three, Válmik Máthur and Bhatnagra, are found in Gujarát. Though they form a community distinct from the other Hindus of Gujarát the three subdivisions neither dine together nor intermarry.[3]

Va'lmik Ka'yasths.

Va'lmik Ka'yasths are found chiefly in Surat. As early as the fourteenth century mention is made of Káyasth settlers in the Káthiáváda town of Vála.[4] But the settlement of the Káyasths in southern Gujarát seems to date from the close of the sixteenth century when (A.D. 1573 - 1583) Gujarát became part of the Mughal empire.[5] Under the arrangements introduced by the emperor Akbar Surat was placed in a special position. The city and neighbouring districts were administered by *mutsadis* or clerks of the crown, who held directly from the court of Delhi, and were not subordinate to the viceroy of Gujarát. Though the governor of the city does not seem ever to have been a Káyasth, the work of collecting the revenues of the *aththávisi* or twenty-eight divisions subordinate to Surat was entrusted to Káyasths. Till A.D. 1868, in the English villages, and, up to the present time (A.D. 1895) in the Baroda *aththávisi* villages, the sub-divisional accountants or *majmundárs* are mostly Káyasths. Except that they are rather darker and more lightly made, the Káyasths closely resemble the better class of Bráhmans. The men differ from other high class Gujarát Hindus by wearing the hair on the crown of the head as well as the top-knot and by wearing whiskers.

Their home-speech is Gujaráti. They live in well built houses two to four storeys high sometimes with a courtyard in front. They are strict in the matter of food, eating neither fish nor flesh. The men wear a small flat closefitting turban, a shape apparently copied from the Mughal headdress.[6] During the Muhammadan rule and for some time after, Gujarát Válmiks used to wear the Mughalái coat or *jáma* with a simple or embroidered *kasbi* or shouldercloth

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and 481. Karana or Káyasth is one of the various names given to mixed classes in the tenth book of Manu. Monier Williams' Wisdom of India, 233. The Bengal Káyasths are said to be one of the several mixed castes derived from the Kanouj Bráhmans. Hunter's Rural Bengal, 108.

[1] Among the Válmik Káyasths one rose to the position of Judge of the Bombay High Court. Of the Káyasths of Upper India Sir G. Campbell writes: In Hindustán they may be said to have almost wholly ousted Bráhmans from secular literate work and under the British Government are rapidly ousting the Muhammadans also. Very sharp and clever these Káyasths certainly are. Ethnology, 118.

[2] Chitragupta, the reputed founder of the Káyasths, according to tradition is registrar to Dharmarája the judge of the dead.

[3] In Bengal the Válmik, the Bhatnagra, and the Máthur Káyasths dine together and intermarry. [4] Rás Mála, I. 315.

[5] When the Muhammadans invaded Hindustán and conquered its Rajput princes, we may conclude that the Bráhmans fled from their intolerance and violence. But the conquerors found in the sect of Káyasths more pliable and better instruments for the conduct of the details of their new government. The Muhammadans carried those Hindus into their southern conquests and they spread over the countries of Central India and the Dakhan. Malcolm's Central India, 165.

[6] Of late years Vániás Bráhmans and others have adopted the Káyasth turban which is less costly. Almost all Káyasths fold their turbans themselves and do not employ professional turban-folders.

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wound tightly round the waist. Of late, except in their marriage processions, the practice is being given up and they have begun to wear coats and trousers cut in European fashion. Their women dress like Vánia women. Some Válmiks are lawyers engineers and doctors, but the greater number are in state employ, some of them holding offices of high trust and position. Under the Musalmáns, and for some time after the introduction of English rule, a knowledge of Persian was required in a government clerk, and in this language most of the Káyasths were proficient and some were excellent scholars. Of late years they have lost the monopoly they once enjoyed as Government clerks. On the other hand the establishment of railways and other large private companies has provided suitable employment for a large number of Káyasth boys. On the whole they are well-to-do and contented. All send their boys to school and most of them teach them English and other subjects up to the University entrance standard. They are so fond of show and pleasure that they are called *láláji* or *lála lok*[1] that is dandies. Almost all smoke the *hukka* hubble-bubble, drink hemp-water *bháng* or *subji*, and a few eat well prepared intoxicating drugs *pák*. Their peculiar institution is the club-room *makán*, where men of the same age meet in the evening, smoke the *hukka*, sing or hear light or religious songs, and make merry. They are very fond of singing, and some of them are excellent performers. Each family has its household goddess and a family-priest of the Audichya Bráhman subdivision. They belong to the Vallabhácharya sect. Except to their spiritual heads or Mahárájás, whom they call to their marriage ceremonies, the Válmik Káyasths show no special respect to Bráhmans. Even towards the Mahárájás they are less deferential than other Vaishnavs. Still they are treated with politeness, and their unorthodox hair and new European-like clothes are overlooked.

Birth.

No birth ceremony is performed. The mother remains impure for about forty days and the time of the child's birth is communicated to the family astrologer. The pregnant woman goes to her father's house for confinement. On the sixth day the *chhathi* or destiny ceremony is performed. On the tenth day the mother and the child bathe and worship Ganpati and mark the threshold of the house with red and yellow marks. On an auspicious day in the third or fifth month the child is rocked in a cradle and named by the paternal aunt. When the child is six or eight months old a lucky day is chosen to give it its first solid food. This *botan* ceremony consists in the child licking a little *khir* or rice boiled in milk placed on a rupee. On the first *Sankránt* day (12th January) after birth the child is weighed and the weight in the form of rice and a few rupees is distributed among Bráhmans. When the child is two or three years old it worships Ganpati. On this occasion twelve or thirteen copper or brass jugs filled with clarified butter are distributed among relations. The shaving *mudan* ceremony takes place in a boy's third fifth or

[1] In Upper India *Lála* means a clerk of the Káyasth class. Seoni or Camp Life on the Sátpuda Range. R. A. Sterndale, 1877.

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seventh year. The boy is seated in a copper tray and the hair is cut by the barber and gathered by the father's sister who throws it into a well. Among well-to-do families the boy is sent to school in procession and the event is celebrated by a dinner. The boys of the school are given sweetmeats and wooden pens and inkstands.

Marriage.

As a rule girls may marry when they are from seven to eleven years old and boys from seven to twenty. There is no fixed time for betrothal; it takes place sometimes days and sometimes years before marriage. The chief part of the ceremony is the comparison of the boy's and girl's horoscopes. The contract is only verbal, but it is seldom broken. On various occasions between betrothal and marriage the boy and girl go to the house of their fathers-in-law to dine and receive presents. Marriage takes place on a day fixed by the astrologer. Five or six days before the marriage comes the booth-consecrating or *mándva murt* ceremony. The father of the girl sits in a courtyard and worships Ganpati. Four relations who have only once been married and who are not widowers are asked to help the father in digging a small pit and laying in it a small twig of the *shami* Prosopis spicigera tree, together with honey milk curds and rice. The four helpers receive balls of boiled milk and sugar *pendás*. The same ceremony takes place at the bridegroom's house. Two or three days before the marriage the bride and the bridegroom accompanied by children go to the house of their fathers-in-law and worship Ganpati. They are given plantains sweetmeats and a few coppers. On the day of the marriage, at the bride's, and a day or two before at the bridegroom's house, the *grahashánti* or planet-propitiating ceremony takes place and the bride and bridegroom are rubbed with turmeric. On the marriage-day at noon, at both the bride's and the bridegroom's house, castepeople, especially women and children, are asked to dinner. Just before sunset, the usual time for performing the wedding-ceremony, the bridegroom goes to the bride's house in procession. At the entrance to the marriage-booth the husband of one of the bride's sisters stands near a footstool on which the bridegroom stands and the girl's mother throws wheat-flour balls in four directions and shows her son-in-law a miniature plough, a grinding pestle, a churning staff, and an arrow, and pulls his nose.[1] The bridegroom is then led by the mother-in-law into the marriage-booth and seated on a wooden stool underneath a bamboo canopy. The bride is brought by the maternal uncle and seated on a wooden stool opposite the bridegroom and a piece of cloth is held across by two men so that the bride and the bridegroom may not see each other. The Vallabhácharya Mahárája is invited to be present till the hand-joining ceremony is

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[1] The bridegroom's struggles to prevent his mother-in-law pulling his nose are the cause of much merriment. The footstool on which the bridegroom stands is a subject of contention between the relations of the bride and of the bridegroom, the bridegroom's party claiming the footstool as their own, while the bride's party dispute the right. When the bridegroom's party fail to get hold of the stool they take away any article they can lay their hands on. To prevent this all the furniture in the bride's house is locked up. If anything is taken away it is soon returned.

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over.[1] He is given cash by the parents of the bride and bridegroom. The Mahárája gives clothes to the bride and the bridegroom. After the recital of a few *mantras* or prayers by the priest and other Bráhmans in the presence of the Mahárája the hands of the bride and bridegroom are joined and the cloth is removed. Then the bridegroom's parents and other relations leave the marriage-hall as if in anger. The parents of the bride go to call them back, and after making presents of cash and clothes bring them again into the marriage-hall. The bride and bridegroom then walk four times round the fire, the bridegroom if he is young, reciting one or two marriage-songs taught him by a *mehetáji* or teacher. When the four rounds are completed the bride and bridegroom feed each other with a handful of *kansár* wheat-flour mixed with clarified butter and molasses. The bride and bridegroom then start in a palanquin to the bridegroom's house. At the bridegroom's house the mother of the bridegroom receives the pair at the entrance. The bride and bridegroom worship the goddess and play cards. On the marriage-day the bridegroom's father gives a caste dinner. On the second or third day after marriage the bridegroom and bride go in procession to the bride's house where they are bathed and dressed in rich clothes and ornaments. On this day two white doves, a male and female, are brought to the bride's house each in a Bráhman's hand. The birds are tied together by a red thread which is thrown over their necks. The bride and bridegroom oil them, smooth their feathers, make them look in a mirror, and mark their brows with redpowder and grains of rice. When the worship is over the doves are taken away by the owner who is generally a Musalmán and who, besides cooked food, is paid half a rupee. After the dove worship the bride and bridegroom oil and comb each other's hair and lash each other with a twisted handkerchief. After this the bridegroom takes his bride to his own house. Five or six days after the marriage the family goddess is worshipped and removed, the bride and bridegroom again oil and comb each other's hair, and a caste dinner is given.

Marriage expenses vary according to circumstances. But by a caste rule the marriage ornaments given to the bride by the bridegroom must be of the aggregate value of Rs. 700. Caste dinners are given on marriage occasions by the fathers both of the bride and of the bridegroom. The male guests are invited by the priest, the male friends and relations, and a band of boys; the female guests by the women of the family. Unlike those of other Hindus, their caste feasts are held late in the evening at nine o'clock and last till eleven or twelve midnight, and the bride eats a little from the dishes of her father-in-law and mother-in-law. When a woman for the first time sits aloof during her monthly sickness she is invited to her father-in-law's house. There she is placed in such a room that her husband cannot see her face. Her female companions come to see her and they are given cardamoms and pieces of betelnuts.

[1] The practice of inviting the Mahárájás is not strictly adhered to by young men.

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Within a week after, on a lucky day, she is bathed and worships Ganpati, receiving a *tola* or a rupee's weight of gold and a new set of clothes. The pregnancy and death ceremonies are the same as those performed by Vániás. The only difference is that among Káyasths, on the tenth eleventh twelfth and thirteenth days after a death, four or five ascetics are feasted. Válmik Káyasths have no leading families. Caste disputes are settled at a general meeting of the community. The caste has little power over the members.

Máthur Káyasths.

Má'thur Ká'yasths are found in Ahmedábád, Baroda, Dabhoi, Surat, Rádhanpur, and Nadiád. From Gujarát they are said to have spread to Nandurbár in Khándesh and to Burhánpur in the Central Provinces. The original home of the Máthur Káyasths, as the name shows, is Mathura, and they are found in large numbers in Bengal and in the North-West Provinces. They accompanied the Mughal viceroys (A.D. 1573-1750) to Gujarát as their clerks and interpreters.

In appearance Máthur Káyasths differ little from Vániás. Thirty years ago both men and women spoke Hindustáni in their houses. Though Hindustáni is not entirely neglected and though marriage and other festive songs are sung in that language, Gujaráti is now much more generally used. The men wear the Mughalái turban. Twenty-five years ago the men used to wear coats *jámás* or *nimás* falling to the ankle, trousers, and sashes. Of late these have been replaced by short cotton coats *angarkhás*, waistcloths, and shawls or plain or embroidered shouldercloths. Besides a petticoat a robe and a bodice, the women used formerly when in public to wrap a white coverlet round their body so as to completely hide their face. Of late years the practice of hiding the face has been given up. The women wear gold and pearl ornaments in place of silver. Fifty or sixty years ago the Máthurs used to eat animal food. They are now vegetarians. In worshipping their goddess in *Chaitra* (April-May) and *A'shvin* (October-November), the Máthurs used to make offerings of flesh and country liquor. But their close contact with Gujarát Bráhmans and Vániás has led them to give up the practice. In their offerings they now put white pumpkin in place of flesh and sugared water in place of liquor. While taking their meals some of the Máthurs observe the Bráhmanic custom of throwing rice and butter into the fire and of laying a small quantity of cooked articles outside of the dish.

Religion.

Of Máthurs some are Rámánujas, some are Vallabhácháryás, and some are Shaivs. Each house has a family-goddess or *kul-devi*, some form of Káli, Durga, or Amba. Their household gods are Lálji or Vishnu in his infant form, Ganpati, and Mahádev. Both men and women visit the temples of Shiva, Vishnu, and Máta. The Máthurs have family-priests *kulgors* of the Audichya, Shrimáli, and Párásar divisions who officiate at their ceremonies. Though some Máthurs in Dabhoi and Nadiád are landholders, clerkship is the hereditary calling of the class.

Customs.

No ceremony is performed at birth. On the sixth day after birth a clay elephant is made with two wafer-biscuits or *pápads* for ears.

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In the evening the elephant is set on a wooden stool and near it are laid a reed-pen, paper, and vermilion or redlead *sindhur*, and a dish of wheat-flour mixed with butter and sugar, split gram, and other articles is set before it. A lamp fed with sesame oil burns in an iron pan, so placed that the child may not see it.[1] On the thirteenth day or on some other lucky day about that time, the mother and the new-born child are bathed and taken in old clothes to a neighbouring well and some red or yellow marks are made on the well. The mother and the child then go to the houses of their relations, where the mother rubs redpowder on the door-post. Before entering her own house with the child the mother marks the threshold and the door-post with red. In the evening the child is laid in a cradle and named. The solid food ceremony takes place when the child is five months old. On a day fixed by the astrologer, the Bráhman priest, with clarified butter molasses and redpowder, draws a picture of the family-goddess on the whitewashed wall of the house. Before the goddess on a wooden stool are laid rice, half a rupee, some copper coins, and a piece of silk cloth. The child's maternal uncle worships the goddess with the child on his lap, and then puts boiled milk mixed with rice and sugar three times into the boy's mouth using a rupee or an eight-anna piece as a spoon. The hair-cutting or *mudan* ceremony is performed when the boy is about four years old, and the thread-ceremony when he is seven or nine. The rites on these occasions are the same as those observed by Bráhmans.[2]

A day before the marriage the bride is attired in a rich male dress and her face is hid by a closely-woven flower-wreath *shero*. In the evening she is mounted on a mare and led in procession to the bridegroom's house. She is received at the marriage-booth *mándva* by the oldest male relative of the bridegroom, who takes her on his lap. The bridegroom's priest then comes with a dish of cocoa-kernels and almonds. The oldest male relative then rubs her brow with redpowder, a costly robe is given her, a flower garland thrown round her neck, and cocoa-kernel and almonds are put in the pockets of her coat. She goes home with all these things in the same way as she came. During the time she is in the booth the bridegroom is not allowed to come near her or to see her face.

On the marriage day, at the house both of the bride and of the bridegroom, the planets are worshipped and the bride and bridegroom are bathed. After bathing the bridegroom's head is covered with a red scarf, one end of which is plaited with his hair, and a silver pendant *gophni* is fastened to it. He wears a red cotton waistcloth, and a piece of red cloth is tied round his breast. Gold necklaces are put on his neck, some passing underneath the right arm some underneath the left arm, and his legs are adorned with anklets. All this makes him look like a woman. Over the headscarf he wears a hood of thick-stemmed palm-leaves Caryota urens, and his face is hid by a closely-

[1] A glance at the lamp is believed to make the child cock-eyed.
[2] Those who are not well off, to save expense perform the hair-cutting or *mudan* when a relative is holding a marriage and the thread-ceremony at the time of the boy's marriage.

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woven flower-wreath. Thus dressed, with his father and a band of his relations and friends, he sets out for the bride's. When the party reaches the bride's, some of her relations, by way of joke, set a winnowing fan on the head of the bridegroom's father. Before he is ushered into the booth the bridegroom is shown a model spinning wheel and plough. After entering the booth the bridegroom stands on a wooden stool and changes his red waistcloth for a white one. If he is not grown up, he is set on his maternal uncle's shoulders and the bride is brought in on the shoulders of her maternal uncle. Thirteen *karena* or oleander twigs are laid one after another in the bride's right hand. The bride and bridegroom are carried round the booth on their uncles' shoulders, the object of the girl's uncle being to give her the chance of striking the boy with one of the twigs, and the object of the boy's uncle being to give the boy the chance of snatching the twig out of the girl's hand. The bridegroom's friends help him in trying to snatch the twigs from the bride's hands and the mimic fight is the cause of much merriment. Then follows the hand-joining, the ceremony being the same as among Bráhmans except that it takes place near the family-goddess and not in the bamboo canopy or *máhera* in the booth. The pregnancy and death ceremonies are also the same as those performed by Bráhmans.

Besides the ordinary Hindu high days the Máthur Káyasths have several holidays. On the second of *Kártik sud* (November) and *Chaitra sud* (April-May) men of the Máthur caste worship the image of Chitragupta, the head of their tribe, and eat food cooked by their sisters. On the second of *Kártik* women go to their brothers' houses with a plate of sweetmeats, rice, redpowder, and a shallow earthen pot with sesame oil and a wick in it. The woman makes the redpowder mark on her brother's forehead, sticks grains of rice on the mark, and lights the wick in the shallow earthen pot, waves the pot in front of her brother's face, and gives him her blessing. On the seventh of *Phálgun sud* (March-April) women bathe in cold water and eat food cooked on the previous day. On the third of *Chaitra sud* and *Chaitra vad* (April-May) women make clay images called *gors* of various shapes, worship them, and set them in shallow earthen pots, eating wheat bread mixed with molasses. On the third of *Vaishákh sud* or *Akshayatritíya* (May) a clay elephant with a driver on it is set on a footstool near another mud image. Before this mud image is set a dish with wheat-flour mixed with clarified butter sugar and vegetables. On the second of *Shrávan sud* (July-August) women tie yellow cotton threads round their arms and keep wearing them for six days. Pictures called *chulis* are painted with red ochre on the walls inside and outside of the house. Among these pictures the commonest is that of a man bearing a long pole on his shoulders from the ends of which baskets hang, one with a man the other with a woman in it. On one side of the painting is drawn the sun and on the other the moon. On the third of *Shrávan vad* women fast throughout the day, and after worshipping the moon and the mud image of their family goddess eat only barley. The day is called *Kájli-trij* or *javkájli* Barley Day. The fourth of *A'shvin vad* (October-

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November) is called *Karavdacholh* or the Water-jug Fourth. Women drink no water throughout the day. At night when the moon is far above the horizon women mark with turmeric a clay jug which has a tube in one of its sides. The jug is then filled with water. Some flowers are offered to the moon, and the women sip water out of the jug and break their fast.

The Máthurs have no headman. Social disputes are settled by the majority of the caste present at a meeting. Breaches of caste rules are punished with fine or excommunication. The authority of the caste has of late weakened. On account of the keen competition for Government service the Máthurs are a falling people and they are not able to give their children a high education.

Bhatnagra Káyasths.

Bhatnagra Káyasths are found in Ahmedábád, Baroda, and in small numbers in Surat. Like the Válmik and Máthur Káyasths the Bhatnagrás came originally from North India where they are still found in large numbers. Like other Káyasths they trace their descent to Chitragupta, and according to the Padma Purán they got their name because one of the twelve sons of Chitragupta was sent with a sage named Bhat to found Shrinagar of which he was afterwards administrator. Unlike the Válmiks and Máthurs, the Bhatnagrás have two divisions Visás and Dasás. Of these two divisions the Visás rank higher. The Visás formerly refused to eat food cooked by Dasás; they take Dasa girls in marriage but do not give their girls to Dasás. In look, speech, dress, food, house, and calling the Bhatnagrás are like Válmiks and Máthurs. They are Vallabhácháryás in religion. Their special holidays are *Dasara* (October) and the second of the bright fortnight of *Kártik* (November). On these days a mystic verse called *páyat* in honour of Chitragupta is written and worshipped along with a sword. In their customs they resemble the Máthurs more than the Válmiks. A pregnant woman generally goes to her father's house for her confinement. On the birth of the first male child molasses and coriander-seed are distributed among friends and relations, and the news of the birth is sent to the boy's father. On the night of the fifth day after birth the goddess Chhathi is worshipped and a reed-pen, an inkstand, paper, and vermilion powder are laid on a wooden stool in the lying-in room. On the sixth day the child is dressed in a cap and a shirt. On the thirteenth day it is made to lick boiled rice and milk and is named by the father's sister. Like Máthurs, but unlike Válmiks, the Bhatnagrás wear the Bráhman thread and a necklace made of the stem of the basil plant. When the boy is five seven or nine years old a hair-cutting ceremony is performed. A fortnight before the day fixed for the ceremony the image of the family-goddess is set on the ground cowdunged, then whitewashed, and then coloured red. The women of the house dressed in clean clothes grind wheat, and from the flour make food offerings cooked by a fire lit by rubbing two pieces of *khákhar* Butea frondosa wood. For fifteen days the family-goddess is worshipped, and cocoanuts betelnuts and other food offerings are made to her. The food offerings are each day distributed among the castepeople. On a day fixed by the Bráhmans the boy's hair is cut and he is invested with the thread with full Bráhmanic rites. The

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ceremonies performed on the occasion of marriage, on a woman's first pregnancy, and after death do not differ from those performed by the Máthurs. Their priests are Shrigaud Bráhmans. They have no headman. Caste disputes are settled by the majority of men present at a special caste meeting. They send their boys to school and are on the whole fairly off.

Prabhus.
KÁYASTH.

Prabhus are of two divisions, Káyasth and Pátáne. **Ka'yasth Prabhus** found in small numbers all over Gujarát form an important community in Baroda. They claim descent from Chandrasen a Kshatriya king of Oudh. They are said to have settled in Gujarát during the time of Marátha supremacy (A.D. 1760 - 1800) and risen to places of trust and responsibility during the ministry of Rávji Appáji (A.D. 1794 - 1802) in the Baroda state. They still keep up a connection with the Káyasth Prabhus of Thána and Kolába. Their food is rice millet-bread and pulse, and they live in the same way as Bráhmans. They do not openly eat fish or flesh. Both men and women dress like Konkan Bráhmans. The men wear a round turban shirt coat and waistcloth. The women wear a bodice and a robe the ends of which are passed between the legs and tucked in at the loins. Most of them live in one or two storied houses and own ornaments furniture and land. Their home speech is Maráthi, but they speak Gujaráti fluently. They are Shaivs by religion and observe all Bráhman customs and rules. They are employed in Government service as writers and accountants, and on the whole are well-to-do. Their habits manners and customs do not differ from those of Konkan Káyasths. They have no headman. They send their boys to school and do their best to give them a good education.

PÁTÁNE.

Pa'ta'ne Prabhus are found chiefly in Surat. Though permanently seettled in Surat they keep up relations with the Bombay Pátáne Prabhus. They eat animal food, sheep goats and fish. The men may be known by their broad flat turban; the women by their full Marátha robes. Their home-speech is Maráthi, but they can read and write Gujaráti. They wear the sacred-thread and employ Gujaráti Bráhmans as their priests. From the earliest European connection with Western India Prabhus have been much trusted by European merchants, and in the present century when the British became supreme in Gujarát (A.D. 1817) the Prabhus had at first almost a monopoly of Government service as English writers.[1] The spread of English education has increased the competition for these posts, and the Prabhus are less prosperous than they were. They are Shaivs in faith, each family having its household goddess. They have no headman. Though, from the spread of English they have lost their monopoly as English writers, they maintain themselves in respectable positions and are careful to give their boys an English education.

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[1] So large a number of Prabhus was employed in the English branch of Government offices that in pay-bills and correspondence the word 'Prabhu' was used to describe English writers of all classes, whether Bráhman, Káyasth, Vánia, or Pársi.

Section III.

TRADERS.

VÁNIÁS.

SECTION III.—TRADERS.

UNDER Traders come twenty-six classes with a strength of 600,013 or 6·06 per cent of the total Hindu population. Of the twenty-six classes, twenty-three with their Shrávak sections form the great Vánia community of Gujarát. The Brahmánic sections who are mostly followers of the Vallabhácharya sect call themselves Meshri Vániás to distinguish themselves from their Shrávak section who follow Jáinism and call themselves Shrávak Vániás. Though separated by religion and the line of separation is rigid in south Gujarát, the Brahmánic and Shrávak sections of the Vánia community are knit together by social ties and in north Gujarát, Kachh, and Káthiáváda they generally eat together and sometimes intermarry. The names of their leading divisions also show that both classes entered Gujarát from Rajputána between the tenth and sixteenth centuries in different detachments. The remaining three classes, Bhansális Bhátiás and Lohánás are distinct communities and are known by their caste names. They seem to have come from Sindh and are numerous in Kachh and Káthiáváda. In Gujarát proper their number is small and as traders they occupy a subordinate position, and even in Kachh and Káthiáváda the Bhansális and Lohánás are more cultivators than traders; but in Bombay they have succeeded so well as traders that they are now more known as traders than as cultivators and are therefore classed here as traders. The following statement shows the strength and distribution of the leading classes of traders:

Traders, 1891.

No.	CLASS.	Ahmedábád.	Kaira.	Panch Máháls.	Broach.	Surat.	Native States.	Baroda.	Total.
	Vániás.								
1	Agarváls	185	37	219	45	61	374	88	1009
2	Chitrodás	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
3	Deshávals	1845	1570	39	73	568	3302	10,014	17,411
4	Didus	60	11	...	...	350	380	2	803
5	Gujjars	372	28	90	293	97	1074	91	2045
6	Harsolás	745	...	34	...	114	377	5	1275
7	Jhárolás	173	266	594	...	353	824	2493	4703
8	Kapols	677	86	...	255	199	13,821	2234	17,272
9	Khadáyatás	2026	11,349	1425	577	792	8185	3728	28,082
10	Láds	206	210	695	2897	3154	2463	8974	18,599
11	Meváds	57	339	18	268	398	1425	1634	4139
12	Modhs	8055	1794	1846	904	2141	16,385	3822	34,947
13	Nándorás	1	16	...	...	88	5	41	151
14	Nágars	1656	1596	17	137	783	2161	5161	11,511
15	Narsipurás...	...	...	...	...	...	123	265	388
16	Nimás	594	1814	2330	22	38	3990	106	8894
17	Osváls	1970	558	495	522	2359	78,544	3846	88,294
18	Porváds	6375	4439	695	1197	5791	14,676	11,920	45,093
19	Ráyakváls	28	19	...	...	...	...	...	47
20	Shrimális	33,238	5541	570	5422	4486	130,620	32,879	212,756
21	Sorathiyás	14	...	...	...	...	12,103	554	12,761
22	Ummáds	1608	241	379	13	961	3530	1312	8044
23	Váyadás	320	45	37	274	126	549	932	2283
	Unspecified ...	1202	884	780	992	438	18,048	4970	27,314
	Total Vániás ...	61,407	30,843	10,263	13,891	23,297	312,959	95,071	547,731
24	Bhansális	2295	781	1489	1943	212	19,447	556	26,723
25	Bhátiás	77	11	25	157	856	12,342	958	14,426
26	Lohánás	...	16	...	...	...	18	11,099	11,133
	Total ...	2372	808	1514	2100	1068	31,807	12,613	52,282
	Total Traders ...	63,779	31,651	11,777	15,991	24,365	344,766	107,684	600,013

Note.—The census figures of 1891 are apparently incomplete. The head 'Unspecified' seems to include most of the well known communities. Again the Bhátiás and Lohánás are returned at only 25,559, whereas their number was more than a *lákh* according to the 1872 census.

Section III.
TRADERS.
VÁNIÁS.

Va'nia's or traders, from the Sanskrit *vanij* trader, number 547,731 or 5·53 per cent of the Hindu population, of whom 213,086 or 38·90 per cent are Meshris or Vaishnavs and 334,645 or 61·10 per cent are Shrávaks or followers of the Jain faith. Though many subdivisions of Vániás have their Shrávak sections, the Jain element predominates in the Porváds and the Shrimális; the Ummads and the Osváls are wholly Shrávaks. Though in social position they rank below Bráhmans their wealth and intelligence make the Vániás one of the most important sections of the population of Gujarát. They include twenty-three divisions as shown in the statement, which in almost all cases are further split into subdivisions and local sections. Most of the Vánia castes are divided into Visás or twenties and Dasás or tens. The Visa sections being numerically great were probably so called because they represented larger numbers than the Dasás. Among some castes there are still smaller sections called Pánchás or fives who are regarded as degraded and with whom other Vániás do not dine. All the main divisions with their Visa and Dasa subdivisions and local sections generally eat together but do not intermarry and the restriction about marriage is in many cases applied to local sections also. Thus among Modhs, the Goghva Modhs of Ahmedábád do not marry with the Goghva Modhs of Surat, and the Broach Goghva Modhs do not marry with the Kaira Goghva Modhs. Similarly among Desávals the Ahmedábád Visa Desávals do not marry with the Surat Visa Desávals. Except Agarváls and Bam Nágar Vániás no Vániás wear the sacred thread, and except the Kachhi section of the Osváls known as Letás and some Pánchás none allow widow-marriage.

MESHRI VÁNIÁS.

Agarva'ls.

Agarva'ls, with a strength of 1009, are found chiefly in north Gujarát and take their name from the ancient Indian midland town of Agar about forty miles north-east of Ujjain. The Agarváls are said to have come from Rajputána where they occur in large numbers. They are divided into Visás or twenties and Dasás or tens. Their family-priests are Agarvál Bráhmans. They wear the sacred thread. The Agarváls are proverbial for their impatience for caste control and for disregard of caste distinctions. The Hindi proverb illustrative of their character runs: *Agraválè sab Thakrále* that is Among Agarváls each individual constitutes himself chief.

Chitroda's.

Chitroda's are found in Broach and Baroda. They take their name from Chitrod in Rajputána. They are not divided into Visás and Dasás. Their family priests are Chitroda Bráhmans.

Desava'ls.

Desa'va'ls, with a strength of 17,411, are found chiefly in north Gujarát. They take their name from Disa an ancient town near the military station of the same name about eighty-nine miles north-west of Ahmedábád. They are divided into Visás Dasás and Pánchás. The Dasás are further subdivided into Ahmedábádis Suratis and Ghogháris. Both Visás and Dasás eat together but do not intermarry. The Pánchás form a separate community. The Suratis and Ahmedábádis sometimes intermarry but not without fine as penalty. At marriages

the bride and bridegroom go round the *chori* or square eight times instead of seven times as is the case among other Vániás, and the *kansár* with which the pair feed each other is composed of curds and molasses instead of wheatflour sugar and clarified butter. Their family-priests are Desávál Bráhmans and they are followers of the Vallabhácharya sect.

Didus.

Didus, with a strength of 803, are found chiefly in Surat. They are said to have come to Surat from Márwár about three hundred years ago when Surat was the great centre of trade. They take their name from Dindvána, a small town in Márwár. They are not divided into Visás and Dasás but have two divisions Didus and Nághoris who obtain their name from Nághor in Márwár. They are an offshoot of the Meshri Vániás of Márwár. Both dine together and intermarry. Their family priests are Shrimáli Bráhmans. They are followers of the Vallabhácharya sect.

Gujjars.

Gujjars, with a strength of 2045, are found chiefly in Ahmedábád Broach and south Gujarát. They are said to have settled in Gujarát before the other Vániás. Most of them work as clerks and traders but some hold rent-free lands which they are said to have received in reward for bringing the land under tillage. There seems little reason to doubt that these Vániás are Gurjjars originally Rajputs, some of whom have continued Rajputs under the name of Chávaḍás Parmárs and Solaṅkis, and represent the seventh century Gurjjara rulers of north Gujarát and of Broach. Formerly the Gujjars were divided into Visás and Dasás. Lately the Visás finding themselves diminishing joined the Dasás. Their family priests are Shrimáli Bráhmans, and they are followers of the Vallabhácharya sect.

Harsola's.

Harsola's, with a strength of 1275, are found chiefly in north Gujarát. They take their name from Harsol, about thirty miles north-west of Ahmedábád. They are not divided into Visás and Dasás. Their family-priests are Harsola Bráhmans, and they are followers of the Vallabhácharya sect.

Jha'rola's.

Jha'rola's, commonly called Jhálorás with a strength of 4703, are found chiefly in Baroda and east Gujarát. They take their name from the well-known fort and trade centre of Jhálor in Márwár, the seventeenth century northern limit of Gujarát about halfway between Jodhpur and Shrimál. They are divided into Visás Dasás and Pánchás. The Visás and Dasás dine together but do not intermarry. The Pánchás form a separate community. They are Vallabhácharya Vaishnavs and their family-priests are Jhálora Bráhmans.

Kapols.

Kapols, with a strength of 17,272, are found chiefly in Káthiáváḍa and trace their origin to Junágaḍh or Girnár. They are not divided into Visás and Dasás. They are chiefly found in Amreli, Delvára, Mahuva, Bhávnagar, and Sihor in east Káthiáváḍa. Their family-priests are Kandolia Bráhmans who take their name from Kandola near Thán in Káthiáváḍa. Their family goddess is Samudri-Máta, whose chief shrine is at Sundri, a Dhrángadhra village twenty miles from Thán. The Kapols hold a high place in Bombay, where some of their families are said to have been settled for about 150 years. They are Vallabhácharya Vaishnavs.

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MESHRI VÁNIÁS.

Khada'yata's.

Khada'yata's, with a strength of 28,082 found all over Gujarát, take their name from Khadát, a village near Parántij about thirty-five miles north-east of Ahmedábád. They are divided into Visás and Dasás. Their family-priests are Khadáyata Bráhmans and their family deity is Kotyarkeshvar of Khadát Mahudi near Vijápur in Baroda territory. They are Vallabhácharya Vaishnavs. They are said to be an offshoot of the Nágar Vániás. Among Khadáyatás large sums of money are frequently paid for marriageable girls.

La'ds.

La'ds, with a strength of 18,599, are found chiefly in Baroda, Broach, Dabhoi, and Surat. They take their name from Lát-desh the old name of south Gujarát. They are divided into Visás and Dasás. Their family-priests are Khedávál Bráhmans, and their family-deity is Áshápuri of Ashnai near Petlád. Lád women, especially those of Baroda, are noted for their taste in dress. Their old surnames are Khata, Khichadia, Patári, and Rokadia, and their old names ended with *rái* and *pál* instead of *dás* as Kalánrái and Dhanpál. They are Vallabhácharya Vaishnavs.

Meva'da's.

Meva'da's, with a strength of 4139 including 1695 Shrávaks, are found chiefly in Baroda Kaira and Surat. They are said to have come from Mewár. They are divided into Visás and Dasás. Their family-priests are Meváda Bráhmans. They are partly Vallabhácharya Vaishnavs and partly Jains.

Modhs.

Modhs, with a strength of 34,947, are found all over Gujarát but chiefly in north Gujarát and in Káthiáváda. They take their name from Modhera on the banks of the Vátrak, about eighteen miles north-east of Ahmedábád. They form an important element in the Vánia community, including three subdivisions, Adálaja from the village of Adálaja, about ten miles north of Ahmedábád; Ghoghva from Gogha in east Káthiáváda; and Mándaliya from Mándal, formerly a place of consequence, about forty-eight miles north-west of Ahmedábád. None of the three subdivisions intermarry in Gujarát proper, though the Goghvás and Adálajás intermarry in Káthiáváda and Kachh. They are divided into Visás and Dasás. At the wedding of Modh Vániás a sword and a flywhisk are used. The sword suggests a Rajput origin but no trace of tribal surnames remains. The family-priests of Modh Vániás are Modh Bráhmans and their family-deity is at Modhera.[1] They are Vallabhácharya Vaishnavs. Besides engaging in trade, Modh Vániás have proved able and successful administrators in native states. The large class of oilmen known in Gujarát as Modh-Ghánchis were originally Modh Vániás, who by taking to making and selling oil lost their position as Vániás.

Na'ndora's.

Na'ndora's, with a strength of 151 are found in Surat and Rewa Kántha. They take their name from Nándod the capital of Rájpipla. They are not divided into Visás and Dasás. Their family-priests are

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[1] Very few Modh Vániás visit Modhera. Those who visit it do not drink water out of the well on account of the unpleasant circumstances which led to their dispersion from Modhera. The goddess is said to stand upside down since their dispersion, and it is believed that she will remain in that position until a man comes forward and spends 100 *mans* or 4000 pounds of salt in one day in a caste dinner, that is feast a hundred thousand of his castepeople.

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Nándora Bráhmans and their family-deity is Nandikeshvar Mahádev of Nándod. They are Vallabhácharya Vaishnavs.

Na'gars.

Na'gars, with a strength of 11,511, are found all over Gujarát Baroda and Kaira. Like Nágar Bráhmans they claim Vadnagar as their original seat. They are divided into Visás and Dasás. They are Vallabhácharya Vaishnavs. Their family-priests are Nágar Bráhmans, and their family-deity is Hátkeshvar of Vadnagar. A small subdivision known as Bam Nágars pride themselves on being strict observers of religious ceremonials and do not eat with other Vániás. They wear the sacred-thread and are mostly Shaivs.

Narsipura's.

Narsipura's, with a strength of 388 including 123 Shrávaks, are found chiefly in Baroda. They are said to take their name from Narsipur in Pálanpur. They are not divided into Visás and Dasás. Their family-priests belong to different divisions of Gujarát Bráhmans. They are partly Vaishnavs partly Jains.

Nima's.

Nima's, with a strength of 8894 including 2347 Shrávaks, are found chiefly in the Panch Maháls. They are said to have entered Gujarát from Márwár about two hundred years ago. They are divided into Visás and Dasás who neither eat together nor intermarry. The Visás are both Vaishnavs and Jains and the Dasás are followers of the Vallabhácharya sect. Their family-priests are Udambara Bráhmans, and their family-deity is Shámláji near Idar. Marriages among Dasás take place at alternate years on a day fixed by the caste.

Osva'ls.

Osva'ls, with a strength of 88,294 are found all over Gujarát. They are Shrávaks and are described at pages 96 and 97.

Porva'ds.

Porva'ds, with a strength of 45,093 including 33,437 Shrávaks, are found all over Gujarát. They are said to take their name from Porvád a suburb of Shrimál, the old capital of south Márwár. They are divided into Visás and Dasás. Their family-priests are Shrimáli Bráhmans, and their family-deity is the Shri or Mahálakshmi of Shrimál. They are partly Vaishnavs partly Jains.

Ra'yakva'ls.

Ra'yakva'ls, with a strength of 47, are found chiefly in Ahmedábád. They take their name from Ráika near Dhandhuka.[1] They are not divided into Visás and Dasás. Their family-priests are Ráyakvál Bráhmans and they are Vallabhácharya Vaishnavs.

Shrima'lis.

Shrima'lis, with a strength of 212,756 including 177,867 Shrávaks, are found all over Gujarát but chiefly in Ahmedábád and Kaira. They take their name from Shrimál now Bhinmál in Márwár about fifty miles west of Mount Ábu. Like Osvál Vániás they were formerly Solanki Rajputs and originally Gurjjars. They are divided into Visás and Dasás, who eat together but do not intermarry. Their family-priests are Shrimáli Bráhmans and their family-goddess is Vágheshvari of Shrimál. The Visa Shrimális are exclusively Jains. The Gujarát Shrimáli Sonis or goldsmiths originally belonged to the Shrimáli Vánia class.

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[1] It is also said that Ráyakvál Bráhmans and Ráyakvál Vániás take their name from Ráeka a Rajput estate on the Mahi to the south of Bhádarva in the Rewa Kántha Agency.

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Sorathiya's.

Sorathiya's, with a strength of 12,671 are found chiefly in south Káthiáváda. They take their name from Sorath the south coast of Káthiáváda. They are divided into Visás and Dasás. The Sorathiyás of the sea-coast towns, chiefly Porbandar, Mángrol, Verával, Jafarábád, and Diu, are remarkable for their commercial enterprise. From ancient times they have been in the habit of making voyages to Arabia and Zanzibar going in their youth and returning to their native land after nine or ten years, when they generally marry. The Bombay brokers and trade agents known as Chhápariás are chiefly Sorathiya Vániás.[1] Their family-priests are Kandolia Bráhmans, and their family-deity is Sámudri whose chief shrine is at Sundri in Dhrángadra. They are followers of the Vallabhácharya sect.

Ummads.

Ummads, with a strength of 8044 including 7488 Shrávaks found chiefly in north Gujarát, are said to have entered Gujarát from Márwár about two centuries ago. They are divided into Visás and Dasás. Their family-priests are Audichya and other Gujarát Bráhmans. They are partly Vaishnavs partly Jains.

Va'yada's.

Va'yada's, with a strength of 2283, are found chiefly in north Gujarát. They are said to take their name from Váyad, a village near Pátan about fifty-four miles north-west of Ahmedábád. They are divided into Visás and Dasás who eat together but do not intermarry. The Visás are further divided into Ahmedábádis and Surtis who eat together and intermarry. Their priests are Váyada Bráhmans. Most of them are Vaishnavs of the Vallabhácharya sect and a few are Shaivs. Unlike other Vániás, the bridegroom goes to the bride's house in an open bullock cart with his face masked in cloth and the marriage ceremony takes place at or after midnight. On his way to the bride's house the bridegroom performs the *chakla* or cross-roads worship. In the middle of the square a sweet ball is placed on a fried cake and at each corner an earthen pot with a sweet ball and a copper in it. During the worship to conceal the bridegroom from public gaze, a strip of cloth is held round him by his friends and relations. After the worship is over the corner pots are given to four unmarried boys as a lucky present to ensure a speedy marriage. A sweet ball is then set on the ground and on it a waistcloth is spread. On the waistcloth a sword is placed and the bridegroom's cart is made to pass over the sword. If the edge of the sword is broken it is considered a bad omen. The bride also performs the cross-roads worship in company of her friends and relations.

Appearance.

The different divisions of Vániás differ little in colour. As has been noticed under Bráhmans the variations of fashions in wearing the head and face hair, in the fold and form of the turban, and in other respects are local, not caste or subdivisional variations. As regards both dress and appearance the great class of Vániás should be arranged rather according to locality than according to caste or race. The main divisions among Vániás in the matter of dress and of looks

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[1] The word *chháparia* roof-like is a name given in Bombay in allusion to the shape of the Sorathiya turban.

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MESHRI VÁNIÁS.

are into north Gujarát, Káthiáváda, and Surat. The north Gujarát and Káthiáváda men and women are strongly and actively made, while the south Gujarát men and women are slightly made and of poor physique. In middle life and old age many become very stout, a proof of prosperity and good luck. Some Káthiáváda and north Gujarát Vániás wear whiskers and most Surat Vániás wear the head hair shaven at the crown and in a line down the back of the head. South Gujarát Vániás always keep the moustache trimmed. In Surat the boy-bridegroom's teeth are coloured red and some of the redness always remains.

Speech.

Except that it is less interspersed with Sanskrit expressions both in writing and in speaking, Vánia Gujaráti does not differ from Bráhman Gujaráti. Vániás generally speak with a lisp and are specially apt to confuse dentals and linguals. In north Gujarát the vowel marks or *kána-mátra* and the nasal sound-mark or *anusvár* are omitted in writing.

House.

Almost all Vániás have houses of their own. Most of them, though only clerks on small pay, have good hereditary houses one or two stories high, the walls of brick and the roof of tile. Each of these houses is generally large enough to hold more than one division of the family. Except young men in cities and large towns who are fond of tables chairs sofas glassware and lamps, Vániás do not spend money on flimsy or breakable articles. Their practice is to have little furniture that when sold will not realise at least two-thirds or one-half of the cost price. Their chief articles of furniture are strong wooden boxes cots and a large store of copper and brass pots.

Food.

Vániás are strict vegetarians. A Vánia's morning meal between ten and twelve is wheat or millet bread, rice, split pulse, curry, and vegetables. His supper, between seven and nine, is wheat or millet bread, vegetables, and if he can afford it milk. The fare of each member of the household is not however always the same. Special respect is shown to the head of the family by giving him a large share of clarified butter and milk, while the women of the household, who at home always eat after the men of the family have finished generally have a smaller share of clarified butter, milk, and such other comparatively costly articles. Children dine sometimes with the men sometimes with the women of the house and are always well served. Very few Vánia men eat opium but many smoke tobacco. Liquor is strictly forbidden though of late years a few young men have taken to liquor drinking. Some Vánia women chew tobacco but none smoke it or eat opium.

Dress.

The outdoor dress of Vánia men includes a turban, a waistcloth,[1] a jacket *badan*, a longsleeved cotton coat *angarkha* reaching to the knees, and a shouldercloth *pichodi*. The Vánia turban varies in different parts of Gujarát, partly in accordance with local custom partly as a mark of special calling or profession. In Kachh and Káthiáváda

[1] As a rule Vániás unlike Bráhman and other classes tuck up the front end of the waistcloth but leave it hanging.

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Meshri Vániás.

Dress.

Vániás employed in state service wear the loose scarf or *phenta* probably a trace of the practice of their former Musalmán rulers. Vániás following other callings wear a large Rajput-like turban. The north and central Gujarát Vánia wears a small tightly-folded cylinder-shaped turban with numerous folds in front and several coils behind. The Broach Vánia turbans are of two kinds, a small tightly-folded low caplike turban known as the Mughalái turban worn by Government servants, and the larger looser and higher north Gujarát turban worn by traders. The Surat Vánia turban is round with folds in front, a projection at the crown, and a smaller horn on the right corner the right-side back and top are covered with gold lace. A well folded turban lasts from one to six months. The outdoor dress of a Vánia woman includes a robe *sádi*, a bodice *choli* or *kánchli*, and a petticoat *ghághra* worn under the robe. Almost all Vánia women have rich and gay clothes, some of silk with gold borders. They are considered to show much taste and skill in dress. Girls when they go out wear a short petticoat *ghághri* and *odhni* a piece of cloth covering the body and the head. Boys wear round caps, a tunic *angarkha*, trousers *lengha*, or a small waistcloth *potdi*. Children both boys and girls wear frocks *jhablás* and caps. Shopkeepers in towns wear a waistcloth jacket and round cap, and in villages only a waistcloth. The indoor dress of a Vánia family is for the men a patched waistcloth reaching to the knee and a jacket in the cold weather; for the women a robe *sállo* with or without the bodice; for boys above seven a small waistcloth *potdi*; and for girls above seven a small petticoat *ghághri*. Children under seven do not wear clothes.

Ornaments.

Both men and women are fond of ornaments. If fairly off a man's every-day ornaments are a silver girdle and a gold armlet worn above the elbow; if he is rich he wears besides these a pearl earring, a gold or pearl necklace, and finger rings; if he is very rich he adds wristlets of solid gold. Costlier and more showy ornaments are worn at caste dinners and on other special occasions. A Vánia woman wears a gold-plated hair ornament called *chák*, gold or pearl earrings, a gold and pearl nosering, gold necklaces, a gold armlet worn above the left elbow, glass or gold bangles or wooden or ivory wristlets plated with gold *chudás*, silver anklets, and silver toe and finger rings. Indoors a Vánia woman wears earrings, a necklace, bangles or wristlets *chudás*, and anklets.

Character.

Vániás are prudent,[1] sober, quiet, forbearing, and inoffensive.[2] They

[1] A Vánia prides himself on his prudence. 'Rávan' he says 'lost his kingdom for want of Vánia councillors.' Another proverb runs અગમ બુધીઓ વાણીઓ, ને પછમ બુધીઓ બ્રહ્મ, તરત બુધીઓ તરકડો, કે મુક્કી મારે ભમ: A Vánia sees before, a Bráhman sees after, and a Musalmán sees and acts on the spur of the moment. A Vánia woman has the character of being restless and unsteady *valkudi*, but she is credited with giving birth to wise sons according to the saying ડાહીના ઘેલા અને ઘેલીના ડાહ્યા: The wise (Rajput) woman bears foolish sons and the foolish (Vánia) woman bears wise sons.

[2] A Vánia as far as possible avoids blows. Even if struck on the turban, he will say It has dusted my hat ધપો માર્યો તો ધુળ ઉડી ગઈ. According to the proverb the

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Character.

are curiously thrifty[1] in every-day life, but on special occasions they indulge in most lavish expenditure. Though in their dealings with the poorer class of borrowers they often show little kindliness or honesty, many Vánia families are highly respected and most trustworthy. Their standard of trade morality seems of late years to have fallen. Formerly it was not unusual for people to place their money in a rich Vánia's hands without interest, even paying him a small sum *sachvámaṇi* for safekeeping. Bankruptcy was considered disgraceful and was visited with social penalties little less severe than those enforced for breaches of caste rules. There was a firm belief that a merchant's condition in the next world depended on the discharge of all claims against him. And the duty of paying ancestral debts was evaded only in cases of helpless or hopeless poverty. Of late, partly owing to bankruptcy laws and partly owing to the decay of old rules and old feelings, the practice in these matters has greatly changed. A banker seldom scruples to become a bankrupt and keep back money enough to enable him to start afresh. Though daring speculators, Vániás are most exact in keeping their accounts. Gifts may be made by thousands of rupees but accounts must be settled to the fraction of a pie.[2] Vániás were formerly most careful to cultivate a staid business-engrossed manner, no gold in their turbans, no showy ornaments, no dealings with dancing-girls or other light amusements. As in the case of bankruptcy the power of this old rule has greatly declined.

Occupation.

Of Gujarát Vániás a few are landholders and some are in Government or private service, but the bulk are traders and shopkeepers. Most Vánia landholders have invested in land money made in trade or as pleaders. The rest are mortgagees or holders of lands granted for services rendered as district revenue superintendents *desáis* and as district accountants *majmundárs.* Of those in service the greater number are in native firms, some in posts of trust well paid and with chances of private trade and profit; others simple clerks poorly paid and badly off. Of the rest some are in Government employ, most as clerks and a few in high positions. Some, especially among the Modhs, are clerks and administrators in the native states of Káthiáváda and in Kachh; some are in European merchants' offices and in railway and spinning companies in Bombay. A few earn their living as lawyers medical practitioners and engineers, and still fewer as mechanics manufacturers and craftsmen.

Vánia moustache is drooping, that is unwarlike વાણીયા મુછ નીચી. Though they seldom exchange blows, Vániás are very energetic in abuse. They are most quarrelsome when they are in their shops in the market. On account of their objection to force, Vaniás are called ભાજી ખાઉ vegetable eaters and પોતીઆ પારેખ waistcloth wearers.

[1] The proverb runs વાણીઆની કસર ને વોહોરાની સફર: A Vánia gains as much by stinginess as a Bohora gains by a sea-voyage. Among Musalmáns Bania is a term of contempt, softness and stinginess, the two deadliest sins, uniting in his character. He is a Bania *bakkál.* Vániás have a greater genius for thrift even than Bohorás. A Vánia and a Bohora competed how long a betelnut in daily use could last. The Bohora pared his nut carefully and it lasted many days but came to an end. The Vánia's betelnut was still whole, he had sucked it once or twice after each meal!

[2] The Gujaráti proverb is બક્ષીસ લાખની ને હીસાબ કોડીનો: Gifts by the *lákh,* accounts by the penny.

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Occupation.

Of the traders,[1] the wealthiest receive deposits, negotiate bills of exchange, make advances to persons of credit, usurers traders and the better class of cultivators, and engage directly in trade.[2] Those who have a small capital borrow money on easy terms from some wealthy member of their caste and employ it in usury or in dealings in cloth grain and other articles. Others without capital keep retail shops of groceries, cloth, grain, and miscellaneous goods ; while some move from village to village hawking spices and condiments. In former times Gujarát Vánia traders went as far as the Karnátak and Madras ; several have settled there and are known as Gujar Vániás. Of late years, except in Bombay where they are permanently established, in very few instances have Vániás settled out of Gujarát. Like their ancestors the present Sorathiya Vániás of south Káthiáváda have settled for trade purposes in Zanzibar and Arabia.

Village Trader.

The following details show how in many cases a poor Vánia makes his start in life and how the business of a rich merchant is carried on. To the village trader his shop is useful chiefly as a means of inducing the poorer class of villagers to open accounts with him.[3] The articles are not, as in a town shop, laid out to attract the passer's notice. The small stock of grain or cloth is kept in the inner room of an ordinary dwelling. Many of these village shops have for generations remained

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1 The early European travellers are full of the skill of the Vániás of Surat and Cambay. Mandelslo (A.D. 1638) speaks of them as devoted to trade, the readiest and pleasantest of all Indians (159). Tavernier (A.D. 1651) found them so subtle in trade that a Jew might be apprenticed to them (Harris, II. 377). Fryer (A.D. 1672-1681) thought that without the Vániás neither Europeans nor Natives could trade. They will ply, says Ovington (A.D. 1689), at securing a pice though they can command lákhs of rupees. And according to Niebuhr (A.D. 1763), as brokers they gave better satisfaction than the Jews of Turkey. As to their character for honesty there is naturally much difference of opinion. Mandelslo considered them crafty, no stranger could find out their impostures. Fryer calls them expert in the art of thieving. On the other hand Terry (A.D. 1618) found that when well used, they were most trustworthy, and later on the Abbé Reynal (A.D. 1760) and Niebuhr (A.D. 1763) speak of their giving astonishing proofs of probity and fidelity.

2 A wealthy and respectable Vánia banker has the honorific *sháh* that is solvent or *párikh* that is tested, added to his name. *Párikh* is considered superior to *sháh*. A Vánia jestingly claims to be four times as good as an emperor, who is only a *pád-shah* or quarter *sháh*.

3 A moneylender starting in life borrows a few rupees in the town, buys small supplies of clarified butter oil and molasses and stocks his shop. The villagers, having no money, barter small quantities of their grain or cotton for as much oil as will keep their evening lamp burning for an hour, or for little supplies of groceries. They are unaware of the market-value of their raw produce, and are satisfied that they have made a bargain if the shopkeeper, with a politic show of liberality, throws in a little more of the article he is selling, under the name of a bonus. When he has gathered enough raw produce, the trader carries it to the town, sells it, and returning to the village resumes work on a larger scale. If a villager has lost a bullock the trader offers him money to buy a new one. If another has a child to marry or has to give a funeral feast the trader supplies clarified butter molasses and cloth, charging for them twice their value. After a time the moneylender tells his customer that he must draw up a bond showing how the account stands. The paper is prepared, the cultivator scrawling beneath it his mark, a rude plough. When the crop is reaped and the Government share is paid, the creditor exerts himself to carry off all that remains. The debtor, with much entreaty, gets enough to live for a short time, and on account of the remainder is credited with whatever the shopkeeper is pleased to allow him. (Rás Mála, II. 248.) Mr. Forbes wrote this in A.D. 1855. During the last forty years, especially near the railway, circumstances have changed, but the description is still (A.D. 1895) true in many outlying parts of Gujarát.

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in the hands of the same family. The poorer members of this class, with their capital invested in advances to the cultivators of the village, pass their whole time in recovering outstandings. The richer traders, anxious to rise in the social scale, buy houses in a neighbouring town, and there spend greater part of the year. At two seasons of the year they visit the village and open their shops, during the rainy months when the poor come for advances of grain, and at harvest time when they go to recover their dues. Men of this class seldom open shops in towns. The sons of village shopkeepers succeed their fathers. If there are several sons and the family is poor, the younger brothers sometimes try to start business in a fresh village. In small towns bankers and moneylenders generally do business in their houses.

Banker.

In most large towns they have two houses, a dwelling and a place of business not far from the dwelling. Their dwellings are of one or two stories high, of brick sometimes embellished by richly carved wooden fronts. Within, as a rule, they are plain. The public rooms are bare except a few lamps hung from the ceiling and a row of cushions and pillows ranged along the walls. When several brothers share the same house, though separate sets of rooms are generally allotted to each family, the whole household spend their time and take their meals together. The front room on the second floor called *vakhár* is set apart for business. On either side of the room is a row of wooden desks about two feet high and two feet broad and between the desks and the wall is a row of cushions. These side-cushions are for the clerks. Larger and fuller cushions, stretched either in the centre or across the end of the room, are kept for the head of the establishment and his assistant or confidential clerk, the *munim*. If the banker has brothers or sons they help him to manage the business, and, when in the office, share the place of honour. If the head of the firm dies, his eldest son or some other qualified member of the family is chosen to fill his place. The household generally remains undivided. Each member is allowed to spend a certain sum from the common stock. From this allowance he meets his ordinary family expenses. Marriage or funeral charges are met from the general funds or from a special sum advanced by the rest of the family. If any member of the family wishes to trade on his own account an advance may be made to him as to any other borrower.

The office opens about seven in the morning when the clerks are expected to be in their places. Work goes on till noon when, with one or two exceptions, the clerks return to their homes to dine and rest. Work again begins about three and goes on from three till dark and not uncommonly as late as eight. In a large banking house the establishment consists of beginners *shikáu chhokarás*, clerks *gumástás*, a keykeeper *killidár*, a coin-tester *shroff*, one or two agents *munims* in charge of branch establishments, and the confidential clerk at head-quarters who also is called *munim*. Except Márwári Vániás, who have men of their own caste, bankers and traders almost always employ Gujarát Vániás and Shrávaks. A few Bráhmans and Pársis are also engaged.

The apprentices, who are generally sons or relations of some of the clerks, begin work about twelve. Some of these boys can read and write, others have had no education. Those who have learnt the use

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of the tables are able at once to help in the simpler parts of a clerk's work. Those who have not been taught begin to learn to read and write. At first their chief duty is to make themselves useful in the office, bringing the banker his tobacco-pipe, preparing betelnut and leaves, taking orders to the market, fetching vegetables, and spending part of their time in the banker's house amusing his children. They are paid from Rs. 2 to Rs. 3 a month out of *sukhadi* literally sweet-meats, or *douceurs* amounts allowed by constituents for the good of the banker's establishment. After four or five years an apprentice is generally promoted to be a clerk or *gumásta* and a few of the cleverer clerks rise to be agents or partners.

About two hundred years ago Ovington noticed 'that the Vánia by the strength of his brain will sum his accounts with equal exactness and quicker despatch than the readiest arithmetician with his pen.'[1] This is no less true of the Vánia clerk of the present day, whose chief business during the term of his apprenticeship is to cultivate his powers of mental calculation. With this object the Vánia boy commits to memory a number of very elaborate tables. These tables, of which there are no fewer than twenty, contain among others two sets for whole numbers, one table for units up to ten multiplied as high as forty times; the other for numbers from eleven to twenty multiplied from eleven to twenty times. There are also fractional tables giving the results of multiplying $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{3}{4}$, $1\frac{1}{4}$, $1\frac{1}{2}$, $2\frac{1}{2}$, and $3\frac{1}{2}$, into units from one to one hundred; interest-tables showing, at the monthly rate of one per cent on sums of from Re. 1 to Rs. 1000, the amount due for each quarter of a month; tables of the squares of all numbers from one to one hundred, and a set of technical rules for finding the price of a part from the price of the whole. The clerk has also to learn the bargain words in common use among traders. In bargains the following words are used instead of the ordinary numerals: a quarter is called *shali*, a half *vil*, three-quarters *patuns*, one *kel*, two *atháńu*, three *udhán*, four *goth*, five *mul*, six *chheli*, seven *shamar*, eight *máng*, nine *janash*, ten *ángal*. In mental calculations the clerk uses cents or *dokdás*, converting them into annas and quarter-annas by the help of tables he has committed to memory.

A clerk or *gumásta* draws about Rs. 6 a month, rising by yearly additions to Rs. 20; this is not paid regularly, but whenever the clerk is in want of money. The clerks are either in charge of correspondence or of account-books. A correspondence clerk writes letters, prepares bills of exchange, or attends the civil court. The account-book clerk writes up the different books submitting them for examination either to the head clerk or *munim* or to the banker. After some years the clerk is generally promoted to be treasurer or *killidár*, his monthly pay rising to Rs. 25. The treasurer sits in a room by himself. This room which is called *kilé*, is furnished with a strong wooden box or an iron safe, with as much money as is likely to be wanted for the day. In the evening the balance is counted by the banker or confidential clerk and replaced in the safe. When any large sums are received they are

[1] Ovington's Voyage to Surat (A.D. 1689), 279. So also Tavernier (A.D. 1651) in Harris, II. 377.

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taken to the banker's house and placed in the treasury, which is generally a strong cellar. The treasurer is not responsible for bad money. This is the duty of the tester or *shroff*. When not engaged on their special duties, the treasurer and tester help the clerks. The treasurer is generally promoted to be agent or *munim*, who besides a monthly salary from Rs. 20 to Rs. 75 is allowed to engage in private trade. The position of most trust and respect in the establishment is held by the manager, who also is called *munim*. The manager is generally a man well up in years, who prefers a position at head-quarters to the greater worry of a branch establishment. The manager seldom attends the office before three in the afternoon. He sits near the banker in the seat of honour at the head of the room, and besides arranging the terms of large transactions and discussing them with his master, he examines the books and sees that the clerks do their work properly.

The banker generally comes to the office in the afternoon and discusses business with the manager. Formerly bankers were expert bookkeepers and themselves examined and checked the accounts. Of late several of them have learned English instead of studying book-keeping, and are in great measure forced to trust their manager. Especially when the banker is a Vánia the relations between the master and his confidential clerk are extremely intimate. In all important family matters the confidential clerk is consulted, and an equally close intimacy prevails between the female members of the families. Except in questions connected with dowry and marriage settlements the female members of the banker's family are seldom consulted. Instances occur in which widows of bankers carry on their husband's business with the help of a manager or *munim*. But such cases are rare, and as a woman cannot attend the office or publicly transact business, a widow can exercise little real control over the management of her affairs.

Though their regular pay is seldom more than Rs. 840 a year, the members of a banker's establishment enjoy certain advantages. The clerks have much leisure. There is no weekly rest, but besides the sacred month of *Shrávan* (July-August), when little business goes on, there are not less than sixty religious holidays. At any time also, though perhaps with a little grumbling on the master's part, a clerk may go on leave for two or three days. Again there are close social relations between the head of the establishment and his clerks. The head of the firm attends marriage, birth, death, and other feasts given by his clerks and often helps to meet their cost. Musalmán and Pársi employers are proverbially liberal, presenting their servants with sums varying from Rs. 25 to Rs. 200 and even a Vánia will give a trusted clerk as much as Rs. 100. In addition to gifts, advances of Rs. 100 or Rs. 200 are often made, the amount being recovered by degrees from the clerk's pay. If a servant dies leaving a family of young children, the master will commonly spend as much as Rs. 200 on caste entertainments, and will take one of the boys into his office. Marriage and other ceremonies in the banker's family are also occasions for liberality. The clerks are feasted and according to their position in the office get from Rs. 5 to Rs. 100 if their master is a Vánia, and

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from Rs. 10 to Rs. 200 if he is a Pársi or Musalmán. Some days before the marriage the clerks pay their respects to their master and apply a red mark or *chánllo* to his forehead or to the brow of the bride or bridegroom, and at the same time present from Re. 1 to Rs. 10. This between equals is a reciprocal gift, but in the case of clerks the banker returns each a larger sum than he has presented. On the occasion of a birth, especially the birth of an heir to an elderly man, the dependants receive little less than at a marriage.

Book Worship.

Bankers and merchants spend *Diváli*, the four last days of the Gujarát Hindu year, which fall sometimes in October sometimes in November, in settling their affairs. The accounts are drawn up ready to be signed by the different persons who have dealings with the bankers. Among the better class of bankers, when the signatures have been received and the accounts settled and adjusted, the books are carefully preserved. While the old accounts are being balanced, a set of new books has been bought, and after four o'clock in the afternoon of the last day of the year, Bráhman priests are asked to the office where the banker, the clerks, and many of his friends meet to worship the books. This ceremony is called book-worship or *vahi-pujan*. The new books are piled on a wooden stool generally in front of Lakshmi the goddess of wealth, lighted lamps are placed round them, and flowers are strewn on the books. The priest repeats a prayer for the favour of the goddess on the next year's business, and, dipping his finger in saffron or *kanku*, makes round marks on the first page of each book. After about half an hour the worship ends by writing on the wall of the room the words *S'rí Ganesháyanamah, Lakshmimátáni madat, Bhandár bharpur* 'Salutation to the Great Ganesh' and 'Mother Lakshmi help us, overflow our treasure chests.' Presents are distributed to Bráhmans, and gifts made to relations dependants brokers and friends.

This ceremony of book-worship is almost entirely confined to townspeople. The village shopkeeper or moneylender seldom practises it. Among townspeople the observance is common among artisans and shopkeepers as well as among bankers and traders. Nor do Hindus alone keep the festival. Pársi and even Bohora merchants get their books worshipped through their Hindu *munims* or clerks under instructions from a Bráhman priest, and for luck allow the words *S'rí Ganesháyanamah* to be written at the beginning of their books and on the walls of their office. Pársi merchants take part in the ceremonies and allow the Bráhman to red-mark their foreheads. But Bohorás take no part, and, when the Hindu ceremony is over, carry their books to their high-priest, the Mulla Sáheb, who writes an Arabic inscription, and is given a present.

Account Books.

The account-books which are about two feet long and six inches broad are covered with flexible red leather. Two inches from the back the pages are encircled by a band of leather and laced together by a strong cord drawn through the leather band and piercing the pages. In making these books two precautions are taken to guard against the leaves being tampered with, the pages are left uncut on one side of the margin above the leather band, and the pages are arranged in sets or *juth*, so that one leaf cannot be removed without considerable risk.

The paper in these books is made chiefly in Ahmedábád and Surat by Musalmán paper-makers or *kágdis.* The pages are without headings or columns, divisions being marked by vertical plaits made at the time of binding the book. The centre fold divides the page into the receipt or *jamá* and the payment or *udhár* sides, and several smaller creases mark spaces for the date and the main-heads sub-heads and other details.

As a rule merchants keep their books in rupees, quarter-rupees, and cents or *dokdás.* In entering fractional parts of a rupee the fraction is shown by a perpendicular stroke preceded by a dot. Thus a quarter of a rupee is written ૦।, two-quarters ૦॥, and three-quarters ૦।।।. When the amount consists of whole rupees and fractions the upright fraction stroke is placed after the rupee figure, thus Rs. ૬। stands for Rs. 6 annas 4; cents or *dokdás* are shown either in figures up to 25, or converted into annas at the rate of $6\frac{1}{4}$ cents to one anna. According to the system of writing cents in figures up to 25, Rs. 16 annas 14 would be thus shown ૧૬।।। ૧૨॥, that is 16 rupees plus ૦।।। or $\frac{3}{4}$ of a rupee that is 12 annas plus 12 cents and ૦॥ or $\frac{1}{2}$ cent, that is $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents, equal to 2 annas or a total of 14 annas. If the $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents were written as annas the entry would stand ૧૬।।। =, that is as before, 16 rupees plus ૦।।। or 12 annas plus = or two annas, each anna or $6\frac{1}{4}$ cents being represented by a horizontal stroke. Again, if quarters of an anna have to be shown, for each quarter a perpendicular stroke follows the horizontal anna stroke. Thus Rs. 16-14-3 would be entered ૧૬।।। =।, that is 16 rupees plus ૦।।। or 12 annas, plus = or 2 annas, plus ૦। or 3 pies.

A large banker generally keeps six account-books. A cash-book or *roj-mel,* a bill-register or *hundini-nondh,* a journal or *ávaro,* a ledger or *kháta-vahi,* an acknowledgment-book or *sámádaskat,* and an interest-book or *viyáj-vahi.* The cash-book or *roj-mel* contains daily transactions of cash received and cash paid with opening and closing balances. From this book items are transferred to several accounts in the ledger and its ledger page is marked opposite each entry. The bill-register or *hundini-nondh* shows all bills of exchange issued and discharged. The bills of exchange which are either payable at sight or after a certain interval are of three kinds. The first *dhanijog,* literally to the holder, is made payable by the drawer to the payee *dhani* or his order; the second *sháhjog,* literally to a responsible party, is payable to any *boná fide* holder of the bill. This payee is a person of respectability, and as the drawee pays on the strength of his position, it has been decided that if the bill is stolen or proves a forgery, the drawee can recover from the actual payee. The payee of the *hundi* is bound to produce the person from whom he got his *hundi* and to show that he is a *sháh* or responsible person in order to avoid his own liability. The third variety of bill is called *nishájog* literally by description. In this form of bill an account of the appearance of the person to whom the money is payable is given in the body of the bill. In the acknowledgment-book or *sámádaskat,* each client has a separate page and an entry is generally made when the transaction takes place. In dealing with the poorer classes moneylenders are careful to obtain the borrowers' signature to each entry. In ordinary cases it is considered sufficient to get the signature of the person

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interested at the end of the year. The journal or *ávaro* includes a daily statement of all transactions including transfer and adjustment entries. As a rule it is not posted every day. The ledger or *khátá-vahi* contains an abstract of all the entries in the journal *ávro* and cash-book *rojmel* arranged according to date under the names of persons to whom they apply. The ledger is provided with an alphabetical index. The interest-book or *viyáj-vahi* contains statements of interest due. The interest-book is prepared from the ledger page of each individual account. Bankers and moneylenders make up the interest account at the close of the mercantile year. In each account the outstanding balance and the interest due are treated as the opening balance on which interest for the coming year is to run. The following are the special features of the method of calculating interest used by native bankers. The first peculiarity of the native system is that it is not necessary to make calculations in respect of each item of the account. If a banker receives a deposit of Rs. 1000 on the first day of the year and Rs. 400 are withdrawn at the end of the second month, Rs. 200 at the end of the fourth month, Rs. 150 at the end of the sixth month, and Rs. 250 at the end of the ninth month, the native banker does not calculate interest on the Rs. 1000 on one side and the interest on the withdrawal items on the other, but calculates interest on the parts of Rs. 1000 as they are withdrawn. Thus the amount of Rs. 1000 having been withdrawn by parts he calculates interest on Rs. 400 for two months, on Rs. 200 for four months, on Rs. 150 for six months, and on Rs. 250 for nine months. He calculates his interest on a particular item by reference to the entries which discharge the liability represented by that item. This method makes some saving in the number of calculations and under it the items for multiplication would be much smaller than under the ordinary system. This being the native banker's principle of calculation the first thing he does is to note how each item has been discharged and to arrange the items accordingly in the interest-book. The following are two accounts one taken from the ledger the other from the interest-book which will illustrate the principle on which the banker makes his entries and calculations :

Ledger Account for the Hindu Year 1951 (A.D. 1894-95).

RECEIPTS *Jamá.*		PAYMENTS *Udhár.*	
Rs.		Rs.	
450	*Mágsar sud* 4th, Saturday (1st December 1894).	3196	*Kártik sud* 1st, Monday (29th October 1894).
500	*Po'sh sud* 1st, Friday (28th December 1894).	1525	*Jeth sud* 8th, Friday (1st June 1895).
2854	*Chaitra sud* 1st, Wednesday (27th March 1895).	950	*Asád vad* 9th, Tuesday (16th July 1895).
1600	*Asád sud* 4th, Wednesday (26th June 1895).	1234	*Shrávan sud* 8th, Monday (29th July 1895).
960	*Shrávan vad* 14th, Monday (19th August 1895).	580	*Bhádarva vad* 11th, Saturday (14th September 1895).
800	*A'so sud* 6th, Tuesday (24th September 1895).	535	*A'so vad* 3rd, Sunday (6th October 1895).
7164		8020	

A native banker would make up his interest account on the above as below :

Cr.			*Dr.*
	Rs. 450 *Mágsar sud* 4th, Saturday.	12,650¼	Rs. 3196 *Kártik sud* 1st, Monday.
	,, 500 *Posh sud* 1st, Friday.	495	Rs. 450 M. 1 days 3.
1317¼	,, 2854 *Chaitra sud* 1st, Wednesday.	1000	,, 500 Ms. 2 days 0.
	Rs. 2246 Ms. 0 days 0.	11,155¼	,, 2246 Ms. 4½ days 14.
1317¼	,, 608 Ms. 2 days 5.		
455¼	Rs. 1600 *A'shád sud* 4th, Wednesday.	794¾	Rs. 1525 *Jeth sud* 8th, Friday.
	Rs. 917 M. 0 days 0.		Rs. 608 M. 0 days 0.
455¼	,, 683 M. ½ days 5.	794¾	,, 917 M. ½ days 11.
	Rs. 960 *Shrávan vad* 14th, Monday.	302½	Rs. 950 *A'shád vad* 9th, Tuesday.
	Rs. 267 M. 0 days 0.		Rs. 683 M. 0 days 0.
	,, 693 M. 0 days 0.	302½	,, 267 M. 1 days 4.
	Rs. 800 *A'so sud* 6th, Tuesday.	1507¾	Rs. 1234 *Shrávan sud* 8th, Monday.
	Rs. 541 M. 0 days 0.	461¾	Rs. 693 M. ½ days 5.
	,, 259 M. 0 days 0.	1046	,, 541 Ms. 1½ days 13.
	Rs. 321 Balance *A'so vad* 30th, Friday.	460¾	Rs. 580 *Bhádarva vad* 11th, Saturday.
		86¼	Rs. 259 M. 0 days 10.
		374½	,, 321 M. 1 days 5.
		231¾	Rs. 535 *A'so vad* 3rd, Sunday. M. 0 days 13.
1772½		15,947¾	
		1772½ deduct.	
		14,175¼	

ABSTRACT.

Cr.	*Dr.*
	Rs. 856 0 0 Debit balance capital due on *Kártik sud* 1st, 1952.
	,, 53 2 6 Interest on 14,175¼ (*Sar*) at 6 annas per cent per month.
	Total Rs. 909-2-6.

The first item on the debit side is Rs. 3196. The banker has first to see how this item is discharged; for that he looks to the earliest items on the credit side. The first item on the credit side is Rs. 450; it is brought down on the debit side as sub-item of Rs. 3196. Then the next item of the credit side is also entered as a sub-entry under Rs. 3196; but these two items do not discharge Rs. 3196 but leave a balance of Rs. 2246. If the third credit item were less than this balance it would also have been entered as a sub-entry under the item of Rs. 3196;

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but the third item of Rs. 2854 being larger than the balance, out of the same, Rs. 2246, which are equivalent to the balance are transferred as a sub-entry under the item of Rs. 3196 and the item of Rs. 2246 is also entered as a sub-entry of the credit entry of Rs. 2854 to show what portion of it went towards the discharge of the original debt. These sub-entries indicate that the original debt of Rs. 3196 was discharged by three items of Rs. 450 Rs. 500 and Rs. 2246 out of Rs. 2854; if then interest is calculated on Rs. 450 Rs. 500 and Rs. 2246 out of Rs. 2854 from the date of the entry of Rs. 3196 till the three items of Rs. 450 Rs. 500 and Rs. 2854 were respectively received that would represent the correct interest on the item of Rs. 3196 till the date of its discharge. The client being responsible to the banker for the interest on these items the interest thereon is entered on the debit side; but on receipt of Rs. 2854 the banker becomes a debtor of his client and the banker is liable to his client for interest on the difference between Rs. 2854 − 2246 = 608 till a larger item is paid to the client, therefore 608 is entered as a sub-entry of Rs. 2854 and the interest on Rs. 608 is entered on the credit side. Now the banker having discharged this debt of Rs. 608 by the payment of Rs. 1525, Rs. 608 are entered as a sub-entry of Rs. 1525 and the balance of Rs. 917 appears as a sub-entry under it for the calculation of interest and interest on the debit side is calculated on this sub-entry; but this debt of the client is discharged by the receipt of Rs. 1600 by the banker and therefore Rs. 917 are transferred on the credit side as a sub-entry under the item of Rs. 1600 and the balance out of this 1600 appears as a further sub-entry under it for the purpose of calculating interest. In this manner the banker goes on entering the items of the transactions and showing the discharge of each item by sub-entries. After having arranged the items as above in the interest-book the banker then proceeds to make a calculation of the months and days in respect of which interest is to be allowed on the entries and sub-entries and these are entered in the interest-book against the item or sub-item on its right in reference to the party who becomes liable for the interest.

The native banker's way of calculating time for interest is remarkable. It has the recommendation of both simplicity and exactness. In accounts between bankers and bankers or where the banker is the depositary the interest is calculated on every month of thirty days. Even though a sum may remain with a banker for a whole ordinary Hindu year, the banker does not allow interest for twelve months but only for eleven months and a half and nine days, the ordinary Hindu year consisting of 354 days. Whether a month be of twenty-eight days twenty-nine days or thirty days, the interest according to the banker's custom would be upon a month of thirty days. The entry of each transaction in the banker's ledger and interest book gives its Hindu month, the day of the fortnight, the description of the fortnight whether light or dark, and the day of the week. Now as four weeks have twenty-eight days and a banker's month consists of thirty days, the banker adds two to the days of the week for the purpose of arriving at a corresponding day of the following month; and he goes on adding two days to the week for every month and one day for every half a month. Thus in calculating time from Kártik Sud 1st Monday to Mágsar Sud

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4th Saturday, the exact month would end two days after Monday that is on Wednesday and the banker therefore calculates the odd days from Thursday and taking Thursday Friday and Saturday, finds the period to be one month and three days. From Kártik Sud 1st Monday to Chaitar Sud 1st Wednesday it is five ordinary months; but these being ordinary months less than the banker's, the banker first puts down $4\frac{1}{2}$ months and then multiplies $4\frac{1}{2}$ by two, which gives 9; but nine being more than the number of days in the week he subtracts 7 which leaves two, and he calculates two days from Monday which brings him to Wednesday. He therefore commences to count from Thursday and the term being more than one week, he calculates up to the Wednesday of the second week which gives him fourteen days. Thus the period from Kártik Sud 1st Monday to Chaitar Sud 1st Wednesday is four and a half months and fourteen days. From Kártik Sud 1st Monday to Posh Sud 1st Friday being two ordinary months, he counts four (that is 2×2) days from Monday, which brings him to Friday; but as Friday is the day of the week of Posh Sud 1st, from Kártik 1st Monday to Posh Sud 1st Friday is exactly two months of thirty days each. From Chaitar Sud 1st Wednesday to Jeth Sud 8th Friday being more than two months, he counts four days from Wednesday which brings him to Sunday and he counts from Monday to the Friday following which gives him five days; therefore the period between these days would be two months and five days.

After having made his entries in the interest book of the numbers of the months and days for which interest is to be calculated in reference to the different items, he proceeds with his calculation of interest. This is done by a multiplication of the period in months by the amount in each case. For integral or fractional months up to $3\frac{1}{2}$ he has his tables; but when the fraction is greater than $3\frac{1}{2}$, he multiplies by the integral number and by $\frac{1}{2}$ by his table and adds up the two products. In reference to days of which the figure would in no case exceed fourteen as half months are entered as fractions of the month, the number of days is multiplied by the amount and this is divided by 30 by means of a table also, and this quotient is added to the product of the months and the amount. Thus in the interest account shown above, 541 is a sub-entry of 1234 and the calculation in respect of that item is to be made for $1\frac{1}{2}$ month and thirteen days, the banker arriving at the result as below. He first multiplies 541 by $1\frac{1}{2}$:

$$5 \times 1\tfrac{1}{2} = 7\tfrac{1}{2}$$

Therefore $500 \times 1\frac{1}{2} = 750$ and

$$41 \times 1\tfrac{1}{2} = 61\tfrac{1}{2}$$

$$811\tfrac{1}{2}$$

Then $541 \times 13 = 7033$:

This divided by $30 = 234\frac{1}{2}$ nearly.

$$811\tfrac{1}{2} + 234\tfrac{1}{2} = 1046$$

This product of time calculated by months and amount is called *sar*, and the *sars* of the different items and sub-items are entered to their left on the same side of the account, a nought (0) being placed against the corresponding item on the opposite side to show that interest has been calculated. After the *sars* in respect of the various items and sub-items are calculated and entered, those on each side of the account are added up; and the difference between them

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is entered on the side on which there is the greater total. This difference is the interest in cents on the transactions of the year calculated at one per cent a month. This amount is then multiplied by the fraction which represents the rate of interest in rupees for each month. Thus if the rate is of 8 annas, it is multiplied by $\frac{1}{2}$; if 4 annas, it is multiplied by $\frac{1}{4}$; if 6 annas it is multiplied by $\frac{1}{4}$, and the product multiplied by $1\frac{1}{2}$ and so on. The product is then divided by one hundred and the result represents the interest on the whole account for the twelve months; and it is carried forward into the ledger.

Bankers who are also merchants, in addition to the six account books mentioned above, keep separate registers or *nondhs* for each of the different classes of transactions in which they engage. Thus there is a goods-register *málni nondh*, an insurance-register *vimáni nondh*, and a customs-register *satmini nondh*. These registers are written every day, and from them and other sources the journal or *ávaro* is posted at the bookkeeper's convenience.

Daily Life.

A town Vánia rises between five and six, bathes and spends from a quarter of an hour to half an hour in worshipping his household gods. Then if he is a shopkeeper he goes to his shop.[1] If he is old, in independent circumstances, or religious minded, he goes to a temple. If a clerk he goes to his master's office, and if a Government servant to a market to fetch vegetables. If he is in Government service he takes his morning meal between ten and eleven; otherwise he dines at noon. If he is well-to-do and is his own master he takes a midday nap and goes back to business about three. He returns home late in the evening, sups, talks with the members of his family, helps the boys in learning their tables, or listens to the Mahábhárat or the Rámáyan epics. He goes to sleep between nine and eleven. Except that he moves about less and is more constant in his shop, the village Vánia spends his time very much in the same way as a town Vánia.

In villages and towns a Vánia woman rises about six or at four on every second or third day when corn has to be ground. She sweeps the house, draws water from a neighbouring well or stream, and scours the cooking and drinking vessels. Then she bathes and worships the household gods and makes ready what is wanted for the morning meal. About noon she cooks the dinner and takes her meals after the men of the family have finished. She then cowdungs the kitchen, cleans the pots, and fetches water, looks after the children, sifts grain, or does needle-work. In the afternoon she visits neighbours and friends or sits in the house. After dark she makes supper ready, talks for a time, and goes to bed about nine. Of late years in cities the employment of servants has greatly lessened the household work of the women of rich families. Beyond cooking and supervising the household they have no special duties. They spend the greater part of the mornings in worshipping the gods or visiting temples and the afternoon in indoor games, talking, and singing.

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1 Before the day's business begins a religious shopkeeper washes the threshold and rubs it with turmeric or redpowder and strews it with flowers. Before sitting down to transact business, he bows to his seat, his cash-box, and the scale balance. He avoids beginning the day by bargaining with a quarrelsome customer.

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Religion.

Vániás are very religious, attaching special importance to omens and often consulting astrologers. Of late a few have joined the Sváminaráyan sect, and all respect Bráhmans and Bráhmanical gods. But as a class Gujarát Vániás are staunch adherents of the Vallabhácharya sect to which they are said to have been converted about four hundred years ago. To the Mahárájás or religious heads of their sect the Vániás show extreme respect and honour. Instead of the sacred-thread both men and women wear a basil thread *kanthi* necklace round the neck. They worship daily at the Vallabhácharya temples and in their houses. In south Gujarát each house has either a separate god-room or a portion of the house is set apart for the household gods. They mark their brows with two upright lines of redpowder *kanku*, rub their eyelids and foreheads with the yellow dust which is found near Gokul and Mathura, and imprint a seal dipped in sandal-dust between the sectarian lines and on the temples neck and arms. The Vániás employ Bráhmans in all religious ceremonies. As a rule the priest belongs to the subdivision of Bráhmans to which the Vánia subdivision corresponds. A Modh Vánia generally has a Modh Bráhman as his family priest and a Shrimáli Vánia a Shrimáli Bráhman. Besides presents of money and grain on all ceremonial occasions the priest gets daily doles of grain. Of late with the spread of education the influence of the Mahárájás has been slowly declining.

Birth.

A Vánia woman generally goes to her father's house for her confinement. On the birth of a child the family astrologer is asked to note the time and the news is sent to the child's father and his relations. The father and his relations go to see the child and give it money. The mother's father adds something to the gift and returns it. For ten days after the birth the husband's people and friends and relations of the mother daily send clarified butter molasses and spices. On the sixth day the *Chhathi Pujan* or sixth-day worship is performed. In the evening, on a footstool near the mother's bed are laid a piece of paper, an inkstand, a reed-pen, redpowder, rice, flowers, six coppers, a lamp burning with clarified butter, a piece of a man's coat, molasses, and cocoa-kernel. These things are taken away on the following morning. On the morning of the tenth day the mother bathes, but continues to be considered impure for thirty days more. On the twelfth day the *báran balians* twelve sacreds are worshipped. Twelve small heaps of rice are laid on a footstool, and near them twelve betelnuts twelve betel-leaves and twelve copper coins. Redpowder or *kanku* and flowers are dropped over them, and all are given to the family-priest. The mother worships the well, the door-post, and the house privy or *khál*. Generally on the twelfth day, but sometimes on some other suitable day, the child is named by the father's sister who receives a robe *sári* worth about Rs. 4. In the third month after the birth, the mother is sent to her husband's house with a child's cap, petticoat, cradle, a silver anklet *kalli*, and a girdle *kandoro*.

Betrothal.

Children are betrothed sometimes immediately before and sometimes many years before marriage. Generally the parents of the boy and sometimes the parents of the girl make the offer of betrothal. If the other parents approve, the horoscopes of the boy and the girl are compared

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and, if the comparison is favourable, betrothal takes place. To complete the contract the girl's father on a lucky day pays Re. 1 to the caste fund. After this present has been made, the betrothal is in most cases not broken except when either of the contracting parties is found to be incurably diseased. In ordinary cases, after the present has been made to the caste fund, the boy's father accompanied by four relations goes to the girl's father and gives him Rs. 2 or 3 and the girl's father presents the boy's relations with cocoanuts and coppers. Then the boy and the girl are in turn asked to the father-in-law's house and get a money present varying from Rs. 5 to Rs. 10 according to the means of the giver. On the occasion of their first visit to the girl's house, the boy's parents also get from the girl's parents a money present according to the means of the girl's parents. Every year on *Diváli* October-November, *Holi* February-March, *Balev* August, and *Dasara* October, from the time of betrothal to the time of marriage, the girl gets new clothes and the boy a money present from their parents-in-law. Besides this, every year in *A'shád* or July, when the girl observes a five days' fast dry and fresh fruit are sent to her by the boy's parents. In the first year after betrothal these presents are carried by the boy's female relations, the mother and sisters receiving a present of silver and the other women of copper coins.

Marriage.

Girls are married when they are seven nine or eleven years old. Among Kapol Vániás some girls remain unmarried till they are fourteen or sixteen. The fixing of the marriage-day which must fall between the eleventh of *Kártak sud* (October-November) and the eleventh of *A'shád sud* (June-July) rests with the girl's parents. Some days before the marriage the girl's father calls friends and relations and an astrologer who fixes a lucky day for the ceremony and is presented with husked rice and a rupee. The marriage-day is written on a roll of paper which is sent by the girl's family-priest to the boy's father who feasts the priest and gives him a handsome present. Three or five days before the marriage, at both houses Ganpati is worshipped, the family-deity is installed, and a booth *mándva* is erected. At each of the houses the *mandva*-making ceremony is performed. A hole about six inches deep is dug in a corner of the booth. The parents of the boy and of the girl with friends and relations sit near the hole and throw into it redpowder milk curds betelnuts and a copper coin. A *khichda* Prosopis spicigera log about a foot long is dressed by a carpenter and while music is played it is set up in the hole. The women of the boy's and of the girl's families go separately to a potter's house with music, throw sandal-dust and flowers on the potter's wheel, and bring home earthen pots to be used in the marriage ceremonies. The bride and bridegroom each at their houses are then rubbed with turmeric and are given sweetmeats by friends and relations. The rubbing of the mixture is repeated till the marriage-day, and women-relations sing songs in the mornings and evenings. One or two days before the marriage-day a ceremony in honour of ancestors and to propitiate the planets, is performed at the house of the bride and bridegroom.

On the marriage-day at the bride's house a space generally in front of the entrance door of the house, about four feet square, is enclosed

by four bamboo posts one at each of the four corners. At each of the four corners three bamboos are set in the ground leaving between them a space of about eight inches and round the three bamboos a red string is tied. In the space between the three bamboos seven plain empty earthen pots are piled, the largest at the foot the smallest at the top. In the square, between the four piles of pots, which is called the *chori*, the bride and bridegroom sit and the marriage ceremonies are performed. On the marriage-day the brother of the bride's mother and the brother of the bridegroom's mother bring presents to the bride and bridegroom accompanied by musicians. The brother of the boy's mother gives the boy a pair of embroidered shoes, a cocoanut, a garland of flowers, and a waistcloth; the brother of the girl's mother gives the girl a robe, a white satin bodice, ivory bracelets plated with gold, a gold necklace, a pearl nosering, silver anklets, and silver toe and finger rings. After the presents have been made the female relations of the bride go to the bridegroom's house, taking with them seven wheat cakes, a leaf-pot full of sugar, brass cups containing milk and curds, a pair of wooden sandals, and a silk and a cotton waistcloth. The mother of the bride offers these presents to the bridegroom who eats a piece of one of the wheat cakes and the bride's party return to the bride's house. The bride is bathed at her house and the bridegroom at his house by four unwidowed women. They are dressed in the clothes and ornaments presented by their mother's brother and worship the family-deity. Then his mother's brother sets the bridegroom on a horse, the bridegroom holding seven leaves seven betelnuts a cocoanut and a rupee in his hollow hands. To ward off the influence of the evil eye the sister of the bridegroom waves a pot of water over his head and pours it on the ground. The procession then starts between six and nine in the evening with music, the men walking in front of the bridegroom and the women behind singing songs, and the mother of the bridegroom holding a flaming lamp fed with clarified butter. At the bride's house, where in some cases the spiritual head or Mahárája has been invited to bring the blessing of his presence, the procession stops, the bridegroom alights from his horse, and stands on a wooden stool just outside of the doorway. Here he is met by the bride's mother who makes a red mark on his brow, pulls his nose, and shows the bridegroom a miniature plough, a grinding pestle, a churning stick, and an arrow. A ball of cowdung ashes is then thrown towards each of the four quarters of heaven. Two small earthen pots full of curds are held mouth to mouth, waved seven times round the bridegroom's body, and set on the ground. The bridegroom puts his right foot on the pots, breaks them to pieces, and enters the marriage hall *mándva*. He is then led to the square *chori* where he sits on a wooden stool, and, with the help of the family-priests, worships Ganpati. The parents of the bride then wash the bridegroom's great toes with milk curds honey sugar and clarified butter. After the worship is over, the bride, dressed in ornaments and clothes presented to her by her mother's brother is brought in and placed by her mother's brother on another stool opposite the bridegroom. A piece of cloth is stretched between the bride and the bridegroom. The Bráhmans recite luck-bringing verses, and the family-priests watch the waterclock or timekeeper shouting at intervals of a minute or two *Sávadhán* Take care, the time is

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near. When the lucky moment comes, the hands of the bride and bridegroom are joined, the cloth between them is snatched to one side, the hems of their robes are tied together, the marriage garland of cotton threads is thrown over their necks, and the musicians strike up music. Then the relations and friends make presents to the bride and bridegroom. In the middle of the square *chori* a sacrificial fire is lighted. The brother of the bride then comes to where the fire is lighted, holding a winnowing fan with barley and sesame, and drops into the hands of the bride and bridegroom four pinches of barley and sesame. Then the bride and bridegroom, along with clarified butter, throw the barley and sesame into the fire, walk once round the fire, throw some more barley and sesame into the fire, and again walk round. This is repeated four times. Then the bride and bridegroom seat themselves on the stools, the bride on the bridegroom's left, and feed each other with four morsels of coarse wheat-flour mixed with clarified butter and sugar prepared by the bride's mother. The bridegroom and bride then worship the constellation of the Great Bear. Then the bride and bridegroom, in front of the family deity inside the house, play at odds and evens, each in turn holding some coins in a closed hand and the other guessing whether the number of coins is odd or even. Luck in this game is an omen of luck in the game of life. The winner of the game will be the ruler of the house. Sometimes instead of the coins a deep brass plate or dish is laid near the household god filled with water, and into the water are dropped seven betelnuts seven copper coins seven dry dates and a silver finger ring. The bride and bridegroom then dip their right hands into the dish and feel among the nuts and coins each trying to be the first to come across the ring, for luck or cleverness in this is again a sign who will be the luckier and cleverer in after-life. The married couple then come back to the marriage-hall and the bride's father-in-law presents her with ornaments and the bride's parents make return presents to the parents of the bridegroom. The bride's male relations smear the chins and cheeks of the bridegroom's elder male relations with redpowder or *kanku*, and dipping their hands into wet pink powder mark with their palms the back and front of their guests' white calico coats. The same is done by the bridegroom's relations to the bride's relations. Then sweetmeats are served to the male and female relations of the bridegroom. When the refreshments are over the bridegroom's carriage is brought, and with a great show of sorrow, generally with much real sorrow even with tears, the bride's family bid her goodbye. Her mother worships the carriage sprinkling sandal-dust and flowers on one of the wheels and laying a cocoanut in front of it as an offering to the carriage that it may bear them safely. When the carriage moves the mother gathers the pieces of the cocoanut and lays them in her daughter's lap. No one from the bride's house goes with the party. It consists wholly of the bridegroom's friends and relations, the men walking in front of the carriage and the women walking behind singing songs. The bridegroom is given a couch, a mattress, a plate, and a jar by the bride's father, besides other articles of value. When the procession reaches the bridegroom's house the bride and bridegroom with the ends of their cloths tied together step out of the carriage and stand in front of

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the doorway on a wooden stool. The bridegroom's sister keeps the doors closed until she receives money presents from the bridegroom. They are then led into the house by the bridegroom's mother and taken to bow before the family-deity, and again before the god they play at odds and evens to see which of them is the luckier. This ends the marriage ceremony. Caste dinners are given at the house both of the bride and of the bridegroom on the marriage-day or on some day before or after the marriage. The relations of the bridegroom have a right to dine at the bride's house, but the relations of the bride do not dine at the bridegroom's house.

Pregnancy.

Two ceremonies are performed at the husband's house in honour of a woman's first pregnancy. One called *panchmási* takes place generally about the beginning of the fifth and the other called *símant* generally in the seventh month. In the beginning of the fifth month the family astrologer fixes the lucky days for the *panchmási* and *símant* ceremonies. As a rule the *panchmási* ceremony is performed in the fifth month, but when this is difficult or inconvenient it is performed on the *símant* ceremony day. In the morning of the lucky day in the fifth month the lap-filling or *kholo bharvo* ceremony is performed. The pregnant woman wearing a white cotton robe and an embroidered bodice, accompanied by her mother-in-law and other elderly women of the family, comes in front of the house-god or *gotraj* and, after bowing to the god, is seated on a low stool; her mother-in-law sister-in-law or some other unwidowed woman or *saubhágyavanti* lays in her lap five and a quarter pounds of rice, a cocoanut, betelnuts and leaves, a rupee, a flower garland, and a robe bodice and petticoat, all of them supplied by the husband. Then the family-priest binds round the woman's right wrist a red thread or *nádáchhadi,* a piece of black silk cloth, an iron ring, five grains of Indian millet, some redlead and oil from an image of Hanumán, and the dust from the place where four streets meet. When the ceremony is over the woman bows at the feet of her mother-in-law and the other elderly women. After the ceremony a dinner is given generally to friends and relations, and in the case of the rich to the whole caste. In some subdivisions of Vániás, at the end of the fifth month the pregnant woman goes to her father's house, and, after passing a night there, returns to her husband's house, on her return bowing low at her mother-in-law's feet.

The *símant* ceremony is performed generally in the seventh or eighth and sometimes in the ninth month. For four days before the ceremony the woman is rubbed with turmeric-powder, richly dressed, and decked with ornaments and every evening seated on a raised seat among a crowd of women friends and relations who sing songs for two or three hours.[1] When the singers leave they are presented with betelnuts or coppers. On the fourth day the woman goes to her father's house and bathes. On coming back she stands at a short distance from her husband's

[1] On one of the four days the women sing the story of Narsinh Mehta. Narsinh Metha who lived in the fifteenth century was a Nágar Bráhman of Junágadh and venerated by the people as a saint. On the first pregnancy of his daughter, Narsinh was taunted by the people of his son-in-law's house because he was unable to send the usual presents of clothes and cash. He went to his daughter's house in the dress of a religious beggar, and singing to his god Krishna asked his help. Krishna appeared as a Vánia and distributed rich presents of clothes and money.

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house when her sister-in-law comes out with redpowder and a white cloth which she lays on the ground for the woman to tread on, the parents dropping coppers and betelnuts at every step the woman takes. Before she crosses the threshold her mother-in-law waves round the woman's head a miniature plough and other articles as at a marriage. She is then allowed to enter the house, care being taken that she steps over the threshold without touching it. Here she is met by her husband and they walk together followed by his mother, the Bráhman priest, and the women of his family, in front of the house-god or *gotraj*. After bowing to the house-god the husband and wife sit on two wooden stools holding each other's right hands, the wife on the left, and worship the deity. At the close of the ceremony a party or *mosálu*, including the woman's father mother and brother all richly dressed and ornamented, come from the wife's family with presents of a wooden stool, a red earthen pot, a brass pot, a brass box, sweetmeats, and rich clothes in a basket. The woman's father gives her husband and his parents and other members of the family presents of garments or money or both. The same evening, and in some subdivisions on the next evening also, the husband's father gives a caste dinner. After this ceremony is over the woman is asked to dinner by her friends and relations in turn. She attends wearing rich clothes and ornaments and is given presents of clothes or of money. Fifteen or twenty days after the *símant* ceremony the woman goes to her father's house where she stays till the child is three or four months old.

Death.

A Vánia on his deathbed gives a Bráhman the *gaudán*, that is the gift of a cow or of a cow's worth not less than one rupee and four annas. He is then made to pour some water on the ground, saying 'So much (naming a sum) will be given in charity after my death.' When the end draws near, he is bathed, and, with his head to the north, is laid on a part of the entrance-room on the ground-floor which has been cleaned with fresh cowdung wash. While he lies on the ground he is told to remember Rám, and drops of *charanámrit* that is water in which the feet of the Mahárája have been dipped and Ganges water and basil or *tulsi* leaves are laid in his mouth, a sweetmeat ball is laid on his mouth, and a lamp is lighted. If the dying person is a man sandal-dust marks are made on the brow; if a woman vermilion marks are made on her brow temples and cheeks and lampblack is applied to her eyes. When life is gone the body is covered with a sheet, and the relations raise a loud cry. A bier of simple bamboo poles is brought and the body is clothed in a waistcloth if a man and in a silk robe if a woman, and bound on the bier and borne head first out of the house. The bier is carried on the shoulders of four near male relations who are called *dágus*, the chief mourner going a little in front carrying, slung in a string, an earthen jar holding lighted cowdung-cakes. The widow of the deceased and other women of the family follow the party for some distance and then go back to the house. About halfway to the burning-ground the bier is turned round and set on the ground, and rice betelnuts and coppers are laid on the spot where the bier was rested. From this spot to the burning ground the body is carried feet first instead of head first. On the way the bearers chant to each other 'Call Rám, brother, call Rám' *Rám bolo bhái Rám*. At the burning-ground the body is unbound,

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bathed, and laid on the funeral pile. When all is ready the chief mourner takes out the lighted cowdung cake from the earthen jar and after dipping it in clarified butter lays the cake on the mouth of the corpse. He fills the jar with water, standing at the head of the corpse. He next walks round the pile and lights it at the head. When the body is being burnt all withdraw to a little distance. When the body is consumed the fire is put out and the ashes are taken in a cloth and thrown into the sea or into a river. The place where the body was burnt is washed with water. Then an earthen pot of water is set on the spot and broken by a stone thrown by the chief mourner through his legs. A cow is brought and milked so that the milk may fall on the spot where the body was burned. The cloth which was drawn over the bier and the robe or waistcloth which were wrapped round the body are given to the Bhangia or sweeper. The carriers raise a loud cry, leave the burning ground, bathe, and go home.

When the women who have followed the bier for some distance return to the house they break the widow's glass ivory or wooden bangles, and, leaving her in the house, go and bathe in a river or pond, and return to the house before the funeral party come back from the burning-ground. On their return to the house of mourning the strangers go to their own houses. Soon after this the father-in-law of the chief mourner sends rice pulse and butter to the house of mourning. If the deceased was elderly it is cooked and eaten and if the deceased was young the food is given to dogs. At the house of mourning for ten days female relations and friends come and weep morning and evening. Either on the day of the death or on the next day men also come to mourn. At this time milk and water are set on the *tolla* or wooden peg of the house on the first day by a Bráhman and on the succeeding three days by some member of the household. When the deceased has left a widow, on the tenth day caste-women come and weep. The widow's hair is cut off and the heads of the male members of the family are shaved, and, if the deceased was old, the men also shave their moustaches. On the tenth eleventh twelfth and thirteenth days the chief mourner performs death ceremonies. The leading rite on the eleventh day is marrying a steer to a heifer, on the twelfth day it is giving cooked food to crows, and on the thirteenth day it is giving a bedstead bed-clothes and some money to a Bráhman. If the deceased was an old man, the chief mourner, when he makes gifts to the Bráhman, receives from his friends and relatives money presents to buy himself a turban. Caste dinners are given on the twelfth and thirteenth. At the end of each month for a year after death the *másiso* or monthly death ceremony is performed when a few friends and relations are asked to dinner. At the end of the year a caste dinner is given. In the case of a rich old man caste dinners are given two or three times in the year and in memory of the deceased presents of a copper or brass pot with some sweetmeats in it are made to the caste people.

Community.

Vániás show much skill in associating together for trade as well as for caste purposes. In all the chief centres of trade some of the leading Vánia capitalists, under the name of *Mahájans* or great men, form a merchant guild. The guild fixes the rates of exchange and discount, and levies fees on certain transactions, spending the proceeds on humane

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and religious objects. The head of their community, the Nagarsheth or city-merchant, was formerly a man of much power and importance, though of late years, with the decay of his functions, his influence has been much reduced. For the settlement of social disputes each subdivision of Vániás has in each town one or more leading families. The representative of this family, under the name of *patel*, chooses some four or five members from the community, and with their help decides the question in dispute. Compared with high-caste Hindus, Vániás treat their headmen with much respect, and are careful not to break their caste rules.

Prospects.

The settlement of the debts of chiefs and of large landholders has removed one source of the income of the great Vánia capitalists of Gujarát, and, as bankers, they have suffered by the establishment of European houses. At the same time a large field of employment has been opened to them. Besides Government service, which of late years Vániás have entered in great numbers and where several of them have risen to high posts, the spread of railways and factories has given rise to a new demand for traders and clerks. They are careful to give their boys a good training in all matters connected with their business, and of late years an increasing number of Vániás teach their sons English. There seems little reason to fear that the Vániás will fail to keep the high position which they have held for centuries.

SHRÁVAK VÁNIÁS.

Shrávaks.

The Shrávak Vániás numbering 334,645 or 61·10 per cent of the total Vánia community are divided into seven main castes.

Mevádás.

Mevádás numbering 1695 are found chiefly in Baroda and north Gujarát. Mevéda Shrávaks were originally Ummad Shrávaks. Within the past sixty years many have adopted the Vaishnav religion and are called Meváda Meshris. Their family priests are Meváda Bráhmans.

Narsipurás.

Narsipurás numbering 123 are found chiefly in Baroda. They take their name from Narsipur in Pálanpur.

Nimás.

Nimás[1] numbering 2347 are of two divisions Visás and Dasás. The Visás are both Vaishnavs and Jains and the Dasás are Vaishnavs. The Visa Vaishnavs and Jains used to intermarry but the custom has ceased since A.D. 1850. Their family deity is Shámláji near Idar. They differ from other Gujarát Shrávaks by holding a caste feast in honour of king Harischandra on the 7th of *Mágsar sud* (November-December). Their family priests are mostly Udambara Bráhmans.

Osváls.

Osváls numbering 87,583 are found all over Gujarát. They are divided into Visás, Dasás, and Pánchás or Letás. The story of their origin is that the Shrimál king Desal allowed none but millionaires to live inside his city walls. One of the lucky citizens, a Shrimáli Vánia named Ruád had a brother named Sáad, whose fortune did not come up to the chief's standard of wealth. Sáad asked his brother to help him to make up the required million, but as he met with no encouragement he and

[1] Regarding the origin of the name Nima one account traces the caste to Nimád; another states they are called Nima because they observe the *niyam* or rules prescribed for their guidance.

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Jaychand, a discontented son of the king of Shrimál, and many Shrimális, Rajputs, and others left Shrimál and settling in the town of Mandovad, called it *Osa* or the frontier. Among the settlers were Shrimáli Vániás, Bhatti, Chohán, Ghelot, Gód, Gohil, Hada, Jádav, Mákvána, Parmár, Ráthod and Thar Rajputs, all devout worshippers of Shiva. Ratansuri a Jain priest by working miracles, converted Jaychand their king and all the settlers and calling them Osváls formed them into one caste. This is said to have happened on the 8th *Shrávan vad* (August) A.D. 166.[1] That there is some truth in the story appears from the fact that some of the Osváls have as surnames Chaudhri, Dhonsa, Gola, Jhála, Johán, Kanayia, Madári, and Oza. Of the three divisions, Visás Dasás and Pánchás, the Pánchás or Letás rank lowest. They allow their widows to marry and few Shrávaks or Meshri Vániás eat with them. The family goddess of all Osváls is Osia in Márwár. Dasa Osváls marry Dasa Shrimális and Dasa Porváds, but Dasa and Visa Osva'ls though they eat together do not intermarry. The family-priests of Osváls are mostly Audichya Bráhmans.

Porva'ds.

Porva'ds, numbering 33,437 are found all over Gujarát. They and the Shrimális seem to have originally been one community. The family goddess of both is Mahálakshmi and their yearly feast in her honour is held on the same day. Porváds have two divisions Visás and Dasás, who are found chiefly in Ahmedábád Kaira and other parts of north Gujarát. Visa and Dasa Porváds eat together but do not intermarry. Dasa Porváds have begun to marry with Dasa Shrimális but the old practice of intermarriage between Visa and Dasa Porvád Shrávaks and Visa and Dasa Porvád Vániás has of late fallen into disuse. The family-priests of Porvád Shrávaks are Shrimáli Bráhmans.

Shrima'lis.

Shrima'lis, numbering 177,867 are found all over Gujarát. They are divided into Visás Dasás and Ládvás. The Dasás and Visás are found all over the province including Kachh Káthiáváda Baroda and other native states, and the Ládvás are found only in Surat and Broach. According to their caste story at Bhinmál in Márwár 90,000 families were created by S'rí or Mahálakshmi the daughter of the sage Bhrigu out of her flower garland according to one account and out of her thigh according to another to maintain 90,000 Shrimáli Bráhmans. About the origin of the Dasás and Visás three stories are told. According to one those Shrimális who had first settled in Gujarát after wandering through the four quarters of heaven or *disha* were called Dasás, and those who had settled in the four corners or *vidish* were called Vidishás or Visás. According to another story those Shrimális who sprang from the right side of Mahálakshmi's garland were called Visás and those from the left Dasás. According to a third the Visás or twenties came to be so called because they are twice as high as Dasás or tens. The Ládva Shrimális were so called because they lived in the old Lát-desh or south Gujarát, the neighbourhood of Cambay Broach and Surat. Visa Shrimális do not dine with Ládva Shrimális. Among

[1] Tod (Western India, 465) gives a different account of their origin claiming them as descendants of the Solanki kings of Anhilváda (A.D. 942-1240) who gave up the sword for the till.

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the Visa Shrimális there are seven minor divisions, Ahmedávádis, Kathoriás, Pálhanpuriás, Patanis, Sorathiás, Talabdás, and Tharádiás and among the Dasa Shrimális there are three Horásáth, Chanápahua, and Idadia. The Ládva Shrimális have no minor divisions. The three main divisions with their subdivisions eat together but do not intermarry. In north Gujarát Dasa Shrimáli Shrávaks marry Dasa Shrimáli Vániás or Meshris. The family-priests of all Shrimáli Shráváks are Shrimáli Brahmans. The family deity of Dasa and Ládva Shrimális is Mahálakshmi and of Visás, Mahálakshmi and Sachai.

Ummads.

Ummads numbering 7488 are found chiefly in north Gujarát. The two divisions Visás and Dasás eat together but do not intermarry. They are said to take their name from Humda, the *guru* or spiritual head who established the class. They are also called Vágadiya, from the *Vágad* or wild country including Dungarpur Partápghad and Ságváda where considerable numbers are still settled. The head-quarters of the caste are at Ságváda near Dungarpur.

Appearance.

Except that the Osváls are fairer and more strongly built Shrávaks do not differ in look from Meshri Vániás. North Gujarát Shrávaks like north Gujarát Vániás wear whiskers and south Gujarát Shrávaks like south Gujarát Vániás wear the hair shaven at the crown and in a line down the back of the head. Shrávaks may be distinguished from Meshris by wearing a yellow instead of a red brow-mark and like Meshris they speak Gujaráti with a lisp. They keep more together than Meshris and in almost all large cities live in separate quarters. They live in large well-built but dirty houses three or four storeys high and with brick walls and tiled roofs. Except that their widows do not shave the head and wear an ochre-coloured robe, the dress of Shrávaks does not differ from that of Meshris.

Food.

They are strict vegeterians and are more careful than Meshris not to take animal or vegetable life. Their scrupulous care to preserve animal life is shown both in what they eat and in their manner of eating. Except lentil *masur* pulse they eat all grain. Their ordinary food is wheat-bread pulse-rice and pulse-gruel mixed with spices or *osáman*. They do not eat vegetables which are many-seeded such as brinjals red pumpkins and snake gourds, or such bulbous and tuberous plants as potatoes sweet-potatoes onions garlic carrots radishes elephant-foot or *suran* and yams. Of other vegetables and fruits they eat only those which are in season or coming into season and avoid those which are either out of season or passing out of season. Thus though mangoes are sold in some of the rainy and cold months Shrávaks never eat mangoes except between May and end of June. On certain days called *parabi* the use of vegetables is forbidden. Some Shrávaks keep five and others twelve monthly fasts. The five days are the two eighths, the two fourteenths, and the fifth of the bright half of every Hindu month; the twelve days are the two seconds, the two fifths, the two eighths, the two elevenths, the two fourteenths, and the bright and dark fifteenths of every Hindu month. *Shiro* their holiday dish of wheatflour clarified butter sugar and spices is so popular that 'To turn Shrávak for Shiro' has become a proverb. Unlike Meshris Shrávaks wear a cotton instead of a silk waistcloth at their meals and in their caste

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Food.

feasts men dine with their shoulders bare and with a cap or turban. To avoid the chance of swallowing an insect they sup before sunset and they draw a cloth canopy over the cooking place and the drinking pots. They never touch food that has been more than twelve hours cooked. Every family has a large supply of brass plates and wooden stools. They always eat from brass plates which they set on a low wooden stool and two or three eat from each plate. In their caste feasts the women and children eat before the men. All the men do not dine together; twenty or thirty sit down at a time three or four at each plate. Near the cooking place is laid a large basin of water in which the brass plates are dipped and cleaned. The caste owns two to three thousand brass plates and wooden stools.

Shrávaks believe that water is full of insect life. They believe that the life in water can be got rid of by straining and by boiling, but the water is again full of life four hours after it has been strained and eight hours after it has been boiled. The strict on all occasions and all Shrávaks on fast days drink only water which has been boiled within eight hours of the time of drinking. On ordinary days most Shrávaks are content with straining their drinking water through a fine cloth.[1] The sediment which remains on the cloth is called *sankharo* and is carefully thrown into the well, cistern, reservoir, or river from which the water was taken.

Character.

As a class Shrávaks are intelligent, sober, thrifty and, except the Osváls, clean and tidy. They are cheerful and fond of amusement and though frugal spend more freely than Meshris. They are traders, brokers, clothsellers, and shopkeepers, and in parts of Gujarát have the monopoly of pearl-dealing, pearl and coral boring and polishing, and selling precious stones. Except the Páncha Osváls of Kachh none of them are husbandmen. The Nagarsheths or aldermen of large cities are in many cases Shrávaks. The opening of railways has deprived them of much of their importance as insurers and agents, still they are a well-to-do class and hold a high place among Gujaráti traders. In spite of their religious differences the social customs of Shrávaks and Meshris are much alike. Their religious classes, both Gorjis and Sádhus are ascetics who take no part in birth marriage or death ceremonies. They have no class of family priests and their social ceremonies are performed with the help of Bráhman priests who do not suffer in social position because they act as priests to Shrávaks. The fact that all Shrávak ceremonies are performed with the help of Bráhman priests tends to show that Jainism is an offshoot of Bráhmanism.

Customs.

Immediately before the birth of a child a midwife is called. If a male child is born a brass plate is beaten and a Bráhman astrologer is

[1] It seems strange that Shrávaks should boil water and thus destroy all animal life in the water and yet be careful not to drink water in case they should destroy life. The explanation perhaps is that the animals in the boiled water have been killed by the fire while the animals in unboiled and unstrained water have been killed in the stomach of the drinker. Buddhists did not in India and do not now in Burma object to eat animals. They only object to kill animals. The origin of the tenderness for life seems then to be the fear that the killer may be haunted by the spirit of the dead which to a believer in the transmigration of souls may be a spirit of indefinite power and ill-will.

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asked to note the hour of birth. The news of the birth is carried to the child's father and the door-posts of his house are festooned with the leaves of the *asopálo* Polyalthia longifolia, molasses and coriander seeds are distributed among friends and relations, and if the father of the child is rich music is played at his house. On the sixth day Mother Sixth or Chhathi is worshipped with all the ceremonies observed by Meshris. In Pálanpur and other parts of north Gujarát the child is laid on a silk handkerchief and is rocked by four unmarried girls. On the tenth day the mother bathes, but remains unclean for thirty days more. The child is named on the twelfth, the fortieth, or some other day after the third month. Before naming the child they worship the family goddess or *gotraj*. The goddess is represented by a gold or silver plate, engraved with footprints, or by a leaf of the banian Ficus indica tree, or by a dried mango stone. With the help of a Bráhman priest the representation of the goddess is laid with betel leaves and nuts on a heap of rice or wheat and vermilion powder and flowers are thrown over them by the father's sister. The child's father feasts his friends and relations and his sister names the child. The names of Shrávak women do not differ from those of other high caste Hindu women; but the names of men generally end in *chand* and sometimes in *ji*. Except among the well-to-do the full naming ceremonies are performed only in the case of the first boy; girls are named by the mother without any ceremony. On the fortieth day after childbirth the mother bathes and worships a well. No ceremony is performed at the first giving of cooked food to the child. When the child is three five or seven years old, the boy's head is completely shaved, and a tuft of hair is cut from the back of the girl's head. Except that the boy is sent to school with music, and that friends and relations are feasted no ceremonies are performed at the time of hair-cutting. The Shrávaks do not wear the sacred shoulder-cord. At the time of worshipping their idols they wear a silken tape or a piece of cloth or a gold chain across their shoulders, in the way in which Bráhmans wear their thread. The rules forbidding marriage with any one who does not belong to a certain subdivision of the caste are less strict in the caste of Shrávaks than in the case of Meshris. As among Meshri Vániás marriage is forbidden between Dasa and Visa Shrávaks even of the same main division. A Dasa Shrimáli never marries with a Visa Shrimáli, and a Dasa Porvád never marries with a Visa Porvád. But unlike Meshris members of corresponding minor divisions sometimes intermarry. A Dasa Shrimáli marries a Dasa Porvád and a Dasa Osvál marries a Dasa Porvád and a Dasa Shrimáli. Again in some cases in north Gujarát the difference of religion is not considered a bar to marriage. Dasa Shrimáli Shrávaks marry with Dasa Shrimáli Meshris and Dasa and Visa Porvád Shrávaks marry with Dasa and Visa Porváda Meshris. With few exceptions the Shrávak Vánia marriage ceremony is the same as that performed by Meshri Vániás. Boys and girls are betrothed sometimes immediately before and sometimes many years before the marriage. The marriage day is fixed by a Bráhman astrologer. Five days before the marriage the parents of both the bride and bridegroom worship an image of Ganpati which is painted with vermilion on the house wall. The women of the bride and bridegroom's families go separately with

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music to the potter's house, worship his wheel, and carry away a store of earthen jars. At the bride's house a marriage booth is made, one of the posts of which among the Nimás is of *gugal* Balsamodendron mukul wood. A square or *chori* is made in the centre of the booth. No planet-pleasing or *grahashánti* ceremony is performed. On the day before the marriage the family goddess is invoked and worshipped. Among the Ládva Shrimális a razor made of wet wheatflour or of sugar is laid near the goddess. In the evening of the marriage day the bridegroom, dressed in rich clothes with a cocoanut and a rupee in his hands and with a black silk thread tied to his right ankle to ward off the evil eye, goes on horseback with music to the bride's house, the men of his party walking in front, and the women, except for a few paces among the Visa Shrimális, in the rear. Among the Osváls the bridegroom wears a wedding coronet *mugat* and in other divisions a turban. In all he holds a sword in his hand. When he reaches the bride's house the bridegroom dismounts and is received at the entrance by the bride's mother. She shows him a miniature plough, an arrow, and a churning handle, pinches his nose, and leads him to the marriage booth.[1] He sits on a wooden stool and on his left on another stool sits the bride who has been brought there by her maternal uncle. The bride's parents then formally offer the bride in marriage to the bridegroom. The maternal uncle lifts the bride and carries her four times round the husband. The Bráhmans recite texts or *mantras*; a piece of cloth is held between the bride and the bridegroom, and at the favourable moment, regarding which the Shrávaks are very particular, their hands are joined. The hems of the bride's and bridegroom's clothes are tied together and they walk four times round a fire which is lit in the middle of the central square. They then feed each other with coarse wheatflour and worship Ganpati and the family goddess. The bridegroom and bride then go with his friends and relations to his house where they worship Ganpati and play at odds and evens. On the second or third day after the marriage the bride's father makes presents of money and clothes to the bridegroom and his near relations. In some villages bordering on Márwár the marriage consummation take places on the marriage night. Before consummation the bridegroom presents the bride with ornaments worth from Rs. 25 to Rs. 100. On the second day the bridegroom and his friends are feasted by the bride's father with sweetmeats or with whey and millet. As among Meshris marriages are not allowed between near relations. The marriageable age of a boy is seven and upwards and of a girl from seven to twenty in some parts of north Gujarát. Except the Pánchás or Letás, Shrávaks do not allow their

[1] The object of these ceremonies seems to be to drive away the spirits which may have come into the booth along with the bridegroom. The plough is the symbol of cultivation and he who tills a field according to Persian ideas drives away many evil spirits. The arrow as an iron-tipped weapon is feared by spirits. The churning handle from its connection with the products of the cow is like the pestle from its connection with rice feared by spirits. The nose is pinched to keep spirits from entering into the bridegroom. So other classes pinch the bridegroom's ear.

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widows to marry. Divorce is never granted and polygamy is unusual. During the seventh month of a woman's first pregnancy lap-filling *kholbharvo* and wristlet-tying *rákhdi* are performed. These ceremonies do not differ from the corresponding ceremonies among Meshri Vániás.

When a Shrávak Vánia is at the point of death a text from the Punya Prakásh is read to him by a religious-minded Shrávak, and an image of one of the Tirthankars is brought from the temple and shown him. The dying person makes presents to Bráhmans in grain and in cash. Among the Osváls and Shrimális the dying are dressed in their full dress, if a man in a waistcloth a long cotton tunic and a turban, and if a woman in a bodice a petticoat and a robe. After this robing they are laid on a mattress with a coverlet spread over it. Among other Shrávak Vániás a dying man is dressed in a waistcloth and a dying woman in a petticoat and bodice. The dying person is then laid with the head towards the north on a part of the floor which has been freshly cowdunged, but no *darbha* Poa cynosuroides barley and sesame seed are strewn over it. When life is gone some sweetmeat balls are thrown to street dogs. Without washing or again changing the clothes the body is tied to a ladder-shaped bamboo bier and carried to the burning ground. The relations and castefellows follow calling upon Rám. When the burning ground is reached the body is carried three times round the pile, the clothes are stripped off and the body is laid on the pyre. Except when the grandfather is alive, the eldest son of the deceased sets the pile on fire. After the body is burnt the mourners bathe and return to the house of the deceased. They then separate but meet again at the house, where they peep into the house well and wash their hands with earth and water. The near relations of the deceased remain unclean five to ten days. During these days of uncleanliness among the Osváls, the chief mourner feeds bull-buffaloes. On the last day of mourning the near male relations of the deceased have their head and chin shaved. The practice of shaving the upper lip which was common forty years ago is falling into disuse as it is contrary to the Jain religion. The widow of the deceased if an elderly woman has her wristlets broken but her head is not shaved. She wears an ochre coloured robe and like a Meshri widow wears no ornaments, makes no browmark, and does not anoint her head. If the widow is a young woman the only change that is made in her dress is that she is not allowed to wear jingling anklets and earrings and to make the brow-mark. Between the end of the mourning and the thirteenth day the Gorji is daily feasted. Except among the Bhávsárs Sálvis and other artisan classes who have adopted Jainism no memorial or *shráddha* ceremony is performed between the tenth and the thirteenth but presents of grain clarified butter molasses and coppers are made to Bráhmans. On the thirteenth day the chief mourner goes to the temple, worships the idols with the help of Bhojaks, and makes offerings of safflower frankincense and sandalwood, and if his means permit ornaments and clothes. In honour of the deceased the chief mourner feasts his friends and relations or his castepeople or if he is well off the whole village. Shrávak Vániás do not keep monthly or yearly memorial days.

Each community has its headman or *sheth* who in consultation with a few respected castemen settles social disputes at a special meeting of the men of the caste. To settle religious questions or questions affecting the whole community the headmen of the different subdivisions meet and their decision is binding on all. The headmen of the Visa Shrimális and Visa Osváls hold the special privilege of fixing the day for the grand feast called *Nokársi*. They are not so ready as Meshris to teach their children English. Few of them are in the service of Government or native states.

Márwáris.

Besides the Shrávak Vániás described above, **Ma'rwa'ri Shra'vaks** of the Porvád and Osvál divisions numbering about 6800 souls are found chiefly in the Surat district.[1] They are known as Márwáris because they have lately come from Márwár and because many of them still look upon Márwár as their home. Like the Márwáris, their names show that other Gujarát Shrávaks came originally from Márwár, but the Gujarát Shrávaks have been settled for so many generations in the province that all connection with their former country has long ceased. The Márwáris of the different divisions dine together but do not intermarry. When these Márwáris first began to settle in the villages of the Surat district has not been ascertained. It is said that a few families have settled for more than two hundred years. Newcomers constantly appear, and generally for the first generation keep a close connection with Márwár. The common belief is that the Surat Márwáris came from the Thána district where they are settled in considerable strength. But this does not seem to be supported by marriage connections with the Márwáris either of Thána or of the Dakhan. It seems more likely that passing south in their search for work they found the villages of northern Gujarát well stocked with Meshri and Shrávak Vániás, but that south of the Tápti village money-lenders were scarce. Their wiry large-boned frames, their long lank hair, and their coarsely cut and dark coloured faces show them to be distinct from the Shrávaks of Gujarát. They live almost all in villages, most of them in well built brick-walled houses often the only two-storied buildings in the village. In dress they differ from other Shrávaks, the men wearing a particoloured red and blue tightly-rolled close-fitting headdress; and the women petticoats larger and fuller than those worn by other Vánia and Shrávak women. The women, like Márwár women, wear large and heavy ivory bracelets and armlets.[2] Though all understand and can write Gujaráti, among themselves they speak a dialect of Márwári and write a character somewhat different from that in

[1] According to the 1872 census there were about 6800 Márwári Shrávaks in the British districts of Gujarát. Of these 6000 were in Surat 400 in Broach and 400 in the Panch Mahála. The census of 1891 returns Márwári Shrávaks at only 527. It seems that the Márwáris have been grouped with the Gujarát Porváds and Osváls.

[2] Márwári men and women have been changing their dress and ornaments for the past few years. A few men shave like Gujarát Shrávaks, and do not wear long lank hair or curled hair over the ears, and a few of the women have ceased to wear heavy wristlets and large petticoats.

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use among other traders. In the matter of food they are as careful as Gujarát Shrávaks to eat of nothing that has had life. But they differ from other Gujarát Shrávaks in their utter abstinence from the use of any intoxicating drugs. Though not allowed to eat with the Gujarát Shrávaks and despised by them as strangers and upstarts, they hold much the same social position as other Meshri and Shrávak Vániás. Thriftier, harder-working, more sober, cooler-tempered, better behaved and more enduring, they are at the same time meaner, and, in their business relations, harder and more dishonest than the Gujarát Vániás. Towards strangers of their own caste they show much sympathy and active kindliness, though with other classes their dealings are marked by little fairness or forbearance.

Callings.

All are shopkeepers and moneylenders.[1] And though many of them are newcomers and all newcomers are poor, they soon make money, and, as a class, are well-to-do. Arriving in Surat without money or education the Márwár Shrávak is taken in hand by his castefellows, fed by them, set to work, and in his leisure hours taught to write and keep accounts. With this help at starting, the immigrant, who is frugal temperate and hardworking, soon puts together a small sum of ready money. From this amount by advancing to the poorest classes sums seldom exceeding Rs. 5, his capital has, after a few years, increased to Rs. 2000 or Rs. 3000. With these savings he returns to Márwár, and, at this stage of his life, he generally marries. Practising economy even in his native land, the Márwári brings back with him to the village where he formerly had dealings enough ready money to enable him to start as a trader. His shop once opened, he settles in the village, leaving it only when forced by urgent private reasons to visit Márwár or because he has become bankrupt an event that seldom happens. Except hamlets chiefly inhabited by aboriginal tribes, almost every village in Surat has its Márwári shopkeeper and moneylender. In the larger villages, with enough trade to support more than one shop, the Márwári keeps little but grain in stock. In smaller and outlying villages, where he is the only trader, the Márwári starts as a general dealer, offering for sale, in addition to grain, spices salt sugar oil cloth and brass bracelets. The settler is now a member of the community of Márwári shopkeepers and moneylenders.

Customs.

The Márwáris are rich and well-to-do. Many families are worth from Rs. 3000 to Rs. 10,000. Settled in one of the best houses in the village, with a good store of cattle and grain, spoken of by all with respect as the *sheth* or master, and seldom without some families of debtors bound to perform any service he may stand in need of, the Márwári moneylender lives in a state of considerable comfort. They are all Shrávaks or followers of the Jain religion,

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[1] In the rural parts of the Surat district these foreigners so completely monopolise the business of moneylending that in the villages south of the Tápti Márwári is the term in common use for moneylender.

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and like the Gujarát Shrávaks of the Shvetámbar or white-robed sect, chiefly worship the twenty-third saint or Tirthankar Párasnáth. In the largest of a group of villages a temple of Párasnáth is generally to be found. To meet the expense attending the maintenance of worship the settler devotes a fixed portion of his gains. At the same time he subscribes to a provident fund for the help of the widow and children of any member of his community who may die leaving his family in straitened circumstances. Their customs at birth marriage death and other leading family occasions are in all points like those practised by other Gujarát Shrávaks. They call Bráhmans to conduct their ceremonies and pay them respect. They ask their priest to prepare a horoscope at the time of the birth of a child; they worship *Chhathi* the sixth-day influence; their women remain impure for thirty or thirty-five days after childbirth; the child is named by its father's sister; the lap-filling ceremony is performed at the time of first pregnancy; at marriage Ganpati is worshipped, a *chori* or square is made, and a marriage thread is worn by the bride and bridegroom. In regular fashion the bride and bridegroom walk round the *chori*, the hands of the bride and bridegroom are joined, and *kansár* that is wheat-flour cooked with molasses, is served to the bride and bridegroom on the completion of the marriage ceremony. They burn the dead, hold themselves impure for ten days, and feed Bráhmans and their castepeople, but do not perform *shra'ddha* or any other death ceremony.

Community.

As is natural among a small body of men living in a strange country the members of the Márwári community are bound together by many ties. The settlers in a group of villages have generally one family to whom they yield a place of respect. With the head of that house as president, a few of the leading men form a council or *mahájan*, settling social disputes, arranging for the support of their temple and its worship, and for the management of the provident fund to which all subscribe. The Márwáris are careful to teach all their children to read and write. Of late years they have increased both in number and in wealth. They have also begun to settle and build houses. Instead of seeking matches in Márwár many of the Surat families have intermarried, and there seems little doubt that before another generation is over most of them will have come to consider Gujarát as their home.

Shra'vaks. *Religion.*

Shra'vaks follow Jainism and are divided into two leading sects Digambarás or air-clad and Shvetámbars or white-robed. The Digambarás are also called Ummad and the Shvetámbars Tappás. Among Digambarás the image has no eyes and no loincloth. Among the Shvetámbars the image has gold eyes fixed with glass and a piece of linen carved round the loins. Again the Digambara priests are naked and keep to their monasteries and the Shvetámbar priests are clothed. Of the two sects, the Shvetámbar sect has by far the largest number of adherents in Gujarát. The Shvetámbars are subdivided into eighty-four sub-sects or *gachhas*, of which about fifteen to twenty only now remain. Of the existing *gachhas*, the Lonka *gachha* is

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more careful not to destroy animal life than the other *gachhas.* They believe in *arhats* or saints but are opposed to idol-worship and ridicule the idea of an idol granting a prayer. Their Shripujya or spiritual head of the *gachha* resides at Baroda and has *thivars* or deputies at Delhi Ajmere and Jálar. The Shripujya goes every year on tour visiting his disciples. About 500 years ago a schism arose in the Lonka sect. A priest disputed the authority of his Shripujya and was expelled the congregation. He practised severe austerities, and gaining a large following founded a new *gachha,* which is called Dhundia. Like the parent *gachha,* the Dhundiás are opposed to idol-worship and building temples, and accept only thirty-two *sútras* or aphorisms of the Jain faith. Their priests do not beg, but live on such offerings of food and clothes as are freely made by the congregation and own no property. They are clad in white and mask their mouths with linen to prevent their breath from killing insect-life. They never stir out in the rain lest they should kill some animal and always brush the ground before they sit. Some go even to the length of brushing the ground in front as they walk. They neither wash their clothes nor any part of their body. The Dhondiás are mostly found in Káthiáváḍa. Their opposition to idol-worship has alienated most of their adherents in Gujarát proper.

Ascetics.

Among the white-robed or Shvetámbari Shrávaks are three classes of ascetics, Sádhus Sádhvis and Gorjis. Like the Bráhmanic Sanyásis or Brahamachári̇s these Shvetámbari ascetics do not act as priests to Shrávaks. The Sádhus who are also called Sambhekhi or belonging to no *gachh* are as a rule recruited from pious Shrávaks and are said to keep Jain rules more strictly than Shripujyás and Gorjis.[1] There is little difference in the entrance ceremonies for Sádhus Sádhvis or Gorjis. The person who wishes to become a Sádhu goes to a learned Sádhu and bowing at his feet, humbly asks him to take him as his pupil or *chela.* The Sádhu finds[2] out that the parents and relations of the youth are willing that he should become an ascetic, that his limbs and organs are sound, and that he has sufficient strength of body and mind to stand the fasting and other discipline laid down in the Jain scriptures. A fortunate day is chosen to hold this initiatory ceremony. When the disciple is a man of means the ceremony is performed at his expense. In other cases the cost of this ceremony is contributed by the Shrávak community who are always pleased when additions are made to the number of the religious class. The ceremony is celebrated with the same pomp as a marriage. A procession of rich and poor young and old men and women starts from the house of the disciple, and passes with music and singing through the chief streets of the town which are lined by spectators. The

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[1] The Shripujya or Gorji is required to undergo a second initiating ceremony if he wishes to become a Sádhu. This is a practical proof of the superiority of Sádhus over Shripujya or Gorjis.

[2] This rule of ascertaining the wish of the parents and testing the physical and mental powers of a novice is at present necessarily disregarded in the case of Gorjis.

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procession is headed by *shábelás* that is young boys and girls who are seated on richly caparisoned horses and who wear costly clothes and precious gold and pearl ornaments. The horses are led one after the other in rows of twos or threes. Before each troop of horses comes a band of musicians or drummers and after the horses a number of men walk slowly. The disciple who is to be initiated comes last in a palanquin. He clasps a cocoanut in his joined hands. Before him comes a number of men and behind him many women who sing religious songs. One of the women who is generally related to the person to be initiated, carries in her hands a *chháb* or bamboo basket with the articles required for the intended Sádhu. As the procession passes the spectators bow to the intended Sádhu and he bows to them in return. They pass outside of the town and stop below an *ásopálo* Polyalthia longifolia tree, where the initiatory ceremony lasts for three or four hours. The initiator or *guru* does not join the procession. He either awaits the procession at the tree or joins them after they arrive. The Gorjis form a circle round the intended priest and the laity stand behind. The novice puts off his old clothes except the waistcloth. He then either himself plucks out the hair of his head or gets some one else to pluck it out, and puts on the robes of an ascetic. When he is robed he is given a new name containing at least one letter of his original name. Camphor musk sandal saffron and sugar are applied to his bare head, while the initiator repeats texts calling on him to observe with care the vows taken at the initiatory ceremony. The novice stands with folded hands before the *guru* who gives a discourse or *páth* on the five vows *Pancha mahá vratas*. The novice is then supplied with the articles allowed to an ascetic by the Jain scriptures. These are the *kapado* or white cloth spotted yellow about eight feet long and five broad which is worn over the upper part of the body; *cholpáth* or waistcloth about five feet long and three broad which falls from the waist to the ankles; five wooden pots or *pátrás* in the shape of deep dishes; a jug or *trapni*; a cup or *chetno*; a black rod or *dand* about five feet long to guard against hurt but not to injure others; a *ogho* or brush, which while walking is carried under the left arm-pit and is used to sweep the ground. It is in shape like a flywhisk and consists of about two thousand spools of wool sewn to a piece of cloth and bound to a sandal blackwood or teakwood staff about fifteen inches long. The ceremony is completed by the *guru* throwing *vásh khep* or fragrant powder on the head of the new ascetic as he passes. The new ascetic does not return to the town but passes the night either in the neighbouring village or in a rest-house outside the town. He comes back next morning and stays in the monastery or *apásara*. The Sádhu wears red ochre or *bhagva* coloured clothes. He wears only two pieces of cotton cloth one called *chanotho* which without having the end passed between the legs hangs from the waist a little below the knees, the other cloth is worn over the upper part of the body. He wears no headdress and does not allow the hair of his head his moustaches or his beard to grow. Except when enfeebled by age he does not shave, but after allowing the hair to grow for about six months tears it out with his fingers. He always carries his staff *dand* and *ogho* brush, and before he sits down

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sweeps the ground to push insects away. He sleeps on a blanket and owns no property. He never kindles a fire or cooks food, but begs cooked food from Shvetámbar Shrávaks. About noon he starts from the monastery with two wooden pots or *pátrás*, one for water the other for food. He goes to Shrávaks and where there are no Shrávaks, to middle and high class Hindus Bráhmans, Vániás, Rajputs, Kanbis, Khatris, Kumbhárs, Suthárs, and Rábáris. He enters those houses only whose doors are open, never knocks at the door, and does not beg at the houses whose doors are opened purposely on seeing him. On entering an open house he repeats the words *Dharma lábha* Fruits of religion, when the owner of the house lays before him *bhiksha* or cooked food. Out of this he puts in his own pot a small quantity so that the householder may not have to cook again for the requirements of his family. When he has gathered enough for a meal from different houses the Sádhu returns and eats at home.[1] Drinking water is also collected in the same way, but the water should have been boiled four *pohors* or twelve hours, as fresh life is said to form in water after every twelve hours. During the fair season Sádhus are forbidden to stay more than five days in the same village and more than a month in the same town. But they are allowed to pass at one place the rainy season that is four months from the fourteenth of *A'shád Sudh* to the fourteenth of *Kártik Sudh*. The Sádhu's chief duties are to study and teach the Jain scriptures and to keep the rules laid down in the Shástras especially the five main vows or *pancha mahávratas*. These five vows are to refrain from *pránatipát* life-taking, *múrkhavád* lying, *adattadán* receiving anything without the knowledge of the owner, *maithun* sexual intercourse, and *parigrah* taking gifts not allowed by religious rules.

Sádhvis.

Sádhvis or Nuns are recruited from religious Shrávak women who spend their time in preaching and explaining the Jain doctrine and rules to women of the Jain faith. Except that the *diksha* or initiation is given by a Sádhvi the initiating ceremony is the same as that observed by Sádhus. The Sádhvi begs her meals and water in the same way as the Sádhu and her dress is of the same colour. She wears one robe round the waist and another on the upper part of the body. A bodice and a long piece of cloth is worn under the waistcloth. She wears the shouldercloth drawn over her head so as to cover her face. Like the Sádhu she tears out the hair of her head about once every six months. When she goes out she carries her *dand* and *ogho*.

Gorjis.

Any Shrávak may leave his family and become a Gorji.[2] At present most Gorjis are the sons of low caste Hindus or are illegitimate children who are brought or bought up by Shrávak priests or Gorjis. For this reason the Gorjis have sunk in estimation. The initiatory ceremony for becoming Sádhus and Gorjis is the same. The Gorji

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[1] Although one Sádhu or Sádhvi brings in the same pot the meal of another Sádhu or Sádhvi, the Sádhus and Sádhvis and even Shripujyas and Gorjis do not take their meal in the same dish as the Shrávaks.

[2] It is said that occasionlly boys are dedicated in consequence of vows made by Shrávaks without children who promise their first-born to their Shripujya or High Priest in hopes of obtaining further posterity.

Section III. TRADERS. Shrávaks. *Religion.* *Gorjis.*

like the Sádhu wears only two cloths, a waist and a shouldercloth. He differs from the Sádhu by wearing white instead of red ochre and by having larger and fuller robes which hang to the feet. A few dissipated Gorjis wear silk waistcloths and draw one end back between the legs. The rest let the waistcloth fall to the feet. Gorjis grow the moustaches and the hair of the head. The head hair which is kept on the whole head instead of on part of the forehead only in the ordinary Hindu fashion is cut short behind and made smooth by applying fragrant oil and the brush. Except a few who break the rules and cook rich food in their monasteries, Gorjis never cook but beg dressed food or *bhiksha* from the Shrávaks, and where there are no Shrávaks from other Hindus except the low castes. Drinking water is also collected by begging as Sádhus. A strict Gorji never eats or drinks when the sun is below the horizon. Like Sádhus, Gorjis have two wooden pots or *pátrás*, one for food the other for water, a wool brush or *ogho*, and a staff or *dand*. Unlike Sádhus or strict Gorjis they sleep on soft cotton beds instead of coarse blankets. Gorjis have few of the religious scruples of Sádhus in begging their food. They do not hesitate to knock at a Shrávak's door if it is shut, and if the door is not opened to wait before it for hours till the householder is forced to give food. One Gorji often begs and gathers in the same pot the food and water for his other Gorji friends. Unlike the Sádhus who have a corresponding order of female Sádhvis, the Gorjis have no order of female Gorjens. Gorjis are generally supposed to be loose in keeping the Jain rules. Unlike Sádhus and Sádhvis the Gorjis practice sorcery and magic and prescribe medicine.

Shripujyás.

Except Sádhus and Sádhvis who belong to no *gachha*,[1] Gorjis and Shrávaks are divided into bodies or *gachhas*. The Shvetámbaris are said to be divided into eighty-four *gachhas*, but in Gujarát only about ten are found.[2] Each *gachha* has a spiritual head called Shripujya who is chosen from among the Gorjis of the same *gachha* provided he was originally a Shrávak or a Bráhman. As a rule the Shripujya fixes who is to be his successor. If he dies without naming a successor the Gorjis and Shrávaks of the *gachha* choose their Shripujya from among the Gorjis belonging to their *gachha*. The new Shripujya's hair is plucked out, texts describing the duties of a Shripujya are read by one of the Gorjis, and the assembly of Gorjis is directed to obey the Shripujya. Shripujyas wear their hair and dress and beg in the same way as Gorjis except that a Gorji sometimes brings the Shripujya's supply of food and water with his own. Shripujyás and Gorjis take their meals at the same table, but Sádhus and Sádhvis do not eat at the same table as Shripujyás and Gorjis. Besides by servants and macebearers the Shripujya is attended by a body of five to fifty Gorji disciples. He moves in a palanquin with a large retinue and

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[1] The *gachha* is not a religious but a social division. At the end of the *pachusan* festival in September-October the Shrávaks of all the *gachhas* meet and separately celebrate their own dinner parties.

[2] The chief existing *gachhas* are *Anchalia*, *Kadvámati*, *Khadtar*, *Lodhiposál*, *Púechandsur*, *Ságar*, *Tapgachha*, *Vadiposhál*, *Vajeansur*, and *Vajedevsur*.

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Shravaks.
Religion.
Shripujyás.

arranges to send Gorjis from one place to another according to the wants of the Shrávak laity. In the time of the last Tirthankar Mahávirasvámi (B.C. 527), there are said to have been three orders of ascetics Sádhus, Upádhyás, and Achāryás or Gandhars. The Sádhus by diligence and learning found fit to teach hymns or *sutrapáth* became Upádhyás and Upádhyás by further study and experience were raised to be Achāryás or Gandhars. About eight hundred years after Mahávirasvámi, the character of the ascetics is said to have declined. The modern Shripujyás took the place of Gandhars and the Gorjis who mostly live as disciples of the Shripujya have taken the place of Sádhus. The modern Sádhus are said to be a new or reformed order who attempt to lead a life more in accordance with their scriptures than the Gorji's life. They have no connection with the Shripujyás and Gorjis. Shrávaks have at present much regard for Sádhus and many laymen consider Sádhus as their spiritual heads *gurus*. The number of Jain Sádhus is decreasing. Except a few who are strict and wellbehaved, the majority of the Gorjis are given up to worldly enjoyment. They beg for and own wealth and property; they break the vow of celibacy by living in concubinage; they recruit men by purchase and other illegal means; they cheat people by practising sorcery and magic; and they behave openly in such a way as to create hatred and contempt. Fifty years ago the people believed in witches and feared the Shripujyás and Gorjis who were considered the best magicians of the time. But now the Gorjis have lost their importance as sorcerers and magicians.

Temples Dehrás.

The religious buildings of the Shrávaks are of two classes, monasteries *apásarás* and temples *dehrás*. The temples are either *shikharbandi* spire-roofed or *gharderáser* house-roofed. The spire temples are generally made of stone with pyramidical tops and domes and have one to four gates. A few of these temples which are known as *bávan jináli dehrás* have fifty-two shrines round the main building. The house-roofed temples which are built of stone or brick and mortar have either terraces or roofs on the top and in some cases have upper stories. The ground floor of almost all the temples is paved with white and occasionally with black marble, and the walls of some temples are inlaid with marble. As a rule the ground floor which is raised and approached by steps is divided into two parts the hall *mandap* and the shrine *gabháro*. The hall where the people collect is separated from the shrine either by a wall or by iron brass or wooden lattice work. Along the back wall of the shrine a stone or marble seat is raised for the idols. Opposite the middle door, in the middle of this seat, is a second raised seat for the *mulnáyak* or patron saint of the temple. Many Jain temples have an underground apartment called *bhoiru*, corresponding with the shrine above and furnished with a second set of idols arranged directly underneath those in the temple. The temple is always fragrant with incense. In large towns are temples richly painted and decorated with chandeliers wallshades and other glass lamps. They cost two or three lákhs. They are built either by a single

Section III. TRADERS. Shrávaks. *Temples Dehrás.*

wealthy Shrávak or by subscription, Shrávaks being very liberal in the sums they spend on temples. A Shrávak temple is always called after one of the twenty-four Tirthankars or patron saints. If the temple is built by a single person the Tirthankar chosen is one whose name belongs to the same *ráshi* or zodiacal sign as the person at whose cost the temple was built. If the temple is built by a number of persons the Tirthankar is chosen who is most popular with them. The image of the chosen Tirthankar is generally set in the shrine on a raised seat and called *mulnáyak* or chief leader. On both sides of the patron saint images of one or more of the other Tirthankars are placed and all worshipped with equal respect. The images are seated figures of men mostly of white and sometimes of black marble and sometimes of gold sometimes of silver set with diamonds and rubies.[1] In both temples the images, especially the image of the *mulnáyak*, are decked with ornaments worth lákhs of rupees.[2]

Besides the images of Tirthankars, there are placed below the idol of the *mulnáyak* or in other niches or shrines or upper stories images of Hindu goddesses and in front of them a cocoanut some betelnuts and some rice. Sometimes to the great displeasure of orthodox Shrávaks images of Hindu gods and goddesses are placed in niches outside the inner temple.

The Sádhus, Sádhvis, or Gorjis rarely visit a temple. If they go they bow to the idol from a distance. They never perform the daily worship which is left to paid servants called *pujáris*. Most ministrants are Shrimáli Bráhmans and some are Tapodhans Mális and Kanbis. These ministrants except when on duty are allowed to act according to their own religion. They go to a Shrávak's temple and perform the worship of the idol as a hireling and not as a devotee. Any Hindu who is not a flesh-eater or spirit-drinker is considered a fit temple servant. A Shrávak ministrant is never paid in money. Ministrants of other castes are paid sums up to Rs. 100 a year besides the use of such fruit as is laid before the image by Shrávak votaries. And if his caste allows the ministrant eats food

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1 When an image is installed by some wealthy Shrávak many smaller images are brought into the temple and consecrated. They are then ready to be moved to any small newly built shrine after comparatively few ceremonies called *pratishtha* have been performed. The ceremony of installing a new idol is called the *anjansalakha* or anointing the eye with a stick. The ceremony is performed by lay religious Shrávaks with the help of Sádhus or high priests who complete the ceremony by anointing the eye with *kasturi* or musk and sprinkling on the head of the idol sandal and *kasturi*. During the last fifty years the *anjansalakha* ceremony has been twice performed in Gujarát first by Sheth Motisha, a well known banker of Bombay about A.D. 1837 when he built a temple on Pálitána hill, and again by Sheth Hatising Kesrising of Ahmedábád in A.D. 1847 when he built the great temple outside of the Ahmedábád-Dehli gate. There is no idol worship according to primitive Jain religion, its chief tenet being that the universe is a product of nature requiring no creator or God. The worshipping of the Tirthankars appears to be a growth of later times.

2 The ornaments are the crown earrings, necklace, armlet, bracelets, and waistband. Besides these there is a full dress ornament called *ángi* which covers the body up to the neck. All these ornaments are made of gold or silver gilt and many of them are set with diamonds rubies and emeralds. Rich temples as a rule have two sets of these ornaments, one set being used daily the other on grand occasions.

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prepared by the Shrávaks. Jain temples are always closed during the night and neither priests monks nor temple ministrants live in them. In some temples a lamp of clarified butter is set in a niche with a small glass door. But as a rule a light is not kept burning during the night. Except in big temples where one or more servants are employed, the ministrant's duty is to sweep and clean the temple, to keep watch over the temple vessels, and to perform the worship of the idols. Every day he opens the temple before dawn and closes it at sundown. After the temple is swept and cleaned the ministrant bathes at about six or seven and marks his brow with reddish-yellow saffron and sandal powder. He then puts on two clean cloths, one below the waist the other called *utrásan* worn on the left shoulder, one end of it being carried round below the right arm back to the left shoulder. He then folds his shouldercloth eight times and fastens it round his mouth and nose and goes into the shrine where he picks from the idols the flowers garlands and ornaments which were worn the previous day. He then with a peacock's feather-brush cleans the idol and washes it with water mixed with milk curds sugarcandy and saffron. The ministrant again dries the idol with a cloth and re-washes it with water. After drying it thrice with three separate cloths the ministrant lays flowers before and over the idol, applies fragrant substances and essence to its toe, ankle, navel, brow, heart, palm, shoulders, neck and crown,[1] burns aloe sticks, waves lamps, and with grains of rice draws a half square or *sáthio* on a low footstool and as *naived* or sacred food lays on it almonds sesame sugarcandy and sweatmeats brought from a Shrávak family. After this he unties his mouth cloth and sits in the hall, bows thrice before the image and chants prayers. The morning service is finished by ringing a bell which is hung in all temples. Except on great occasions when they are kept open the whole day the temples are closed by noon. They are opened again an hour before sunset when the ministrant burns aloe-sticks waves lamps and repeats the chief virtues or *gunagan* of the Tirthankar after which the temple is closed till the next morning. The ornaments which are worn by the idol in the morning are cleaned and again put on the next day. Shrávaks both men and women go to the temple in the morning and evening to pray and visit the idols. Some Shrávaks bathe in the temple and sometimes go through the same ritual as the ministrant. Women rarely go through the regular ritual although they are not forbidden to do so. If one of the lay worshippers performs the service the ministrant is not required to repeat it. When Shrávaks come to pay homage to the idol, they set in front of the idol almonds and rice and sometimes flowers and sticks of aloe or frankincense *dhup dip*. Shrávaks do not as a rule take anything in their pockets as on returning home from the temple whatever they have had in their pockets cannot be used for any other purpose. To obviate this inconvenience Shrávaks often go to temples wearing no clothes above the

[1] The Digambarás worship only the toe.

waist. On entering the temple Shrávaks repeat the name of Adishvar Rishabha or whoever is the patron saint of the temple and sweep a little space on the floor and sprinkle rice in the form of a *sáthiyo*. They then walk three times round the image always keeping the right hand nearest to it and making an obeisance, repeat a hymn[1] in praise of the Tirthankars. The hymn lasts for five or six minutes and is either sung loudly or under the breath. Shrávaks also perform domestic worship of the deity at home. No taxes or fixed payments are levied for the maintenance of Shrávak temples and monasteries. Whatever money is laid before the idol by the devotees is gathered and credited in the account book. The temple income is spent in repairing the temple, in buying ornaments aloe-sticks saffron musk and other articles used in the worship, and in paying the ministrant or *pujári* if he is not paid from other funds. The temple is not considered the property either of the builder or of the priest class. Its management is entrusted to one or more lay trustees who are generally chosen from the sect or *gachha* to which the builder of the temple belongs. The managers are not paid but the position is considered one of honour.

Section III. TRADERS. Shra'vaks. *Temples Dehrás.*

The Jains have monasteries or *apásarás* distinct from their temples or *dehrás*. These monasteries are the dwelling places of Jain priests, Sádhus, Sádhvis, Shripujyás, and Gorjis. They are built either by wealthy Shrávaks or from the religious endowments of the Shrávak Mahájan or guild. They are buildings with large halls without bath or cooking rooms. The Shripujyás and Gorjis live in one *apásara* and Sádhus and Sádhvis in separate *apásarás*. They have no communication with each other. Images are never kept in *apásarás*. They are the property of the Shrávak community and are repaired from their common fund. In the Sádhus' *apásarás* from seven till nine in the morning the Sádhus daily read and explain the Jain scriptures and discuss and inculcate Jain doctrines. These lectures are largely attended on the ten great days[2] of the month, five of which are in the bright and five in the dark half, and on other festive occasions. Sádhvis also come to hear Sádhus lecture. The Sádhvis or nuns, who never touch a man, and other Shrávak women sit separate from the men and listen at a distance. Sádhvis give instruction to Shrávak women in their *apásarás* but a Gorji or Shripujya seldom lectures or preaches.

Monasteries Apásarás.

The most sacred period of the year for a Shrávak is the Pachusan, more correctly Paryusan or the sacred season. Among the Shvetámbarás it begins with the twelfth of the dark half of *Shrávan* (July-August) and ends with the fifth of the bright half of *Bhádrapad* (August-September). Among the Digambars the sacred season lasts for fifteen days beginning from the fifth of the bright half and ending on the fifth of the dark half of *Bhádrapad*. The

Holidays Pachusan.

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[1] The following is the Shrávak hymn: Salutation to the Arhats, to the pure existences, to the sages, to the teachers, to all the devout in the world. The morning prayer runs: I beg forgiveness, Oh lord, for your slave whatever evil thoughts the night may have produced; I bow with my head. H. H. Wilson, Works Vol. I. pages 318-319.

[2] The ten great days are the 2nd 5th 8th 11th and 14th of each fortnight.

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Holidays
Pachusan,

following details relate to the Pachusan as observed by the Shvetámbarás. A strict Shvetámbar ought to fast during the whole Pachusan week and in rare instances the rule is observed; but almost all fast on the last day.[1] During this week the Shvetámbarás generally do not work and both men and women flock several times during the day to the temples or *dehrás* and monasteries or *apásarás* where the Sádhus read and explain the Kalpasutra.[2] The reading commences at six in the morning and ends between four and six in the evening with half an hour's rest at midday. During this rest the audience is served with *patásás* or sugar-cakes four to each person, sometimes almonds four to each, and rarely cocoanuts one to each person. A copy of the Kalpasutra is brought from the house of a devout Shrávak to the *apásara* in procession with music and singing. It is tied in a piece of rich cloth and carried in the hands of a boy seated in a palanquin or on a horse or on an elephant where available. Behind the boy walk Gorjis and behind them laymen. At the monastery the book is laid on a *sinhásan* or lion-seat and the party who brought it stand before the book with joined hands and worship it. On the fifth day of the Pachusan week the life of Mahávirasvámi the twenty-fourth Tirthankar is read and the meeting breaks up at noon instead of in the evening. On this day all, except those who have to observe the fast continuously during the week, break their fast and attend a caste feast, the expenses of which are met by contribution. Those who have broken their fast resume it from the next day.

Besides hearing the scriptures read to them, almost all Shvetámbars perform every day in the evening during the Pachusan week the *padikamna*, more correctly the *parikraman* ceremony. It is something like a confession by a body of persons. All Sádhus and a few strict Shrávaks perform it every day morning and evening throughout the year, many on sacred days, but the majority only in the Pachusan week. The Shrávak who wants to perform the ceremony goes to the monastery of his *gachha* with a *katásan* or seat of woollen cloth eighteen inches square, a *mohpati* or mouth-fillet, a piece of white cotton cloth nine inches square, a waistcloth fresh washed and dried, and a *chavlo* or brush of 1500 woollen threads each nine inches long tied to a stick nine inches long. At the monastery he puts on the waistcloth, sits on the woollen-cloth-seat, holds before his mouth with his right hand the mouth-

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[1] Ordinarily a Jain fast is much stricter than that of a Brahmanical Hindu fast. Sometimes though rarely a Jain *sádhu* or devotee takes the vow of fasting to death. This is called *santháro* or sleeping. The Sádhu who wishes to practise the death-rite abstains entirely from food and drink. After fasting some time his body is constantly rubbed with a wet cloth. When the Sádhu is at the point of death he is placed in a sitting posture in a shrine-shaped litter decorated with tinsel and small flags. After death the litter with the dead body is carried in procession with music to the burning ground. When it is known that a Sádhu has taken the vow of *santháro*, people flock to worship him. The rigidity of the vow is now much slackened, and it is taken a day or two previous to death when all hopes of life are given up.

[2] The Kalpasutra is one of the forty-five religious books of the Jains. It treats of the life of Mahávira the twenty-fourth Tirthankar.

fillet and lays before him the brush. During the ceremony, if he is required to stand up he uses the brush to brush his person and seat every time he stands up and sits down. When all the congregation have taken their seats, one of them who knows the formula administers the oath called *samáyak,* binding them that they should not leave their seats and be all attention during the ceremony. The Sádhu of the monastery then recites certain verses praying that all sins as regards animal life committed knowingly or unwittingly by the congregation may be pardoned. During the recital all except the Sádhu observe silence which is broken at intervals by joint prayers. The ceremony lasts for an hour but on the last day of the Pachusan it extends over three hours. The ceremony begins while it is daylight and ends at dusk. No light however is brought until the ceremony is over. Before it breaks up the meeting is served with sweet-balls on the last day and with *patásás* or sugar-cakes on other days. On the day following the Pachusan images of saints are taken in procession round the town and the holidays are closed with subscription feasts. During these holidays in large towns fishermen and sometimes butchers are induced by money payments to give up fishing and slaughtering animals. They are all generally shut up from morning till evening.

Saint-Wheel Worship.

Next in importance to the Pachusan is the *Siddhachakra Puja* or saint-wheel worship. It is performed twice a year in *Chaitra* (April-May) and *A'shvin* (September-October) and lasts for nine days beginning on the seventh and ending on fullmoon day. The wheel consists of a silver or other metallic circular plate with nine round compartments traced on it. In the central compartment is engraved an image of Arhat or his name. In the other four compartments the images of Siddha, Áchárya, Upádhya, and Sadhu are engraved or their names written. In the remaining four compartments the words *Dnyán* or knowledge, *Darshan* or religious discipline, *Charitra* or good conduct, and *Tapa* or austerity are written. Outside the circle are sometimes written the names of the ten Urdhvaloknivásis or regents of the ten directions, of sixty-four ruling deities, of the two Bhairavs, of the two Dakshas, and of Chakreshvari or the guardian deity of the Siddhachakra. These deities are worshipped collectively and separately with flowers and sandal-paste and verses in praise of Jain saints are recited during the worship.

Animal Home.

Among the Shrávaks one of the most popular objects of benevolence is the *Pánjarápol* or animal home, where with the exception of asses, which are rarely sent, all domestic animals and such as are not of a venomous or cruel nature, when maimed diseased or advanced in age are received and tended by a staff of servants.

OTHER TRADERS.

Section III. Traders.

Besides the Meshris and Shrávaks who form the great Vánia community, the three classes which deserve mention along with the Vánia traders are **Bhansa'lis, Bha'tia's,** and **Loha'na's.**

Bhansa'lis or Vegus.

Bhansa'lis[1] or **Vegus**, 26,723, found in Kachh and Káthiáváḍa are said to have come from Sindh. Husbandmen, shopkeepers, and traders, they are hardworking and thrifty. Though, except some who have made fortunes in Bombay, few of them are rich, as a class they are free from debt, generally owning one or two milch buffaloes and cows. Vaishnavs in name, some of them worship goddesses. But they chiefly reverence the Mándvi saint, Sádhu Láldás, to whom they yearly make presents of money and some grain. Their family goddess is Hingláj in Sindh. Birth and marriage registers are kept by their priests, and widows are allowed to marry. Their family priests are Sárasvat Bráhmans who eat with them.

Bha'tia's.

Bha'tia's[2] with a strength of 23,621 are found mostly in Kachh and Káthiáváḍa. They claim to be Bháti Rajputs of the Yádav[3] stock, who under the name of Bháttis or Bhátiás are the ruling tribe in Jesalmir in north Rajputána, and who as Musalmán Bhátis are found in considerable numbers in the Láhor and Multán divisions of the Panjáb,[4] and to a less extent in the North-West Provinces.[5] In Sindh, where they are best known as the traders of Shikárpur,[6] they are found over the whole province, and in Kachh chiefly in Abdása and Pávar, and in the towns of Mándvi, Mundra, and Anjár.[7] According to Panjáb accounts their earliest capital (B.C. 600) was at Gajnipur, supposed by General Cunningham to have been not far from the modern Rávalpindi. From this, he thinks, in the first century A.D. they were driven south-east before the

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[1] Of the origin of Bhánsáli or Bhansári, a lately adopted name, no explanation has been found. It is said to come from a mythical king Bhanusal. Formerly they were generally known as Vegáos or Vegus, meaning mixed race. About A.D. 1200 they had a fort named Vegugad in the Ran, north of Lakhpat, of which traces still remain. DeBarros (A.D. 1550) (Dec. IV. Lib. V. Cap. I.) mentions them under the name of Bangacaris, as a kind of merchants who eat meat and fish.

[2] According to General Cunningham Bhátia or Bhattia comes from *bhat* a warrior (Ancient Geography, I. 247). They are also said to be called either after Bhat one of the sons of Sháliváhan (Asiatic Researches, IX. 218), or Bhupat the grandson of Sám (Tuhfatu-l-Kiram Elliot, I. 338).

[3] The Bhátis and Jádejás are branches of the Yádavs. Gladwin's Áin-i-Akbari, II. 377. The Hindu Yádavs of Jesalmir are called Bhátis, their brethren of the Panjáb who have become Musalmáns are known as Bhatis. Cunningham's Arch. Rep. 1863-64, II. 20. The rulers of Jesalmir are Bhattis, those of Bikáner Bhátis, and the Hindu traders of Shikárpur in Sindh Bhátiás. Elliot's Races N.-W.P., I. 37.

[4] North Rajputána is the modern head-quarters of the Bhátis. The boundaries are roughly, on the north the Satlaj, on the east Hariana, on the south Bikáner, and on the west the desert. Hamilton's Gazetteer, I. 226. In the beginning of the century their head-quarters were at Bhatner 130 miles north-east of Bikáner. Ditto.

[5] Elliot's Races N.-W. P., I. 37, 38.

[6] Elliot's Races N.-W. P., I. 37.

[7] Wilford (Asiatic Researches, IX. 218) finds mention of them as Asham Bhátis on the high land to the east of the Indus from Uch to the sea. He also says (page 222) that some Bháti tribes have settled to the east of the Ganges.

Indo-Skythians.[1] Tod mentions that in the eighth century the Yadu Bháttis were driven south of the Satlaj.[2] But it would seem from the accounts of the third expedition (A.D. 1004) of Máhmud of Ghazni that there was still a strong Bhátia kingdom at Bhátia or Bherah on the left bank of the Jhelam near the salt range.[3] And it was probably by the later Musalmán invaders that the Bhátiás were driven south into the desert and Sindh.[4] In Sindh the Bhátiás have sunk to be fishermen, and there they still continue to eat fish and drink spirits.[5] Kachh Bhátiás neither eat nor marry with Sindh Bhátiás. The date of the Bhátiás' arrival in Kachh has not been traced. Probably most of them have settled in Kachh and Káthiáváḍa since the establishment of Jádeja power (about 1350). From Kachh and Káthiáváḍa they are said by degrees to have made their way south by land through Gujarát and by sea to Bombay. In north Gujarát they live chiefly in villages and in the south in towns. Their two main divisions, Haláis (from Halár in Káthiáváḍa) and Kachhis (from Kachh) eat together and intermarry. Bhátiás are like Vániás divided into Visás and Dasás who eat together. But the Visás, while taking Dasa girls, rarely give Dasás their daughters in marriage. Besides *gotras* or family stocks, the Bhátiás have eighty-four *nukhs*[6] which very nearly correspond to clan titles. Marriage in the same *gotra* and *nukh* is forbidden. They are wellmade tall and active. They are a little darker and less regular in features than other Gujarát Hindu traders, though in Kachh they are a remarkably fair and handsome race.[7] Their women are generally fair and handsome and in large cities have lost much of their roughness of feature. The Kachh, Káthiáváḍa, and Bombay Bhátiás speak Kachhi and the Gujarát Bhátiás speak Gujaráti. They live in well built houses with tiled roofs. The houses of the rich are well furnished, while those of the poor have the same

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[1] Cunningham Arch. Rep. II. 22. According to General Cunningham the Yádavs were led (A.D. 79) by the great Shálivâhan and by his son Rásalu, the founder of Syálkot. (Arch. Rep. II. 21.) According to Wilford (Asiatic Researches, IX. 218, 222) some tribes of Bháttis strongly insist on their descent from Shálivâhan and call themselves Vaishyas of Shálivâhan, Shaka-Rája-Vansas or Shaka-Rája-Kumárs, the offspring of Shak or Shálivâhan. They are said to consider their chief the representative of Shálivâhan and an incarnation of Vishnu. [2] Western India, 154.

[3] Elliot's History, II. 30 and 440. The Bhatti Rajputs still point to this tract as the place of their residence before their advance eastward, and their name is still preserved in the large town of Pindi Bhattean on the Chináb (Ditto, 441).

[4] Sir H. Elliot traces the decline of the district of Bháttiána, between Hissar and the Garra, to the Muhammadan and Mughal invasions up to the crowning ravages of Timur (A.D. 1399). Races N.-W. P., II. 21, 22. [5] Trans. Bom. Lit. Soc. II. 244.

[6] Anadhar, Asar, Babla (of Thali), Babla (of Gátha), Boda Bibal, Baláya, Bhudharia, Chámuja, Chhachhia, Dhaga Dhakkar, Dhadhal, Dhadhar, Deiya, Degchanda, Dutia, Farásgándhi, Gokalgándhi, Gájaria, Gagal, Ghagha, Guruguláb, Hariya, Jaba, Jia, Jiya, Jidhan, Jabála, Jujargándhi, Jágta, Kodhia, Koa, Kándhia, Kájaria, Kapur, Kartari, Kukad, Karangota, Khaira, Lakhanvanta, Media, Mogia, Malan, Mochha, Mota, Mathura, Multáni, Nayegándhi, Nágada, Nisát, Panchlodia, Padamsi, Pálija, Panchál, Pramala, Potha, Padhthaga, Paregándhi, Pavár, Prema, Parájia, Panvár, Radia, Rámia, Rája, Rika, Sapát, Suraiya, Suáda, Saráki, Soni, Sofla, Sijavla, Sodhia, Thávan, Thaba, Thiran, Thula, Tambad, Udesi, Vanoda, Vadhucha, Ved.

[7] Trans. Bom. Lit. Soc. II. 245. So the Bhátiás of Bháttiána are said to be one of the finest and handsomest tribes in India. Jour. A. S. Beng. XXXV. II. 97.

Section III.
TRADERS.
Bha'tia's.

furniture that is found in a Vánia's house. Those who are rich have servants for their household work and have bullocks and horses. After their conversion to Vaishnavism, about the beginning of the sixteenth century, they became strict vegetarians, eating neither flesh nor fish and drinking no spirits. Their ordinary food consists of wheat or millet bread, rice, split pulse gruel mixed with spices. They eat all grains and pulse except *masru*, *nágli*, *kalthi*, and *banti*, and all vegetables except onions and garlic. Very few of them take opium. The men's dress consists of a waistcloth, a jacket, a cotton coat, a shouldercloth, a handkerchief tied round the waist, and a turban which in Kachh and Káthiáváḍa has an extra peak or horn in front. Except that the robe is somewhat scantier, the women's dress does not differ from that of a Vánia woman. Among the well-to-do the men wear a silver waistband, a gold circlet above the elbow of the right arm, and a necklace. Except that they wear a gold nosering, the women's ornaments are like those of a Vánia woman.

As a class the Bhátiás are keen, vigorous, enterprising, thrifty, subtle, and unscrupulous. Some of the richest men in Bombay started life without a penny. A large number of Bhátiás are merchants traders and brokers and within the last fifty years they have become a very wealthy and important class. Numbers have moved either permanently or for a time to Bombay, and, as there is no difficulty in the way of their travelling, many of them are settled to the west, in the ports of the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea and Zanzibar, and east as far as China.[1] In north Gujarát they are shopkeepers who first settled in towns but are now spreading over the rural parts, selling grain tobacco and betel, and to a small extent lending money. In Kachh, besides as traders clerks bankers and shopkeepers, many of them earn a living as husbandmen and a few as labourers. Probably from the religious feeling against taking life none deal in vegetables or in root crops. Their women are clever with the needle, flowering silk with much skill and taste.

The Bhátiás as a class are prosperous and well-to-do. This is mainly owing to their enterprising spirit and the broad views of the caste in allowing them to undertake distant sea voyages. The Bhátiás are Vaishnavs of the Vallabhácharya sect. They are strict vegetarians, most careful not to take life and very observant of religious rites. They respect the Bráhmanic gods, worshipping in their houses the image of Vishnu in the shape of Ranchhodji and Rádha-Krishna. They daily visit Vaishnav temples and reverence their spiritual teachers the Vaishnav Mahárájás. These heads invest them with the sacred-thread, mutter into the ears of the

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[1] Among Bhatiás, writes Sir Bartle Frere (A.D. 1875), are the keenest of traders, the most sensual of voluptuaries, intellects remarkable even among Hindus for acuteness and subtlety, sometimes an obtuseness of moral consciousness which would startle a galley-slave, but in rare exceptions a simple devotion to truth which would do honour to a Christian martyr. MacMillan's Magazine, XXXII. 552.

novice the tenets of their religion, and when possible attend at their marriages. They receive occasional presents in cash and clothes.

The Bhátiás observe the ordinary Hindu fasts and feasts. They go on pilgrimage to Náthdvár, Banáras, Gokul, Mathura, Bet Dwárka, Jagannáth, Prabhás or Somnáth Patan, Pandharpur, and Násik. To Dwárka they go in *Holi* (March-April) and *Diváli* (October-November) and to Prabhás Patan on the bright fifteenths of *Chaitra* (April-May), *Shrávan* (August-September), and *Kártik* (November-December). They go to other places when they find it convenient. After their return from a pilgrimage some of the religious-minded pass, like other orthodox Vaishnavs, through a purifying process and become *marjádis*. After they have become *marjádis* they do not eat food cooked by any one except a *marjádi*.

Customs.

Before the birth of a child the midwife, who is generally a barber's wife, is called in. If the child is a boy sugar and dry cocoakernel are distributed among friends and relations and the good news is taken to the father by the midwife or the family-priest or by some young boy who receives cash presents from the child's father. On the sixth day the women of the house go singing to the house of the priest and bring a clay horse and a roll of paper containing the picture of the goddess Chhathi. The clay horse and the picture are worshipped, and the picture is pasted on the wall of the lying-in room. Near the picture are placed a reed-pen and inkstand and a dagger and a sword. The newborn child is richly dressed and is made to bow to the goddess. Friends and relations are invited to dinner. The child is named on the sixth day or on any other day by the father's sister. The mother is held impure for forty to forty-five days. For the first ten days her touch is pollution, from the tenth to the twenty-first day she is allowed to move about the house without touching anything, and on the fortieth or forty-fifth day she goes out worshipping the sun and the water-god in a river or well. The ceremony of the first giving of cooked food to the child takes place in the course of the sixth month after birth. When the boy is seven or eight years old the thread-ceremony is performed. Those who are well off perform this ceremony with full Bráhmanic rites. Those who are poor take the boy to their spiritual head who mutters some words into the child's right ear and puts a thread on the child's neck. Besides the Bráhmanic thread the Maháraja puts a necklace made of the wood of the basil plant on the child's neck. Presents in cash are given to the Mahárája or high priest.

Girls are married between nine and twelve. The supply of marriageable girls falls much short of the demand. Consequently the bridegroom, besides presents to the girl in the shape of ornaments and clothes of the value of Rs. 4000 to Rs. 5000, has in some cases to pay the girl's father large sums in the shape of purchase-money. So great is the expense that many Bhátiás remain unmarried. Others to collect money enough go to China, Zanzibár, and the ports of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. By perseverance and industry they amass wealth. When a boy or man wishes to marry his friends and relations ask the girl's father to give him his daughter in marriage. The value of the

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TRADERS.
Bhatias.
Customs

ornaments to be presented to the girl is settled. The girl's father then sends his priest to the father or relations of his intended son-in-law. In token of acceptance the girl's father sends four copper coins, a handful of millet turmeric and betelnuts, and some *dro* or sacred grass. The betrothal is then entered in the caste registers and the father of the boy pays a fixed sum to the caste fund. After some days the girl's father sends half a *man* or twenty pounds of sugar to the boy's father who distributes it among his relations. The women of the boy's house then go with music to the girl's house with a portion of the ornaments and clothes fixed at the time of betrothal. The girl's forehead is marked with *kanku* or vermilion and the ornaments and clothes are given to the girl to wear. Besides presents in the shape of cocoanuts the women are feasted. The girl's relations then go to the boy's house and are presented with cocoanuts. The marriage-day is fixed by a Bráhman astrologer in the presence of the girl's and boy's parents. When the boy's parents cannot be present the girl's father tells the boy's father of the marriage-day through the family-priest. About eight days before the marriage-day a booth is built at the girl's house and the boy and girl are rubbed with turmeric. A Ganpati made of black gram *adad* Phaseolus mungo flour is worshipped. Four days before marriage the female relations of the girl go with music to the potter's house and there apply *kanku* marks to his wheel and bring earthen pots and arrange them in four piles. Two days before marriage the bridegroom with his friends and relations goes to the bride's village. The party is received by the bride's relations who give them a separate lodging. The bridegroom sits on a low wooden stool, and the parents of the bride mark his forehead temples hand waist and feet with *kanku*. Early the next day the bridegroom goes on horseback to the bride's house and is received at the entrance by the bride's mother. He is led into the house, and, with the bride, sits in that part of the house where the family-goddess is painted on the house-wall. The bride's and bridegroom's heads are covered with a hood made of the leaves of the date palm. A piece of coloured cloth is placed between the two with one end of it on the bride's head and the other end on the bridegroom's lap. They then worship the family-goddess, the family-priest of the bride officiating at the ceremony. When the worship is over the bride and the bridegroom take from each other one by one several pieces of *juvár* Indian millet stalks held in the hand. The female relations of the bride drop one after another small cotton bundles on the bride's head which the bridegroom clears away; and the female relations of the bridegroom drop the same bundles on the bridegroom's lap which the bride clears away. The bridegroom returns to his lodging. The bride next goes with music to the bridegroom's lodging and is received at the entrance by the bridegroom's mother. The bride sits in her father-in-law's lap, receives a silver coin, pours some milk on the ground, and returns to her house. The female relations of the bridegroom then bring to the bride's house the ornaments and clothes fixed at the time of betrothal. The women after giving the ornaments to the girl go to their lodging. The women of the bride's house then take earthen pots full of milk and curds to the bridegroom's house. The bridegroom then goes with

Section III. TRADERS. Bha'tia's. *Customs.*

music to the bride's house in procession with men walking in front and women singing songs behind. The procession stops at the bride's house. The bridegroom alights from his horse and stands near the door where he is received by the bride's mother. She shows him a model plough, an arrow, and a churning handle, and pulls his nose. The bridegroom is led into the house and sits with the bride at the place where the family-goddess is painted on the wall. The ends of the bride and bridegroom's clothes are tied together and their hands are joined in the presence of their spiritual head if he lives in the neighbourhood. They are led into the central square or *chori* of the marriage-booth where they move four times round the fire, and feed each other with sweetmeats. Next they go to the bridegroom's lodging with the ends of their clothes tied together. There they give each other a handful of sesame, and the bride presents a handful of sesame to the bridegroom's parents who return it to the bride with a silver coin. Their priests are Pokarna Bráhmans. Marriage is forbidden between the descendants of collateral males and females when they are not more than seven degrees removed from each other. Widows are not allowed to marry and divorce is not granted. Polygamy is allowed when the first wife is barren. Disparity of age between husband and wife is common. In the course of the fifth month after a woman's first conception a bracelet is fastened to the woman's right wrist. In the seventh month the lap-filling ceremony is performed. When a man is on the point of death he is laid on a freshly cowdunged space on the floor of the house. The old sacred-thread on his neck is removed and a new one is put in its place. The water of the Jamna river is poured into his mouth. When life is gone the body is tied to the bier which is carried by the mourners after they have bathed. The body is burnt in the same way as among other high-class Hindus. Impurity attaches to the nearest relations of the deceased for thirteen days. There is no headman in the caste. Serious disputes are settled by a few respectable men with the consent of the majority of the caste-people. Violaters of caste rules are fined and in grave cases are excommunicated. The fines are credited to the caste fund. The caste also levies fixed contributions on the occasions of birth marriage and death. The fund is used in making or repairing caste vessels, in making donations to their spiritual heads, and in other charitable works. They send their boys to vernacular schools but very few receive a University education. The Bhátiás are a prosperous class, and many of the rich invest their money in land.

Loha'na's.

Loha'na's with a strength of 11,133 are found chiefly in Kachh and Káthiáváda. Originally Ráthod Rajputs, they are said to take their name from Lohánpur or Lohokat in Multán[1] and to have been driven by the Musalmáns from the Panjáb into Sindh, and afterwards, about the thirteenth century, to have found their way to Kachh.[2]

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[1] Burton's Sindh, 314. Burgess' Arch. Sur. Rep. for 1874, 195. Perhaps Ptolemy's Labaka (St. Martin Geo. Grec. et Lat. 222). At Uniára, Tod (A.D. 1823) found Lohánás whom he calls a mercantile tribe of Bhatti Rajputs. Western India, 359.

[2] Ind. Ant. V. 171. Their name is mythically derived from Lav the son of Rám. According to another account Lohánás were in Sindh before Musalmán times. Under

Section III.
TRADERS.
Loha'na's.

They probably belong to the Loháṇis who formerly held the country between the Sulaimán Hills and the Indus.[1] In Kachh in the seventeenth century, especially during the reigns of Lákháji and Ráyadhan II., Lohánás held very high posts as bankers and ministers. Among the Sindh Lohánás there are at least fifty subdivisions, the chief of them Khudábádi and Sehván.[2] But in Kachh and Káthiáváḍa clan titles have worn down into family names *nukhs*, and marriages are not allowed in the same *nukh*. Darker than Bhátiás they are like them tall strong and muscular. Their home tongue is Kachhi and the dress both of men and women is that of other high class Hindus. They are Vaishnavs and do not eat fish and flesh or drink spirits.[3] Very sturdy and hardworking, they are most useful labourers masons and husbandmen. Some are very successful writers shopkeepers and grain-dealers. But, unlike the Bhátiás, they seldom risk large ventures or push their fortunes in Persia Arabia or Africa.[4] Vaishnavs of the Vallabhácharya and Rámánuj sects their family goddess is Rándel Máta, and they are devout worshippers of Darya Pir, the spirit of the Indus, who is said to have saved them when they fled from Multán.[5] Every Lohána village has a place built in honour of this Pir, where a lamp fed with clarified butter is kept burning day and night, and where in the month of *Chaitra* (March-April) a festival is celebrated. They wear the sacred thread and allow polygamy and widow marriage. Their customs do not differ from those of Bhátiás and their family priests are Sárasvat Bráhmans. They have a headman *patel*, but give him no personal authority, settling disputes at caste meetings according to the opinion of the majority of the members. Those who can afford it generally give their children some Gujaráti schooling.

Depla's.

Depla's found in small numbers in Kachh were originally Lohánás and, though they dine with them, do not intermarry.[6] Their language and dress are Gujaráti, and they are employed as house servants labourers and traders. They wear the sacred thread and allow widow marriage.

Chach (A.D. 700) a Lohána name Ádgham was governor of Bráhmanábád and the name Lohána is said to have then included the Samma and Lákha clans. Elliot's History, I. 362; MacMurdo Jour. R. A. Soc. I. 247. Loha'nás are still the chief Hindu tribe in Sindh. Besides in the Panjáb north-west Kachh and Sindh, Lohánás are found in Baluchistán, Afghánistán, the eastern parts of Central Asia, and on the Arabian coast, amongst a barbarous and a hostile people enduring all kinds of hardship and braving no little danger in pursuit of wealth. Burton's Sindh, 314. Since their arrival in Kachh a large number of Lohánás have become Musalmáns of the Meman sect. It is probable that the Lohánás Lavánás or Lamánis are the people of Lamghán near Jalálábád, called Lampákas by Indian geographers.

[1] Beal's Travels of Fa Hian (A.D. 400). Mr. Beal (page 50) identifies the Lohánás with the Lohás of the Hindus and the Loi of the Chinese. [2] Burton's Sindh, 315.

[3] In Sindh they eat flesh, are addicted to spirituous liquors, do not object to fish and onions, and drink water from the hands of their inferiors as well as their superiors in caste. Burton's Sindh, 314. So Tod (Annals of Rájasthán, II. 292) says: Of the Lohánás the proverb runs, Except cats and cows they will eat anything.

[4] Of the Sindh Lohána trader Burton says (Sindh, 316, 317): Uncommonly acute in business some have made large fortunes in foreign lands. In Afghánistán they are patient and persevering, little likely to start new ventures, cautious, and perhaps a trifle apathetic. Masson's Trade of Cabul.

[5] In Sindh most worship the river-god and some have adopted the faith of Bába Nának. Burton's Sindh, 315.

[6] The Dhrángadra and Wadhwán Lohánás do not dine with Depálás.

SECTION IV.—RAJPUTS.

Section IV.
RAJPUTS.
Strength.

Rajputs numbering 498,063 or 5·03 per cent of the Hindu population are found all over Gujarát, but mostly in Káthiáváḍa and in the north of the province. The details are:

RAJPUTS, 1891.

DISTRICT.	Strength.	STATE.	Strength.
Ahmedábád	52,487	Native States including Káthiáváda ...	272,384
Kaira	39,801	Baroda	97,713
Panch Mahals	7632		
Broach	19,018		
Surat	9028	Total ...	370,097
Total ...	127,966	Grand Total ...	498,063

Exclusive of the large classes of *garásiás* or holders of alienated land and *tálukdárs* or superior holders who exercise no authority over their tenants, the Rajputs of Gujarát are still a dominant race holding sway over nearly half of the area of Gujarát and over nearly one-third of its people. The details are:

RAJPUT CHIEFSHIPS, 1891.

CLASS.	Miles.	People.	Revenue.	CLASS.	Miles.	People.	Revenue.
			Rs.				Rs.
Chávadás ...	33	63,094	65,500	Ráthods ...	2757	254,712	6,97,990
Chohâns ...	2393	180,871	5,60,375	Rehvars ...	89	26,435	49,700
Dáimás ...	26	3352	20,200	Sarvaiyás...	290	16,478	65,576
Gohils ...	52[illegible]2	616,323	40,42,600	Sisodiyás ...	819	78,040	2,54,500
Goris ...	8	...	4800	Solankis ...	680	107,367	3,28,760
Jádejás ...	13,391	1,179,129	74,53,622	Vághelás ...	980	77,806	1,25,000
Jethvás ...	566	71,072	4,00,000				
Jhálás ...	3037	315,776	19,22,966				
Parmárs ...	842	100,109	2,35,925	Total ...	31,075	3,090,564	1,62,27,514

* Revenue figures are estimates.

Divisions.

Except the lower class Dángs Karádiás and Pádhrás, who allow widow-marriage and let their women appear in public, Gujarát Rajputs have no subdivisions other than the tribes entered in the list above. With all these subdivisions Rajputs eat, and, in places, through Gámetia Rajputs have marriage connections with Karádiás. Karádia girls are married by Gámetiás and Rajput landholders and tálukdárs marry Gámetia girls. Thus Gámetiás serve as a connecting link between Karádiás and high class Rajputs. The Dángs are of the same stock as the Jádejás and are confined to Kachh. The Karádiás are scattered in small numbers all over Gujarát and Káthiáváḍa. The Pádhras[1] are found solely in the Surat district.

The chief social peculiarity of the Rajput race is its division into

[1] It is curious that Rajputs who allow widow-marriage are called Pádhrás or straight, while those who forbid widow-marriage are called Vánkás or crooked.

Section IV.
RAJPUTS.
Divisions.

clans. All clans eat together and intermarry; but the members of a clan are forbidden to marry within the clan as all members of a clan are believed to be the children of one common ancestor. This dread of marriage among relations is sometimes carried to a strange extreme. As all Jádavs are in theory of the same stock, members of that great clan whether Jádejás Chudásamás or Bhátis, ought not to intermarry. A Jádeja should not marry a Chudásama, although the tribes separated in very early times. When the members of a clan became very numerous and spread over a large extent of country, the practice of naming groups of families mostly after a distinguished common ancestor and sometimes after the place of residence came into vogue. Sometimes surnames are taken from a calling as in the case of *vethiás* or carriers of Government property; and at times a mere change in dress is sufficient to create a new surname. The Kachhotiás are so called, because their women adopted the practice of passing the robe back between the feet and tucking the end into the waistband. As far as can be ascertained Gujarát Rajputs have one hundred and three surnames.[1] In Surat and Broach most Rajputs have lost all trace of their clan. Some of the sub-clans are so large and so long established that they have the importance of separate clans. Instances have occurred of marriages being annulled when it was found that the clans of the bride and bridegroom were divisions of the same stock.

Of the great Rajput clans and sub-clans the following have alone been able to retain importance either in mainland or in peninsular Gujarát.

Chavada's.

Cha'vada's, the founders of Anahilaváḍa (A.D. 746) and once (A.D. 720-956) lords of Gujarát, now possess only the two small chiefships of Mánsa and Varsoda in the Mahi Kántha and the two estates of Bhilodia and Rámpura in the Rewa Kántha. In Káthiáváḍa where, so far back as the late fifth and sixth centuries, they ruled at various places on the coast, notably at Dvárka Somnáth-Patan and Diu, their political power has long passed away, and they are now found only here and there as *garásiás* or upper landholders. Most of the Kachh Chávaḍás have fallen to be servants. Recent census and inscription details seem to establish the fact that the Chávaḍás belong to the great Gurjjara or White Huṇa race who conquered northern India during the fifth century A.D.[2]

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[1] The following is a list of the 103 Rajput clan names in use in Gujarát: Áda, Avera, Baláter, Bárod, Bhati, Bihola Solaṅki, Biya, Bodáv, Chamarpa, Chandávrat, Chávaḍa, Chávad, Chochu, Chiod, Choháṅ, Chudávat, Dábhi, Dágh, Daima, Dairja, Devchand, Devda, Dhándhu, Dod, Dodiya, Duval, Ed, Galecha, Ghelot, Gohel, Golter, Gor, Gujjar, Hadial, Harashi, Hátha, Humad, Jádav, Jádeja, Jhala, Jiriya, Jodha Ráthod, Joja, Jut, Kaba, Kachhotia, Kalam, Karodia, Kher, Khod, Khula, Kukan, Lakam, Mahida, Mokvána, Mál, Masáni, Mer, Mohal, Mori, Narván, Padhár, Padhiár, Palonia, Parmár, Pesrau, Puravia Chohán, Rána, Ranráthod, Ráthod, Rával, Rávar-Solaṅki, Rehevar, Revod, Sedhál, Sisodia, Sodha, Sodria or Sádria, Sojatria, Solaṅki, Songad, Surcha, Suvar, Tánk, Tantol, Thokiya, Tuar, Vádhel, Vadvasia, Vághela, Vaish, Vája, Vála, Vámla, Vanol, Vantia, Varam, Vejola, Vethia, Vezánia, Virpura-Solaṅki, Udvat, and Uma.

[2] Compare Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I. Part I. pages 127 note 2 and 465. See also the article The Gujar in the Appendix to the present volume.

Section IV.

Rajputs.

Choha'ns.

Choha'ns, the representatives of the imperial family of Dehli (A.D. 1191), have possessions in the Pálanpur and Rewa Kántha Agencies only. The chiefs of Suigám and Váv in Pálanpur and of Báriya and Chhota Udepur in the Rewa Kántha are Choháns as also are the owners of eight states in the Sankheda and of one in the Pándu Mehvás. Choháns are also found scattered in small numbers over other parts of Gujarát and Káthiáváḍa where they live in poor circumstances as servants or as small peasant proprietors.

Chuda'sama's.

Chuda'sama's are an offshoot of the Samma tribe probably of Turk origin which entered India during the seventh or eighth century and ruled at Nagar Thatha in Sindh. The Chudásamás appear to have established themselves in Kachh during the early tenth century. From Kachh they pushed on to Káthiáváḍa and settled at Vanthali about nine miles south-west of Junágaḍh from which they held Girnár until, in A.D. 1472, Junágaḍh was taken by Mahmudsháh Begada of Ahmedábád and the last of the local rulers, Ra Mandlik, surrendered to the conqueror and forsook the faith of his fathers. Soráth became Moslim territory and on his death Ra Mandlik was raised to the rank of a saint under the title of Khán Jehán. The Chudásamás are now found in Dholera as *garásiás* or upper land-holders. As Yádavs and descendants of Shrikrishna they claim superiority over all other Gujarát Rajputs, and though only a few of them are left, the daughters of the clan are held to be fit brides even for ruling houses.

Da'ima's.

Da'ima's who have no historical importance in Gujarát hold a few small estates in the Sankheda Mehvás in the Rewa Kántha.

Gohils.

Gohils, also called Gehlots and Sisodiyás, whose head is the Rána of Udaipur in Rajputána the premier Hindu house in India, are one of the four great divisions of the Rajput race, which still hold sway in Káthiáváḍa and give their name to Gohilváḍ the eastern section of the peninsula. They claim descent from the Válás of Valabhipur (A.D. 509-750) who though formerly supposed to be descended from Sháliváhan or Kanaksena, that is the house of the great Kushan emperor Kanishka (A.D. 78), are now believed to belong to the White Húṇa or Mihira hordes by whom Valabhi was conquered about A.D. 490. On the ruin of Valabhi by Arabs from Sindh about A.D. 770 a branch of the ruling family retreated to Meváḍ. There they gained possession of the fort of Chitor and ruled to the thirteenth century when a portion of them withdrew to Kichli in south Márwár. From Kichli they were driven by the Ráthods about A.D. 1290 and forced their way into Káthiáváḍa.[2] According to the local tradition their leader Sejak married his daughter to the eldest son of Ra Kavát, the Chudásama chief of Sorath, who gave him a few villages in the east of his territory. Sejak had three sons Ránoji, Sárangji, and Shaháji. Ránoji is the direct ancestor of

[1] The grounds of this change in opinion regarding the Válás are given in the article The Gujar in the Appendix to this volume.

[2] Compare Bombay Gazetteer Káthiáváḍa page 284.

Section IV. RAJPUTS. Ja'deja's.

the houses of Bhávnagar and Rájpipla, Sárangji of Láthi in east central Káthiáváḍa, and Shaháji of Pálitana about twenty-seven miles south-east of Láthi. Many small estates in Gohilvád are offshoots from the house of Bhávnagar. Under Sorath the Ain-i-Akbari (A.D. 1590) notices a population of 25,000 Gehlots. These people who are known as Asil Gehlots are said to be descendants of Báppa who migrated from Valabhi to Chitor in the eighth century. They are said to have returned to Káthiáváḍa before a generation had passed. They now form the Gehlot subdivision of Mers found in Porbandar and along the coast. In spite of their high standing in Káthiáváḍa, the few Gohils in Kachh, with the exception of two houses, have sunk to the position of family servants.

Goris.

Like the Dáimás, the **Goris** have a solitary settlement in the Sankheda Mehvás in the Rewa Kántha Agency, where they hold three small estates.

Jadeja's.

Ja'deja's are the most numerous and at the same time the most powerful Rajput clan in Gujarát. Besides Kachh, they own nearly one-third of Káthiáváḍa, the two chiefships of Santalpur and Chádchat in the Pálanpur Agency, and a small estate in the Pándu Mehvás in the Rewa Kántha. In Káthiáváḍa, besides minor offshoots the important states are Navánagar, Gondal, Morvi, Dhrol, Rájkot, and Mália which were founded between A.D. 1540 and A.D. 1720. The Jádejás are the leading Hindu representatives of the tribe of Samma Rajputs who ruled Sindh from A.D. 1351 to 1521. The Jádejás claim to belong to the great Yádav stock whose pedigree goes back to Sámb, son of Krishna, but there seems little reason to doubt that they are among the latest immigrant Turks who preceded the Arab conquest of Sindh in A.D. 713. Under the Sumra rulers of Sindh (A.D. 1053 - 1351), the Sammás probably maintained a half-independent position in the south of Sindh and seem at several times between the eleventh and the fourteenth centuries to have moved south to Kachh to avoid Sumra tyranny. About A.D. 1351 the Sammás overthrew the Sumrás, and, with their head-quarters at Samai near Thatha, became the rulers of south Sindh. During the spread of Muhammadan power, the Sammás, before the close of the fourteenth century, had adopted Islám and since their conversion, though it is still borne by several large pastoral tribes, the name Samma is less known than Sameja and Jádeja, the Hindu branches of the tribe. According to the latest accounts, the name Jádeja was taken by the Kachh branch about A.D. 1350, when they called in as their chief Lákha, a son of Jám Jáda of Thatha. From Kachh they entered Káthiáváḍa. It is said that about A.D. 1313, Bahmani Samma led a band as far as Ghumli in the Barda hills, then the capital of the Jethvás and destroyed it, but did not gain a permanent footing in the country. Santalpur and Chádchat were taken by Ráv Khengárji of Kachh (A.D. 1548 - 1586) from Sarkháji the son of Lunáji Vághela.

Jethva's.

Jethva's probably came from the north, and first established themselves near Morvi. Thence they spread westward along the coast, captured Dwárka from the Chávaḍás, and moving to the south-west, established themselves in the strip of land between the Barda hills and the sea. They never passed far inland. Their first capital was at

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Ghumli in the Barda hills about forty miles north-east of Porbandar. From Ghumli they moved to Chháya on the coast about two miles south-east of Porbandar, and about A.D. 1785 in the decline of Musalmán power, established themselves at Porbandar which has since been their capital. The tribe, which is comparatively small, are united under one head His Highness the Maharána of Porbandar. Makardhvaj, the founder of their clan, was, they say, the son of Hanumán, the monkey god, and of a female alligator, and, until recently, it was said and believed that as a mark of their descent the Jethvás were born with tails. It is established that the Jethvás are Mers, the representatives of the great Mihira hordes who in A.D. 490 captured Valabhi and overran Káthiáváḍa. The name Jethva, which is locally taken to mean either Elder or Born under the constellation *Jyestha*, may be a trace of Yeta, one of the names by which the Mihiras or White Húṇas were known.[1]

Jha'la's.

Jha'la's though well known in Rajputána are in Gujarát confined to east Káthiáváḍa. Their ancestor Hirpál is said to have belonged to a Makvána family of Kachh, who, in the thirteenth century, moved to Gujarát and took service with Karan Ghelo, the last (A.D. 1296-1304) Vághela prince of Anahilaváḍa Pátan. That chieftain probably gave Hirpál a grant of territory to the east of the Ran of Kachh, and he established his residence at Pátdi. The next capital of the clan was at Kuva, whence being driven by Mahmud Begada of Gujarát in A.D. 1488 they established themselves at Halvad, and in A.D. 1800 moved their head-quarters to Dhrángadra. The common derivation of the name Jhála is that Hirpál's sons were in danger of being trampled by an elephant, when their witch-mother, stretching her arm from an upper window, snatched them up and carried them to a place of safety. From this they were called Jhála or 'caught up.' The fancifulness of this derivation, together with the facts of their history which associate them closely with the Mihira or White Húṇa conquerors of the fifth century, suggest that the name is Jauvla the stock title of the great White Húṇa leaders Toramána (A.D. 450-500) and Mihirakula[2] (A.D. 500-540). From the parent stem of Dhrángadra, besides other small estates, have sprung the independent chiefships of Chuda, Lakhtar, Limbdi, Sáela, Vadhván, and Vánkáner.

Parma'rs.

Parma'rs who own chiefships in north Gujarát and Káthiáváḍa appear to have come from Sindh. According to the Rás Mála at some remote period 2000 Sodha Parmárs came from Párkar during a famine and established themselves near Sáela in Káthiáváḍa. The Vághela, who then ruled at Vadhván, employed Mujo their head, to attack the Bhil chiefs Aho and Pháto who lived on the banks of the Sábarmati, hoping that the attempt would end in disaster. But the Sodhás were successful, and the Vadhván chief gave them the four districts of Muli, Thán, Chotila, and Chobári. Of these the estate of Muli is now alone held by Parmárs. To the Mahi Kántha where they hold the two chiefships of Dánta and Sudásna, the Parmárs came from Nagar

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[1] Compare Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I. Part I. page 127.
[2] Compare Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I. Part I. page 146.

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Parmars.

Thatha whence they were driven by the Muhammadans about A.D. 1050. Tharád in the Pálanpur Agency is said to have originally belonged to Parmár Rajputs and to this day many Parmárs of the Suvár and Kalva sub-clans are found in subordinate positions in Tharád villages. In the Rewa Kántha they hold only one estate in the Pándu Mehvás. Like the Káthiáváda Parmárs, the Kachh Parmárs belong to the Sodha sub-clan of the Parmárs and appear to have come from Sindh. At the beginning of the present century these Sodha Parmárs were in a wretched condition living chiefly as bandits, and, for several years after the beginning of the British connection with Kachh (A.D. 1819-1822), their raids caused the greatest ruin and distress in the east of the province. They are settled in small numbers in the north of Kachh and in some of the Ran islands, and except a few cultivators are herdsmen, most of them in poor condition. Their chief connection with Kachh is through the marriage of their daughters with the leading Jádeja and Musalmán families. These Sodha women are of great natural abilities and much personal beauty. In A.D. 1819 Capt. MacMurdo described them as so ambitious and intriguing as not to scruple to make away with their husbands that their sons might obtain the estate.[1]

Ráthods.

Ra'thods own chiefships in the Mahi Kántha. The Ráthods were driven south from Kanuj by the Muhammadans about the end of the twelfth century, and under the guidance of Siyoji, the son or nephew of Jaychand Dale Pánglo of Kanauj, established themselves in the sandy deserts of Márwar. Siyoji's second son Sonangji repaired to the court of Anahilaváda whose sovereign, probably Bhim Dev II. (A.D. 1179-1242), assigned him the fief of Sámetra in the district of Kadi. Not many years later, the Ráthods won the fort and lands of Ídar. Besides Ídar, Ráthod chiefs hold Pol, Málpur, Magodi, Valásna, and Vásna in the Mahi Kántha. Ídar is not now held by the old Ráthods but by the Ráthods of Jodhpur. Of the succession of the Jodhpur chiefs two stories are told; one that they were called in by the Ídar ministers, the other that they had been in revolt against their brother, the Maháraja Abheysingh, viceroy of Gujarát (A.D. 1730-1733) and were pacified by the grant of Ídar. Ráthods also own seven estates in the Sankheda Mehvás and two estates in the Pándu Mehvás in the Rewa Kántha. In the Pálanpur Agency they are landowners village-sharers and holders of service lands, but in Káthiáváda where their number is small, most of them have fallen to be servants.

Rehvars.

Rehvar Rajputs[2] are confined to the Mahi Kántha, where they hold the minor estates of Bolandra, Mohanpur, Ranásan, Rupál, and Vadagám.

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[1] Transactions Bombay Literary Society, II. 253.

[2] Of the origin of the Rehvar Patávats the following account is given. The Rehvar Rajputs are Parmárs who came originally from Ujjain and settled at Chandrávati. They afterwards moved to Párkar, to Mount Ábu, and lastly to Táringa, from all of which places they seem to have been expelled. They took possession of Táringa in A.D. 1226 (S. 1282). Their deeds or *patás* are derived from the former Rávs of Ídar, and their dependence on the present Rája is limited to the payment of *khichdi* in cash. Of the origin of the name Rehvár the story goes that one of their Ábu ancestors on his way to win his bride, stopped to pay his devotions at a temple of Devi. As she knew his future father-in-law intended to kill him, the goddess said *Reh var* Bridegroom go no further. In obedience to the goddess' warning the bridegroom remained and all who went on were murdered. Bom. Gov. Sel. XII. 120.

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Jaspál Rehvar emigrated from Chandrávati near Mount A'bu to Hadol in the Mahi Kántha in A.D. 1227 and thence in the thirteenth generation Thákor Pruthuráj moved to Ghodváda having obtained a grant of that and the neighbouring districts, which in course of time were divided among the present chiefships. Rehvars are also found in small numbers in poor circumstances in Káthiáváḍa and in other parts of Gujarát.

Sarvaiya's.

Sarvaiya's, who are probably Chudásamás, are found only in Gohilvád where they are landowners.

Sisodiya's.

Sisodiya's, the representatives of the Mevád house of Udaipur and the same in origin as the Gohils, own the state of Dharampur in the Surat district and the chiefship of Dadhália in the Mahi Kántha. According to their own traditions, the Dharampur Sisodiyás, about 700 years ago, under a certain Rám Rája conquered from the Bhils this portion of the hill lands of south Gujarát. About the middle of the seventeenth century, Vaháji, the first Thákor of Dadhália, with a body of horse entered the service of Kaliánmal the Ráv of Ídar.

Solankis.

Solankis, the once (A.D. 961-1242) powerful successors of the Chávaḍás in the sovereignty of Gujarát, have their possessions confined to the wilds of the Rewa Kántha and Bánsda. In the Rewa Kántha they hold the state of Lunáváḍa and an estate in each of the two Mehváses Sankheda and Pándu. In A.D. 1225 Virbhadra Solaṅki killed Viro Báriya chief of Virpur, and established himself at that town eight or nine miles west of Lunáváḍa. From this town the Lunáváḍa Solaṅkis are called Virpura Solaṅkis. The town of Lunáváḍa was founded by Bhimsingh a descendant of Virbhadra. Of the early history of the Bánsda Solaṅkis, no details are available. Recent information leaves little doubt that like the Chávaḍas the Solaṅkis belong to the great tribe of Gurjjaras or Gujars who apparently represent the main body of the great fifth century conquerors the White Huṇas.[1]

Va'dhels and Va'ja's.

Va'dhels and **Va'ja's** who are branches of the great Ráthod clan are found in Káthiáváḍa. They entered the peninsula about the thirteenth century from Rajputána. The Vádhels treacherously drove out the Chávaḍás from Dwárka and Bet, and established themselves there, while the Vájás settled on the south coast, their leader Vejo founding Vejalkot on the Rával river in the south of the Gir. From Vejalkot they conquered Una and spread their rule east to Jhánjhmer and the Manári river. Later as they were much harassed by the *garásiás* they sought the protection of Bhávnagar, where they are now found as small landholders.

Va'ghela's.

Va'ghela's who after the Solaṅkis ruled over Gujarát (A.D. 1242-1304) now hold the three chiefships of Tharád, Morváda, and Diodar in the Pálanpur Agency and the one chiefship of Pethápur in the Máhi Kántha.

In addition to these clans, members may be found of all the great Rajput tribes and sub-tribes, Bhátis, Dábhis, Ghelots, Jádavs,

[1] Compare Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I. Part I. page 468: and The Gujar Appendix to the present volume.

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Makvánás, Moris, Pádhiárs, and Válás. These miscellaneous Rajputs have fallen to be servants and peasant proprietors. In most cases they hold scarcely land enough to support their families.

Appearance.

The Gujarát Rajput as a rule is tall and well built fair clear-featured and with a manly and pleasing expression and address. The nose is straight or hooked, the eye large and lustrous, the iris usually black but not uncommonly brown and sometimes lightbrown or gray almost to blueness, the mouth small, the face oval. The men have no fixed rule for wearing the hair. Some wear it long tying it in a knot on the top of the head; others cut the hair close; and a few shave the head except the top-knot. Boys wear a lock or curl over each ear. The men grow the moustache and whisker with great care using dyes to preserve its dark colour long after it has begun to grow gray. They wear the beard but, to distinguish themselves from Musalmáns, they separate the hair down the centre of the chin. Except in the case of a death in the family neither the beard nor the moustache is shaved. Like the men the women are well-formed and fair. They are famous for their good looks and for the care they take to preserve their beauty in advanced years. The ambition of parents of moderate means is to see their daughters well settled in life, married to a Thákor or other landed proprietor. With this object the physical training of a Rajput girl begins when she is quite young. In the south-east of Gujarát the hard life of a cultivator and the malarious climate have robbed the Rajput of some of his handsomeness. Still even in south Gujarát a Rajput can be easily known from his Kanbi or Koli neighbour by the care he takes of his personal appearance and by the tidiness and cleanliness of his habits.

Speech.

As a rule the home speech of Rajputs is Gujaráti. In Kachh the home tongue of the Jádeja Rajput is Kachhi, which closely resembles the dialect in use in lower Sindh. Most Gujarát Rajputs also understand Hindustáni; and the home speech of those who come from Márwár is Márwári.

House.

The style of a Rajput's house depends on his own or on his forefather's means and social position. Except the poor, who live in huts with mud walls and thatched roofs, the Rajput cultivator lives in a brick and mortar house with a tiled roof. In form and method of division the house of a cultivating Rajput does not differ from the house of other cultivators. It has only one front door and no windows. The cooking place is in a corner of the veranda and small openings are kept in the wall to admit light and air. In front of the house the *dehli* or covered entrance is the only shelter for the cattle. Rajput houses contain more furniture than those of other cultivators, and they are neat and cleanly as the owner delights in arranging his copper-pots so as to make the brightest possible show. In native states besides the gleaming copper-pots and other household goods, the Rajput householder keeps a box containing a sword or a matchlock. The large Rajput proprietor or Thákor lives in a big mansion called the *darbár*. A *darbár* forms a quadrangle about 150 feet by 120 feet, enclosed by a well-built stone wall ten to twenty feet high separated by a passage from the inner buildings. The enclosure which is approached by a passage has, outside of the gate but within the encircling wall, a shed,

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used as a lodging for the poorer class of guests. On either side of the entrance passage is a raised platform, generally with an upper storey. On one of these platforms the Thákor sits and receives visitors, and on the other sit the servants and lower class guests. Inside of these platforms is an outer court with, to the right, in the outer corner, a fenced space used as a pound. Inside of this space are two platforms and a room where the Thákor bathes breakfasts and sleeps in the afternoon and where *garásia* or landlord guests are lodged. Beyond the guests' quarters, entered by a middle passage, is a stable cattle-shed and cart-room. Across the court, on the left, are, in the outer corner, a space for storing grass and fuel and close by with a front veranda two rooms, the sons' quarters. The inner court is entered by a passage placed so that it gives no direct view inward. To the right is a privy and a well, and to the left inside of a veranda is the shrine of the house-guardian. Passing through a doorway to the right of this inner yard, not far from the well, is the women's yard with, in the outer corner, a granary or *kothár*. To the left, facing the women's yard, are the chief rooms of the house, a veranda in front usually with concrete floor and to the left a cook-room and a water-room. Behind the veranda is an inner veranda and within it are two rooms substantially built of stone and mortar with concrete floors, and for light, two or three openings high in the walls. In one of these the women of the house keep their furniture and in the other the Thákor sleeps. The dwelling of a small proprietor or *garásia* is a quadrangle of about fifty feet by forty surrounded by a thorn fence. On the left at the entrance is a shed with divisions for cattle and for storing grain. Across the enclosure with walls of mud and rubble and a tiled roof are the two chief rooms of the house with an open veranda and cook-room.

Dress.

The dress worn by Rajput men in mainland Gujarát differs considerably from that worn in the peninsula. In Kachh the men's headdress is a common silk *masru* cap and over it a large loosely-rolled turban red in the case of the young and white in the case of the old; a double-fronted waistcoat with sleeves varying in length from three to eight cubits and the strings about a foot long; a long coat with wide sleeves; a scarf dark in the case of the young and white in the case of the old, wound round the loins the ends falling to the knees and fastened at the waist by a variety of waistcloths; a pair of loose trousers with a tight button at the ankle and pointed shoes. The Káthiáváḍa dress does not differ much from the Kachh dress. The chief and his relations or *bháyáds* are always handsomely, and on great occasions are brilliantly dressed. Their turbans are usually of some bright colour enriched with cloth of gold. The Jádeja and Jhála turban consists of endless yards of cloth, rising high above the head and ending in a one-sided conical peak. These turbans are exceedingly heavy and irksome to wear. The sash or *kamarband* is also composed of rich materials freely spangled with gold. It is worn very broad at the back, falling almost to the inside of the knee, and is tied in front in voluminous folds. The hilt of a jewelled dagger generally shows among the folds, and, besides the dagger, some chiefs carry quite an armoury of small weapons. The drawers are worn tight to the leg, the material being generally fine white calico. The coat on ordinary occasions is also of white calico, but, at state

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ceremonies, it is usual to wear an overcoat of velvet or silk or brocade, lavishly adorned with gold embroidery or with rows of seed-pearls. The jewelry worn on state occasions includes a gorgeous necklace of diamonds emeralds or other precious stones, earrings and finger rings on almost every finger. Upper landholders or *garásiás* dress more or less richly according to their means. Men past middle age generally wear white turbans and are otherwise plainly dressed. The younger men are given to finery especially in the matter of gorgeous turbans and waistcoats and gilt-handled daggers and swords.

In mainland Gujarát the male headdress is a piece of white cloth six to eight yards long wound loosely round the head and surmounted by another piece of coloured cloth. The body clothes are a coat and either trousers or a waistcloth. The men wear anklets and where allowed always carry arms if only a rusty and unserviceable sword. A turban sometimes takes the place of the headscarf.

Except among the cultivating Rajput women of south Gujarát, who, like Kanbi women wear the long robe instead of the petticoat passing back the skirt between the feet, the dress of Rajput women all over Gujarát consists of the same three articles, the petticoat the backless bodice and the headscarf, all differing in fashion according to the locality and in material according to the means of the wearer. Round the head and shoulders is worn the headscarf and over the bosom the bodice open behind but in front reaching from the neck to the waist, and, for the lower part of the body, the petticoat which is much ampler in Kachh Káthiáváda and north Gujarát than in south Gujarát. The fancy for ample folds is carried to such an extreme that among the rich Rajput women of Kachh a petticoat about seventy-five feet long made of fine Turkey-red cloth, sewn into a large number of folds has come into fashion as a home dress. Most Rajput women have spare clothes for holiday wear. Among the rich the stock is both varied and large. A rich Rajput woman has about fifteen petticoats, those for every-day wear of cotton or cheap silk, and those for holidays of cloth of gold or gold-fringed silk. Of bodices the number is sometimes as large as forty. All are made of different coloured pieces of silk, the finest with thick lace borders. The headscarf, seven feet by eight, often changing in fashion, is, for ordinary use, of plain cotton; for full dress it has a gold lace border, and, on the end that shews, a fringe of gold lace. The favourite colours are blue red and green; yellow and purple are seldom worn. Black is the colour of mourning. The *berango* or two-hued, that is iron-gray on a red ground, which is the colour proper for old age and mourning, is also worn as a mark of sympathy by young women whose friends have been widowed. Certain gold and silver ornaments such as necklaces armlets and nose rings, depending on the relationship to the person who has died, are left off in sign of mourning. Rich Rajput women generally wear a plain suit in the morning and a richer suit in the evening. They take the greatest care of their clothes and are famous for the length of time they manage to keep them fresh. Their special fondness for rich clothes makes them less devoted to jewels than other Hindu women. One strict rule is never to wear silver except as anklets. Lamp-black, but not antimony *surma*, is used for the eyes, and henna Lawsonia inermis paste to redden the hands and feet. A Rajput

widow is allowed to wear her hair, and instead of an ivory bracelet she puts on a gold armlet. A widow does not make the red brow-mark, she wears dark-brown clothes, abstains from animal food, and does not join in feasts.

Character.

In manner Rajputs are courteous and polite but somewhat touchy and ready to take offence. They are fond of children and respectful to women. A Rajput of good family, if reduced to be a cultivator, would rather himself fetch water in the dark than allow his wife to bring it. Their sensitiveness to female honour is so keen that a man, however distantly related to a woman who has dishonoured herself, considers it his duty to destroy her and her seducer. They have a good name for honesty and they have given such brilliant examples of *svámi-bhakti* or master-worship that ready self-sacrifice is considered the typical feature of the Rajput character. The Rajput is hospitable and loves to entertain strangers. They are fond of cattle and are very kind to their horses in whose good qualities they take pride. Many landed proprietors own studs and possess fine specimens of country-bred horses. Formerly Rajputs were noted for their headlong bravery and for their feats of strength and endurance. They were bold riders and skilful swordsmen. They delighted in all manly and martial exercises. Long years of peace and order have effaced these noble characteristics. The Rajput still carries his sword but never unsheaths it in anger. A martial bearing is seldom affected and manly exercise as a rule is avoided. The Rajput failings are want of thrift and love of ease. A Rajput Thákor will pass whole days sitting in his courtyard gossipping with his neighbours and friends and as in a dream watching his dependants pass to and fro at their daily work. His fondness for *kusumba*, that is opium and water adds to his indolence. The smallest Thákor has his agent or *kárbhári*, a shrewd Vánia or a needy Bráhman, to whom he leaves all his affairs, and thinks it a grievance to be called upon occasionally to sign a paper. He does not object to a law suit or two, they add to his dignity; but he hates to be troubled about them. His affairs are generally involved; he is a kind and generous landlord and does not press for his dues. After his sons have grown up he is often at feud with them as regards the division of his property; and his relations with the *zenana* or wives' quarters are occasionally the reverse of cordial. He has little regard for conjugal fidelity on his own part and he does not consider it discreditable openly to keep a favourite mistress. Except among the poorer villagers Rajput women almost never appear in public. The Rajput woman is faultlessly neat and careful of her looks, she is enterprising and high-spirited, according to the proverb 'The wise mother of fools.' She is intriguing, jealous, ambitious, thrifty, and fond of show, as the proverb says 'She marries the land, not the man.' When her husband can afford it she generally secures some separate villages and an establishment of her own. The younger women are taught to read and write by the older women or by the family-priest. They also learn to sew and embroider in which they generally show much taste and skill.

Calling.

Rajputs are by birth soldiers and landholders; but their service as soldiers is not in demand and few Rajputs have any occupation except

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as landholders. Of the landholders many have lost their patrimony and been forced to take service as peons and constables and even as personal attendants and field labourers. In native states they are chiefs, *garásiás* or landlords, and holders of service lands. In British territory, except in Ahmedábád Kaira and Broach where the Tálukdári settlement has prevented their estates disappearing, many of them have dwindled to be peasant proprietors. Though the number of industrious and skilful cultivators is increasing the Rajput husbandman has still a bad name for slovenliness and want of care.

Condition.

Though the tendencies are in many ways against him the Gujarát Rajput on the whole is fairly off. The revenues of the chiefs and larger landholders have increased and go on increasing. The more thriftless of the landlords are protected against themselves by the restrictions of the Tálukdári Settlement Act. And with most of the smaller landholders the horror of living by the plough instead of by the sword is passing away.

Food.

Followers of Sváminárayan Vallabhácharya and Rámánuja eschew fish flesh onions garlic and liquor; all other Rajputs eat animal food, drink liquor, smoke tobacco, and eat opium. Except the Válás and a few other divisions most Rajputs[1] eat fish, partridge, duck, goat, sheep, and hare. Of animals which split the hoof they eat only the *chikaru* or gazelle. In Rewa Kántha they eat the wild boar but no Rajput will touch the flesh either of the horse or of the ass. Strict Rajputs have a strong feeling against the flesh of the domestic fowl. But in south Gujarát the feeling on this point is lax. Their staple food is rice and *bájri* Penicillaria spicata, *juvár* Sorghum vulgare and wheat, together with the usual pulses and vegetables. As far as possible they avoid eating hill grains such as *banti* Panicum flavidum *bávto* Eleusine corocana and *kodra* Paspalum scrobiculatum. They never use *masur* Ervum lens pulse or the snakegourd. The women chew tobacco and the old women take snuff but they never smoke or eat opium and seldom drink liquor or eat meat. All the different divisions of Rajputs eat together in the same row but not from the same dish. The majority of Rajputs neither eat from the same dish nor smoke the pipe of those who allow widow-marriage, who marry with Kolis and Musalmáns, and who are of low social position. Rajputs eat food cooked by all classes of Hindus except Kolis Vághris and the depressed castes.

Daily Life.

In a rich Rajput family the head of the house rises between six and seven, and, after smoking a pipe and washing, dresses, and seating himself in the gateway platform *dehli* is joined by a Bhát or Cháran and other friends. As they sit a servant brings a dish of opium-water

[1] In A.D. 1818, many Jádejás of Kachh though nominally Hindus continued in matters of food Muhammadans, employing Musalmán cooks, taking flesh, and refusing to eat things forbidden in the Kurán. Now, except about five per cent, they live as Hindus, most of them on simple fare, respecting the Rajput feeling against eating the domestic fowl and seldom using animal food. Some among them of the Vaishnava sect are strict vegetarians. When meat is used, it is duly killed by a Musalmán and cooked at a distance from the usual kitchen. The custom of asking a Musalmán to kill an animal is not necessarily a remnant of the former leaning to Islám. Like the Jádejás many Dakhan Maráthás object to eat meat which has not been duly killed by a Musalmán.

kusumba. Of this the host, after offering it to any Bhát Cháran or Rajput proprietor who may be present, drinks a portion and gives the rest to the people round. The opium water is followed by a pipe or *hukka*. Then about eight, for an hour or two, he hears complaints from villagers and prescribes for the sick, for most Rajput Thákors have some knowledge of medicine and some of them keep a store of drugs. Before breakfast he bathes. After bathing incense is sometimes burnt and a few beads are told. The meal is of millet and wheat bread, the mixture of pulse and rice known as *khichdi*, butter served in a small cup, and whey sometimes milk in a jug. After another pipe the Thákor goes to rest and rising about two washes and dresses and sits chatting or settling family affairs till about five, when he goes to the village temple, and comes back at dusk. On his return he takes his seat in the gateway platform. If he is a big man a torch is lighted and people come and pay their respects to him, and he hears complaints and settles disputes. About eight, putting off his outer robe, he goes to the house-shrine and washing his hands and feet burns incense and says some prayers. He then goes to the women's quarters, where seated on a low quilted stool he gathers his children round him and chats with them till supper is ready. He eats supper in the women's quarters with the men and some of the children of the family, the meal consisting of pulse and rice *khichdi*, millet bread, pickles, thin wafer biscuits or *pápad*, and milk. Some Thákors never come out after supper. Others sit in the gateway and smoke, hearing news and stories, and go to rest in the women's quarters about ten or eleven. The young men of the family spend most of their time in looking after boundaries, tracking thieves and robbers, training horses, and learning to hunt and shoot. The wife of a Thákor rises about sunrise before her husband is up. She begins the day by making three reverences to her mother-in-law and to her other seniors. Then, after washing, she looks to the distribution of whey and milk among servants and dependants, bathes about eight, bows to the sacred basil, looks after the children's breakfast, and going to the kitchen superintends the cooking or helps to make some of the finer dishes. After her husband has finished she takes her breakfast, sleeps for a couple of hours, and if young sews or chats or if old reads or listens to sacred books till evening. Before dark she puts on fresh and richer clothes, and the sons' wives, but not the daughters of the house, thrice as in the morning reverence the Thákor's chief wife and other senior women. A lamp fed with butter is then lighted in the water-room, and the women go and help in preparing dinner. They sup after their husbands have finished, chat and sew till about nine, and retire. A Rajput cultivator is up by five and by six is washed and off with his servants to the field. After working for two hours he takes his breakfast. Unless the husband is very poor the breakfast is brought not by the wife but by a servant or male relation. Except that he uses more condiments and onions, the Rajput's breakfast and dinner mainly consist of the same dishes as those used by the local Kanbi. The evening meal is like the morning meal the only addition being a little clarified butter. The children take their food with their mother. Only on festive occasions does the Rajput cultivator either eat meat or drink liquor. He dines at noon and after an hour's rest works till sunset.

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He takes his supper about an hour after sunset and after supper spends an hour or more in chatting over the day's work and smoking his pipe.

Except their clan and local peculiarities Rajputs do not differ from other Hindus in their religious observances and practices.[1] Though many are followers of the special forms of Vaishnavism preached by Vallabhácharya and by Rámánuja, and though the modern sect of Sváminaráyan still gathers adherents, Rajputs from remote ages have been partial to the worship of Shiva. At the same time they worship all Hindu gods and goddesses and their house-shrines contain the images of Shiva, Vishnu, Ganpati, and of the tutelary goddess of the clan. The Jádejás worship the northern Ashápuri, the hope-fulfiller, whose principal shrine is in Kachh. The Jhálás adore a goddess named Ádya whose shrine is at Halvad. The Gohils worship the Khodiád Máta whose chief shrine is at Rájapara near Sihor. The goddess of the Jethvás is Vindhyavásini whose original shrine is on the Nágmáta river close to Navánagar and whose chief temple is at Chháya near Porbandar. The Parmárs worship the goddess Mandavri whose temple is at Muli. Chávadás and Vághelás worship Chámunda. Rich Rajputs have Bráhman priests to do the daily worship of their household gods. After his marriage a Rajput visits the principal shrines of his *máta* or tutelary goddess in company with his bride. Part of the marriage ceremony consists in knotting the end of the bridegroom's shouldercloth or waistcloth to the bride's veil or *chundri,* and these knots are always loosened in front of the family goddess. Among the Kachh Jádejás the most gorgeous festival in the year is the Ráv's procession to the snake temple in the Bhuj fort. Jádejás show great respect to their priests, who are Bráhmans of the Rájgor subdivision, and to Bháts and Chárans, their family bards and chroniclers. Except a few who are disciples of Sváminaráyan the Parmárs of Muli are as a rule worshippers of the sun. Sun-worshippers fast on Sundays. Bardái Bráhmans, called after the district at the foot of the Barda hills in south Káthiáváda, are the priests of Jethvás. These Bráhmans worship Shiva and Shakti, and visit the local temples of these deities morning and evening. On the eighth or *ashtami* and the fourteenth or *chaturdashi* of every fortnight, on *Sivrátra* the dark fourteenth of the month, on the bright eleventh of *Ashádh* (July-August), and during four days of the *Navrátra* that is the first nine nights in *Ashvin* (October-November), on the bright second of every month, on the *Dasara* that is the bright tenth of *Ashvin* (October-November) all of which are high days the Jethvás visit the local temples of Shiva and Shakti and lay before the god and goddess a cocoanut and a few coppers and bow before them. They are Smárts and their high priest is the Shankaráchárya of Dvárka. When the high priest visits

[1] Before A.D. 1818 Kachh Jádejás were half Hindu half Musalmán. They visited mosques and gave their daughters in marriage to Musalmáns. Since A.D. 1818 the example of several strictly Hindu Rávs, the decline of infanticide, the division of land, and the spread of poverty have combined to make the Jádejás give up several of their un-Hindu ways. Of their former Musalmán beliefs and practices nothing remains but the reverence for certain Musalmán saints and the occasional marriage into Musalmán families.

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the village they pay his expenses while he stays in the village and when he leaves present him with money according to their means. They worship the cow on the bright fourth of *Shrávan* and on the bright twelfth of *Bhádrapad* (September-October) they go to the sea, offer it sandal-paste rice flowers and a cocoanut, and bow before it.

As a rule the Vághela chiefs are worshippers of Shakti. Náthanji the first Vághela who came to Sánand in A.D. 1315 built a temple to his family goddess Hajari Máta which is still known by the name of Ádya Máta the family goddess of the Jhálás. Among the cultivating Vághelás, both the Vallabhácharya and the Rámánuja forms of Vaishnavism have found a large following. Except a few who keep a conch shell or *shankh* and the image of the *máta* in their house Vághelás as a rule have no household images. On Dasara Day in September-October, they mark the brow of the horse with vermilion and rice and tie a seven-knotted thread marked with vermilion round his right pastern. The girls meet at the house and paint on a wooden board a tree with a *koyel* or Indian cuckoo perched on it. They then take the board to the river and bathe in the river with the board, lay vermilion flowers and rice on it, go to a neighbouring garden and call the bird imitating its voice till he answers. When there is danger from floods, Vághelás go to the river or seashore or to a pond and worship water. The chief throws a woman's robe and a cocoanut into the sea to pacify the flood spirits and save his people. Vála Rajputs, though not Muhammadans visit *tájiás* or Muharram biers and the tombs of Muhammadan saints and offer them cocoanuts and make them vows. This leaning to Muhammadanism is not peculiar to Válás. Vow-making to the Moharram *tájiás* or biers and to the tombs of Muhammadan saints is common among lower Hindus and is often met with among the higher castes. Besides their own special days the different clans of Rajputs keep all Hindu fasts and feasts.

Spirit Worship.

Rajputs believe in witchcraft soothsaying and omens, and employ exorcists to drive out evil spirits. Their spirit-scarers or *bhuvás* are mostly low caste Hindus and Musalmáns. When a person is possessed, the scarer asks a relation of the possessed to wave round his head a handful of *adad* Phaseolus mungo beans. The *bhuva* examines the beans. If he finds signs of a spirit he calls his familiar to come into him. The familiar comes and moves the exorcist's body to and fro, in the end stating the name and the favourite haunt of the spirit who is in the patient, and the ways and means by which the trespassing spirit can be driven out. Sometimes the scarer administers an oath or *bádha* to the spirit in the sick person and ties a black thread as an amulet round his neck or arm. Sometimes chillies are burned before the sick person in a closed room and sometimes a worn-out shoe is forced between the patient's teeth. Sometimes an earthen pot is set before the sick person and on the mouth of the pot is laid a brass or copper salver with a handful of *adad* beans. The earthen pot is beaten with a stick, and as the beans dance to and fro they make a sound which is believed to scare the trespassing spirit. Sometimes the medicine-man waves a cup of water round the person possessed and drinks the water. When an offering to the spirit appears necessary, the offering

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is waved about the person possessed and laid in a place where three roads meet. The offering is generally cooked: rice curds flesh or any other article of food or dress which by the tongue of the possessed the trespassing spirit asks for. Sometimes Bráhman priests are employed to read to the sick person the Chandipáth a Sanskrit work containing prayers to the goddess Chandi. Gifts are also made to Bráhmans in the name of the family goddess or of some special god. Rajputs are careful watchers of good and bad omens. A cow, a virgin, a woman whose husband is alive with or without a vessel filled with water, a learned Bráhman, a student with his books, a well dressed prostitute, an armed soldier, a bier with the body of an ascetic or Musalmán, a washerman with a load of washed clothes, a Rabári Bharvád or Dhed carrying cotton twist and yarn, a Vánia with scales and balance, a gardener with flowers, a vessel of milk and curds, a peacock, a horse, and a married couple coming from the opposite direction are good omens. So also is the braying of an ass or a sneeze to the left or behind, the hooting of an owl to the right, a serpent passing on the right, and a deer or a crying fox. The chief evil omens are: A cat crossing the road or coming from the opposite direction, a serpent passing to the left, a sneeze to the right or in front, a widow coming from the opposite direction, a deformed person met on the road, persons carrying firewood cowdung-cakes coal hides grass husks salt fire molasses oil flour or a basket of lemons, an earthen vessel with whey, a basket filled with rubbish, a dog twitching his ears, an owl sitting on the roof of the house and hooting, and a passing donkey.

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Birth.

In the seventh month of her first pregnancy the girl generally goes to her father's house for her delivery. With the first signs of labour a midwife of the barber or some other caste is called in. An astrologer is present to mark the moment of birth and to cast the horoscope. As soon as the child is born the midwife beats a metal platter if it is a boy and an earthen pot if it is a girl. If the child is a boy musicians come and perform at the house, and if the father's means allow, packets of sugar are distributed to every house in the village. A messenger is sent to carry the *vadhámni* or joyful news to the child's father with a paper marked with the boy's footprint in vermilion. The boy's father rewards the messenger with a dress or cash and distributes sugarcandy among friends and relations. If the father is poor he feeds the messenger and presents him with a rupee. As soon as the child is born the midwife cuts its navel cord and buries it in a corner of the compound in front of the house. The father's sister feeds the child with a few drops of honey mixed with clarified butter and water. It is believed that the child takes to the nature of the woman who first feeds it. The midwife receives fifty pounds of wheat, one rupee in cash, a cocoanut, $1\frac{1}{4}$ to $5\frac{1}{4}$ pounds of molasses, and if the child is a boy a robe. Even poor Rajputs have to pay the midwife grain and 4 to 8 annas in cash. On the sixth night after the birth the child's and the mother's foreheads are marked with vermilion. A piece of cloth long enough to make a jacket for the child is begged from a friend or relation, a jacket is made and the child is dressed in it. A space on the floor near the mother's bed is cleansed with cowdung and in the space is set a wooden

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stool covered with green silk or brocade called *chattio* with an earthen pot on either side. The child is laid in a *máchi* or small cradle near the stool. According as the child is a boy or a girl, a boy or a girl is seated at each of the four corners of the stool who beat metal dishes and are rewarded with *suvah vadás* or birth-cakes made of wheat flour and molasses fried in butter. Near the stool the wall is marked with seven vermilion spots and over the spots clarified butter is rubbed. On the stool are laid a piece of paper, a reed-pen, and a mixture of vermilion and water in the belief that *Chhathi* or Mother Sixth comes on that night and writes the future of the child. A sword covered with a robe called *pámri* and a lamp fed with clarified butter are placed near the writing materials and all the people, except the mother and child, leave the room for a short time to give the goddess an opportunity to do her work. Cooked rice and *kansár* or wheat flour boiled in clarified butter and molasses are eaten in the house. The ceremonial impurity on account of childbirth lasts ten to forty days. During this period the mother bathes four times. Her bath on the tenth day is called *dasuthán* and that on the twentieth *visuthán*, after which she is allowed to touch the members of the family. Her third bath is on the thirtieth day and her fourth on the fortieth. On the fortieth day the mother goes with the child in her arms to a neighbouring well and offers sandal paste vermilion rice and flowers to the *jaldevtás* or water nymphs. A Bráhman priest attends and is rewarded with money. The mother then fills a small vessel with water and fetches it home. *Kansár* or wheat flour cooked in clarified butter and sugar is eaten on that day in the house and friends and relations are asked to dine. After this ceremony the mother is held to be clean.

Sun Worship.

On the morning of the child's twelfth day, if the child is a boy, the mother takes it in her lap and sits on a low stool before the door of the house with a wooden pestle in her hand. Five to seven children are made to sit on her back one after the other and she is asked to walk a few steps. She worships the sun, a Bráhman priest officiating and receiving money. The children are fed with cocoa kernel and the ceremony is complete.

Naming.

The child is named on the twelfth day. As a rule the name-giver is the father's sister and in her absence the mother's sister and in the absence of both some elderly woman of the family. Several names are suggested by the astrologer, who is guided in his choice by the position of the moon in the heavens at the time of the child's birth. The child is bathed by his *phoi* or paternal aunt, or in her absence by some husband-owning woman of the house and dressed in a coat of green silk or brocade. He is then laid in a handkerchief marked in the middle with a lucky cross or *svastik* and held by the four corners by four children, boys in the case of a boy and girls in the case of a girl. This handkerchief serves as a temporary cradle which is swung to and fro by the four children. The child's aunt who names the child lays with the child in the handkerchief a betelnut, a *pipal* leaf, and a coin either of gold or silver or copper. She then, with the consent of the elderly members of the house, chooses one of the names suggested by the astrologer, swings the handkerchief-cradle, and repeats the name

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four times in a couplet. The children who have swung the cradle are treated to boiled wheat sweetened with molasses; and sugar is distributed to the women friends and relations who have been asked to the house. Among the Gohils wet millet mixed with *suva* or dill-seed is distributed to children. During the third fifth or seventh month after the birth of the child, the mother is presented with a new dress and the child with ornaments which are sent to the father's house.

Mango Blossom.

Next comes the *mohorpán* or mango-blossom drinking. On the first *Holi* (February-March) holiday after the birth, a low stool is set on the ground and covered with green silk or brocade. On the stool is set a cup of milk mixed with sugar and mango blossoms. The child is laid on the low stool and children are asked to the house. A Bráhman priest attends and kindles the *holi* fire. The Bráhman then dips a silver piece into the milk in the cup on the low stool and four times lets a few drops fall into the child's mouth. Sweetmeats are distributed to children and the Bráhman priest is rewarded with money.

First Feeding Botan.

The first feeding or *botan* takes place in the case of a girl either in the fifth or seventh and in the case of a boy in the sixth or eighth month. On a lucky day rice is cooked in milk and mixed with sugar, and friends and relations are asked to dine at the house. Besides the dinner the only observance is that the father's sister or in her absence some elderly woman of the house takes out a little milk on a gold or silver coin and drops it five times into the child's mouth.

Hair-clipping.

When a boy is three to five years old, on a lucky day fixed by a Bráhman astrologer his hair is clipped. Five days before the clipping a betelnut Ganpati and the family goddess are installed and worshipped in the house, the boy is rubbed with turmeric paste mixed with oil, and women friends and neighbours meet at the house and sing songs. Five measures of unhusked rice are laid in five wooden mortars and five husband-owning women are asked to pound the rice five times each singing songs. A week or ten days before the hair-clipping at a neighbour's house in a clay pot filled with earth a few grains of wheat are sown and watered so that the seedlings may be two or three inches high before the hair-clipping day. On the third day the worship of *Rándal* the femalefaced cocoanut is performed with the same details as at the time of marriage. The women of the house bring from the potter's the earthen pots required for the ceremony. A booth is erected before the house on or before the day of hair-clipping, which should have five posts covered with *asopálo* Polyalthia longifolia leaves. The women sing songs and rub the boy with turmeric and perfumed oil. In the booth a small canopy is spread and under it a raised earthen seat and on the seat two low stools. The father and the mother of the boy are seated on the low stools and perform the planet-humouring ceremony called *grahashánti*. A Bráhman officiates and the boy's hair is clipped. Friends and relations are fed and at night the boy is dressed in rich clothes and taken on horse-back with music and a company of friends through the village.

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Girding.

Rajputs claim the right to wear the sacred thread with the same formalities as Bráhmans, but only a few are careful to invest their boys at the usual Bráhman age. If a Rajput boy is separately invested with the sacred thread the ceremony takes place when he is between ten and twelve. But in most cases the investiture is made one of the marriage ceremonies. On the day of the thread-girding after he has been invested the boy runs off to the local temple feigning to be angry. His maternal uncle goes to the temple and by promising him his daughter in marriage pretends to soothe and dissuade the boy from persisting in taking a vow of celibacy or *brahmacharya*. The boy consents and the uncle presents him with a suit of clothes and carries him on his shoulder to his father's house with music and a company of friends and relations. Only a few of the Chohâns, Parmárs, Solaṅkis, and Vághelás, and the religious-minded of other clans, always wear the sacred thread. Other Rajputs put it on only on the occasions of *grahashánti* or planet-pleasing and of *shráddha* or mind-rites for their forefathers. On one other occasion every Rajput must wear his thread when he is either chief mourner or one of the four bearers of a bier to the burning ground.

Marriage.

As the tribe is sprung from one ancestor, any marriage in the tribe is incestuous and forbidden. Poverty does not lower a Rajput's social position. But his position is injured if he marries a woman who is not a Rajput. He also lowers himself if he marries his daughter to some one who is socially his own inferior. The daughter of a Chudásama Rajput is considered fit for the hand of a ruling chief and a Chávaḍa maiden may marry a Meváḍ Sisodiya. The names of daughters given in marriage to a husband of lower rank are not entered by the genealogist in the list of the women of the family. Daughters married into a family of inferior birth are not entitled to any special honour at any family gathering or feast. A peculiarity of the Jádejás is the extent to which they practised female infanticide. The probable explanation is that on attempting to return to Hinduism, though they could get wives for their sons, no one of proper position would take their daughters in marriage. The story is that a chief of the Samma tribe had a beautiful and accomplished daughter for whom he wished to find a suitable match. He accordingly sent his family priest to travel in search of a young chief who should be her equal not only in rank and age but also in beauty and accomplishments. The Bráhman travelled in vain and finally returned unsuccessful, reporting to his master that such a paragon was not to be found. The chief in despair asked the Bráhman what to do and was advised to put his daughter to death. This he did and other Jádejás followed the chief's example. In Káthiavaḍa the marriageable age among girls is between fifteen and twenty while among Pálanpur Thákors the marriageable age is between eight and ten. Rajputs are never careful about the age of the husband, who is sometimes two or three years older or younger than the girl. Betrothals take place either immediately before or some years before marriage. Betrothals are always verbal and never written.

Betrothal.

On a lucky day the relations of the girl go to the boy's house taking with them a small gold cocoanut and some ornaments and

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dresses and a horse if the gift of a horse has been previously agreed to. When they reach the boy's village the boy's father receives them with friends and music. Before leaving the house the boy's priest hands to some husband-owning woman of the house a gold or silver spouted vessel called *jhári* filled with water with a cocoanut stopper in its mouth. When the boy's father meets the girl's party he welcomes them. The girl's father puts some cash into the vessel and makes money presents to the priest and musicians, and distributes dry dates to the women who sing marriage songs and accompany the woman who holds the spouted vessel. The woman who holds the vessel with the spout leads the procession to a house specially furnished for the girl's party, and here the boy's father feeds the bride's party with rice cooked with sugar and clarified butter, acid and pungent articles being scrupulously avoided. A lucky day is fixed for the acceptance of the gold cocoanut of betrothal when the girl's party go with music and friends to the boy's house carrying a brass platter containing the gold cocoanut and the presents for the boy with packets of sugar, redpowder *gulál*, cloves cardamoms and raisins, vermilion rice and flowers. If a horse is among the presents he is led in front of the party. Women sing songs and men throw redpowder. The boy's relations and friends meet at his house. The boy is richly dressed and seated on a raised seat. On reaching the boy's house the girl's priest marks the boy's brow with vermilion and presents him with the gold cocoanut and other articles brought from the girl's house. He then asks the mother of the boy to accept the brass salver containing the presents. A servant girl of the house comes and takes the salver and daubs the forehead of the boy with the vermilion from the dish and sticks grains of rice on the spots of vermilion. If there be more servant girls in the house each of them in turn daubs the boy's brow with vermilion and rice, and the boy drops the gold cocoanut in the lap of the last of them. The boy's father then removes the presents and fills the dish with dry dates and money. He opens the sugar packets and takes a little sugar into his hollow hands and offers it to four men of each party. Sugar is then distributed to friends and relations met at the house and the girl's party is treated to opium-water *kusumba*. On the next day the girl's party ask the boy's party to their lodgings to sip *kusumba* and distribute sugar to the guests. The boy's father afterwards presents the girl's party with dresses and feeds them so long as they stay in his village. After this on a lucky day fixed by the astrologer, the boy's party goes to the girl's village to make her a present of ornaments and dresses. The girl's father receives the boy in the same manner as his own party was received. The girl is seated on a low stool and presented with ornaments and a petticoat bodice and headscarf which she puts on. The other presents consisting of packets of sugar rice flowers cloves cardamoms and dry dates are received by a woman of the family who marks the girl's forehead with vermilion. The boy's father presents the girl with a cocoanut and a rupee. The girl's father is required to treat the boy's party in the same way and for the same number of days as his party was treated at the boy's village. The boy's party asks the girl's party to a *kusumba* entertain-

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ment and distributes sugar to all who are present. The boy's relations are presented with dresses before they leave and the ceremony is complete.

Invitation Lagan Patrika.

Afterwards when the father of the girl wants to marry his daughter, he sends for an astrologer, who, consulting the birth papers of the boy and girl finds out a lucky day for the wedding ceremony. If the birth papers are not available, the astrologer is guided by the names of the boy and the girl. He takes a slip of Ahmedábád made paper and writes an invitation or *lagan patrika* to the boy's father, naming the day and the time. On this paper a silver coin some rice and five dry dates are laid and it is marked with saffron and vermilion and the whole is formed into a conical packet and wound round with a *náda chhadi* or yellow and red cotton thread. The girl's priest takes this invitation packet called *laganno pado* with four conical shaped packets of 1¼ pounds of sugarcandy 1¼ pounds of sugar 1¼ pounds of raisins and 1¼ pounds of vermilion and five cocoanuts to the boy's house where the boy's father welcomes him to some place in his neighbourhood and asks him to his house at some lucky time of the day. Friends and relations meet at the house, music plays, and the women sing marriage songs.

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The boy's priest then asks the girl's priest to seat himself on a low stool. An unmarried girl of the boy's family marks the forehead of the girl's priest with vermilion and on the vermilion sticks grains of rice. She then throws four pinches of vermilion and rice on the invitation packet and takes it into her hand. The boy's priest offers the girl's priest four handfuls of sugar, and, dipping his open right hand in the vermilion and water marks the chest and back of the girl's priest with the lucky red right hand. The girl's priest then leaves the stool and the boy takes his place. The boy's priest daubs the boy's forehead with vermilion and four unmarried girls one by one drop on him pinches of vermilion and rice. The boy's priest reads the invitation. A local astrologer is consulted and if the moon at the time proposed for the wedding is favourable to the boy the invitation is accepted and the day for the girl to put on the bangles and for the marriage are fixed. Sugar or molasses are distributed to the guests and they are treated to opium-water. The girl's priest is told whether the boy is to come personally to the girl's house for the marriage or is to send his *khándu* or sword. He then leaves the boy's house with the present of some article of dress or cash or both. As by sending the sword the bridegroom escapes expensive presents to bards and singers the practice has become common. From the day the bride's priest leaves the bridegroom's village the bride and bridegroom are dressed in rich clothes and ornaments and at both houses a party of women sing marriage songs morning and evening. At the house both of the bride and of the bridegroom on the third fifth or seventh day before the marriage day booths are erected. On the same day at both houses takes place the ceremony of fixing the *mánakstambh* or ruby pillar. The wooden post is made by a carpenter. It is about a foot long and is handed to the women of the house who give the carpenter five measures of wheat and a cocoanut. A hole is dug either on the right side of the main door of the house or in a place specially chosen by the

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astrologer. In front of this hole the parents of the bride or of the bridegroom, as the case may be, are made to sit on low stools facing east, their foreheads are marked with vermilion, and the ends of their garments are knotted together by the family priest. They throw in the hole a few drops of water mixed with vermilion, curds and milk, a copper, and a betelnut. Their garments are then untied. To the wooden post are bound with cotton thread and *pipal* leaf a betelnut a copper a bamboo rod and a branch of the *khijda* Prosopis spicigera tree and the post is planted in the hole. While the post is being planted music plays and women neighbours and friends sing songs. On the same day the bride's and bridegroom's mother and father, each at their village, go with music and a party of male and female relations to the potter's to worship his wheel and to bring earthen vessels. The Bráhman priest walks in front with a brass platter filled with rice a cocoanut molasses and turmeric powder. The women follow him singing songs. The bride's and bridegroom's mother and father throw rice and turmeric powder over the wheel and present the potter with the cocoanut rice and molasses. The women then sing *phatánás* or jest songs and return in procession with the earthen vessels required for the wedding. When they reach home dry dates are distributed to the guests and the ceremony of *chák vadhávani* or wheel-inviting is over. On the same day, at both houses follows the installation of Ganpati and of Gotraj the family goddess. Inside the house a portion of the northern or eastern wall is whitewashed with *khadi* or white clay and daubed with vermilion. Near the wall is set a low wooden stool covered with a piece of white or red cloth a cubit and a quarter square. On this cloth are laid five measures of rice or wheat and a cocoanut and a lamp fed with clarified butter. The boy or the girl sits on a bed before the low stool. A betelnut Ganpati is laid in a brass salver and washed in milk and afterwards placed on the stool. Sandal-paste rice and flowers are offered to the god, incense is burned before him, and round him is waved a light fed with clarified butter, *kansár* or wheat-flour cooked in clarified butter and sugar is laid before him, and a lamp fed with clarified butter is again waved round him. The boy or girl is made to repeat verses in praise of the god. On the same day the boy's and the girl's father each at his house invokes the family goddess. A portion of the wall is whitewashed and on the white part a picture of the family goddess is drawn with vermilion water. Rice flowers and turmeric paste are stuck upon the picture, incense is burned before it, a light fed with clarified butter is waved round it, and sugar is offered to it. The members of the house eat *kansár* on that day and the family priest is feasted. After the invocation of Ganpati and the family goddess both at the boy's and the girl's house comes the *rándal* ceremony. A small ornamental booth is erected in the house and in it is placed a stool covered with white or red cloth a cubit and a quarter long. On the cloth are laid five measures of rice or wheat and on the rice or wheat is set a jar with its mouth covered by a green silk cloth. On the jar is laid a cocoanut draped in a woman's robe so as to represent a female face. Near the jar a lamp fed with clarified butter is kept burning day and night. Another ceremony that of *gotardo bharvo* or pot-filling takes place at both the houses. The father and

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mother or a brother and his wife have the ends of their garments tied together and go with a party of men and women and music to buy a new *bedu* that is a pair of earthen pots. With these pots they visit a well pond or river and bring water to bathe the bride and the bridegroom. The pair, that is either the father and mother or the brother and his wife, first worship the river well or pond and then the earthen pots. The earthen pots are filled and carried by the mother or the brother's wife. A day or two before the marriage the bride and bridegroom are rubbed with turmeric paste and scented oil, and *mindhals* or marriage-nuts are tied round their right wrists.

Sword Marriage.

In the case of a sword-marriage, when the *khándu* or sword is to be sent to the girl's house, the boy sits in a litter with a sword and a cocoanut and passes with music and a company of friends and relations as far as the boundary of his village. There he alights leaving the sword and a cocoanut in charge of a maidservant who takes his place in the litter. The procession marches to the bride's village and is welcomed at the boundary by the girl's party, who take the guests to a house specially furnished for them and feast them. After the feast is over at a lucky moment for the girl to put on the marriage bangles the boy's Bráhman takes to the girl's house a robe and a pair of bangles. The girl is seated on a low stool before the family goddess who has been previously installed in the house; the Bráhman repeats verses and the girl bows before the goddess and puts on the robe and the bangles and again bows before the goddess. The bridegroom's party then carries the sword in procession to the bride's house where under an arch or *toran* the maid in charge of the sword waits till a *varmáchi* or bridegroom's chair is brought for her to stand upon. The bride's mother comes wearing on her head a *mod* or three-cornered tiara of gold set with pearls, and over it a *chundadi* or female robe and stands before the maid. The girl's priest holds a cloth between them. He then sends for the *dhoshru* or miniature yoke, marks it with vermilion, covers it with one end of a robe, and after waving it over the handle of the sword passes it to a man standing behind. He repeats the same process with the miniature *sámbela* or pestle, the *ravai* or churning stick, and the *trák* or ladle. The girl's priest waves over the handle of the sword four balls two made of rice or wheat-flour and two made of ashes. Of the two flour balls one is thrown to the north the other to the east, and of the two ash balls one is thrown to the south the other to the west. Two *kodiás* or earthen lamp saucers filled with rice put brim to brim and bound together with cotton thread are waved over the sword and placed on the ground. The maidservant breaks them with her foot and enters the booth. In the booth are placed a *varmáchi* or chair and a stool opposite to it. The maidservant with the sword sits on the chair and the girl sits on the low stool opposite to her. At the lucky moment the right hands of the girl and the maidservant are joined together. At each corner of the booth a brass jar is placed and in the north-east a stone daubed with redlead is set to represent the *khetarpál* or field-guardian. Near the field-guardian is laid a copper pot containing rice and pulse with a

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cocoanut laid on its mouth. The girl's father performs the ceremony of *kanyádán* or girl-giving by taking a little water in the hollow of his joined hands and pouring it on the ground. The priest repeats verses and the *kanyádán* is complete when the water is poured on the ground.

Marriage.

In the centre of the booth a *chori* or square is made. At each corner of the square a pillar of nine metal or earthen vessels, piled one above the other, is kept upright by bamboo supports. In the centre of the *chori* a heap of cowdung cakes is piled. The bride's priest kindles the pile of cakes and feeds the fire with clarified butter barley and sesame. He then makes the bride and the maidservant go round the fire twice in such a way as to make their right feet touch the *khetarpál* or field-guardian. Then the boy's party presents the girl with rich robes and bodices, ornaments and cash, and the girl's father pays the boy the sum of money or gold agreed upon, first laying it on a brass platter and showing the amount of money to the boy's party. The chief of the boy's party accepts the amount on behalf of the boy and returns the salver after laying some cash upon it. The girl bows to the family goddess; and after the girl's father has presented dresses to the boy's party and cash to the assembled Bháts and Chárans, the boy's party are allowed to leave in good time to reach their village before the arrival of the bride.

Two or three days after the sword-marriage the bride is sent to the bridegroom's house seated in a carriage with the maid who brought the sword. Before starting the bride's mother worships the wheel of the carriage and lays a cocoanut and copper coins under the wheel. As the carriage starts the cocoanut is crushed and the pieces are laid in the bride's lap to be kept during her journey to the bridegroom's house. When the bride's party reaches the village boundary the bridegroom marches on horseback with his friends and relations and music to receive the bride. The march turns into a race among the bridegroom's friends for the honour of being first to reach the bride, and the winner is rewarded with a cocoanut and a silver coin and the others with sweets. When he reaches the bride's carriage the bridegroom asks the maidservant to give him her place. She refuses and he offers her money. When she is satisfied she leaves the carriage and the bridegroom takes her place. When they reach the bridegroom's house the pair leave the carriage and enter the booth, where, under a silk canopy, at each corner of a square, is placed an earthen pot freshly brought from the potter, and, in the middle, two low stools for the pair. Under the arch of the booth the bridegroom's mother waves round the pair a miniature pestle and mortar, a ladle, a plough-yoke, and a roller, and the pair are then led to their seats in the canopy. A sacred fire is kindled by the bridegroom's priest. The hands of the couple are joined and they are made to move round the fire. The pair are then taken inside to worship the *gotraj* or family goddess. Next they play the game of *eki beki* odds or evens with betelnuts dry dates and coins. The women affirm that the mastery in wedded life falls to the victor in this game. After the game the priest unties the *mindhals* or weddingnut-bracelets and the marriage is complete.

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On the next day presents are made to Bháts and Chárans. When the bridegroom goes personally to the bride's house he takes the place of the maidservant and performs all the necessary rites at the bride's house. When this is done the rites of hand-joining and going round the sacred fire are not repeated at his house.

After marriage Rajput women as a rule remain within the *zenána* or private apartments. They love rich clothes and ornaments of every description, and have frequent opportunities of displaying their stores to the women of their own caste and position, whose envy or admiration alone they care to excite. As, among the rich, polygamy is usual, the inmates of the *zenána* always enjoy the interest of rivalry or affection. The husband as a rule is generous and loving and the children are an ever-fresh delight. Many Rajput women take pride in their skill in embroidery and needlework. Others have a sufficient knowledge of writing and of books to give variety to their lives. And those whose husbands can afford to allot them villages, find suitable scope for their talents in managing their estates. Among the inmates of the *zenána*, in addition to the guards, are female attendants and their children. These attendants are called Golis or Vadhárans, that is household slaves. They are born and brought up in the *zenána* and in all times of trouble and scarcity are as carefully looked after as the members of the chief's family. These house servants are never sold. They are married at the will of the chief to one of the Khavás or male slaves. Such marriages are liable to be broken if the woman is sent as part of the dower of one of the chief's daughters. But as a rule care is taken to choose for the daughter family slaves who either are not married or who are willing to go. The Khavás are brought up in the Darbár or native court, and are personal attendants of the chief and his children.[1] Some of them become favourites and acquire considerable power and wealth, but with the drawback that with the loss of their master's favour their whole property may go. Among Tálukdárs and Garásiás widow-marriage is not allowed and the Rajput cultivators who permit the practice are held to forfeit their position as true Rajputs.

Pregnancy Agharni.

In the fifth month of a Rajput woman's first pregnancy the husband's sister ties a guardian-thread called *rákhdi* or keeper round the right wrist of the pregnant woman and during the seventh or ninth month performs the lap-filling ceremony. A lucky day for the lap-filling is named by a Bráhman priest and the husband's father sends a *kankotri* or invitation marked with turmeric or vermilion to the woman's father, who sends by a Bráhman dresses and ornaments to be presented to his daughter. On the day of the lap-filling, her female friends and

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1 The most notable instance of a prosperous Khavás is that of Meru Khavás of Navánagar. This man was originally a palace slave at Dhrángadra, and accompanied a daughter of that house on her marriage to Jám Lákha of Navánagar in A.D. 1760. He soon acquired such influence with the Jám that he became his minister and for many years was absolute in Hálár. He made peace and war, he concluded treaties, and he persuaded his weak master to adopt two children not of Rajput blood. Even when his influence was on the wane, he persuaded the Jám to assign him in perpetuity the districts of Joria-Balamba and Amran. His descendants hold Amran a táluka of twenty-four villages to the present time (A.D. 1896). The estate of Joria Balamba of twenty-one villages was restored to the Jám in 1815.

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Pregnancy Agharni.

relations take the pregnant woman for a bath to a neighbour's house. Into the bathing-place a cocoanut is thrown and the pregnant woman is bathed and dressed in green clothes sent by her father. Her brow is marked with vermilion, her head is decked with a *mod* or three-cornered diadem which contains an iron needle or *trák*, and her lap is filled with four pounds of wheat and a cocoanut. She then leaves for her house attended by a band of musicians and by her women friends and neighbours singing songs. On her way home she is made to walk on cloth spread for the purpose by the women of her father's house who come to attend the ceremony. At her first step a silver coin is laid on the cloth, at the second a cocoanut, and at each of the succeeding steps a betelnut. In rich families silver coins take the place of the cocoanut and betelnuts. The cloth, the silver coins, and the cocoanut and betelnuts are supplied by the father of the pregnant woman and are given to her husband's sister. When she reaches her home, in the *oshri* or apartment next to the veranda, her husband's brother marks her cheeks with turmeric or vermilion water and receives for his trouble up to Rs. 5 in cash. The pregnant woman then goes inside the house to worship the family goddess, who is painted in turmeric on the wall. She sits before the goddess and lays sandal-paste turmeric vermilion rice and flowers and bows before her. While she sits before the goddess her lap is filled with unhusked rice and a cocoanut, silver coins and a robe and bodice, and her cheeks are rubbed with turmeric powder She joins her hands and bows and stands before the goddess. Molasses are distributed to such friends and relations as have been asked to the house. The pregnant woman then empties the contents of her lap into the lap of some woman whose husband and all of whose children are alive. With the same articles the matron refills the pregnant woman's lap and the process is repeated three times. The pregnant woman then leaves for her father's and carries with her the unhusked rice with which her lap was filled. This rice is kept at her father's till the sixth day after delivery when it is husked boiled and eaten.

Death.

A short time before death, according to his means, a Rajput gives a cow a horse grain and gold to Bráhmans, and a Bráhman priest reads the Bhágvatgita to the dying person. On the near approach of death, the dying person is laid on his back with his feet to the south on a portion of the floor which has been freshwashed with cowdung sprinkled with water from some holy river, and strewn with sacred *darbha* grass. On the left of the dying person is set a zinc cup with a ball of wheat flour and ashes, and a lamp fed with clarified butter is kept burning near the zinc cup. In the dying mouth are laid five jewels that is clarified butter, curds, basil leaves, holy water, and gold. The relations sit near and repeat *Rám Rám* till life is gone. The dead if a male is shaved and bathed and dressed in five garments, a waistcloth a shouldercloth a coat a waistcoat and a turban. A bamboo bier is prepared and furnished with a mattress and cushions and a white sheet. The body is laid on the bier and covered with a silk or a brocade cloth according to the means of the dead. A cocoanut is tied to each of the four corners of the bier. In the case of chiefs and the members of chiefs' families a *sinhásan* or lion-seat is made to carry the dead to

the burning ground. To carry the bier five persons bathe and put on the sacred thread. Four of them bear the bier, and the fifth walks in front carrying fire in an earthen pot set in a bamboo frame hanging from his hand. The widow dresses in a holiday robe and bodice and ornaments. When the bier is carried out of the house she goes to some river or pond with women neighbours and friends crying bitterly, she breaks her ivory bangles and puts off her gay clothes and ornaments, bathes in the pond or river and dressed in plain dark garments returns home weeping. At a short distance from the burning ground the bearers halt and lay a ball of rice flour and a silver coin in the right hand of the dead. The bier is again lifted and taken to the burning ground which is generally near a pond or river. A pile of wood and cowdung cakes is prepared and the body is again bathed and laid on the pile. On the body are dropped sacred basil leaves, pieces of sandal-wood, *gugal* or incense, and cocoanuts. The hands and feet of the dead are rubbed with clarified butter. The Bráhman priest repeats the sacred verses; the chief mourner moves five times round the pile with a burning brand in his hand and touches the mouth of the dead with the brand repeating the words *Nás práni Ág ávi* that is Flee Oh soul, fire has come. The pile is then kindled, when it is completely burned water is poured over it and the embers extinguished. Then they go to a neighbouring river or pond bathe and return home crying aloud. On that day no food is prepared in the house of the dead. The inmates are fed with cooked rice pulse and clarified butter prepared at the house of the father of the chief mourner's wife or at the house of some near relations or neighbours. For nine days cooked rice with pulse called *kadvani khichdi* is eaten in the house. For the first ten days a Bráhman priest pours sugar-water milk and opium-water into leaf cups and the cups are placed on the roof of the house. On the third day letters bearing the sad news are sent to relations and friends who do not live in the same village, stating the time of death and the time when the death rites are to be performed. On the same day the chief mourner with relations and friends goes to the burning ground taking a new earthen vessel covered with a new earthen saucer called *Rámpátra* or Rám's saucer and a little milk in a brass or copper vessel also covered with a metal saucer and flowers. He pours the milk over the cold embers gathers the ashes and except a few bones which are preserved to be sent to some holy place or river, such as Banáras Gáya or Sidhpur, removes them to some neighbouring tank or river. In the place of the ashes he lays the earthen vessel filled with water and on the vessel's mouth Rám's saucer with a wheat-flour ball in it. He then bathes and returns home. For the first ten days after a death the inmates of the house are considered impure and keep apart even when visitors come to console them. For these comforters the chief mourner keeps dry opium and water and a smoking pipe ready. Every morning from the first to the ninth balls of rice flour are offered to the dead. On the tenth day the chief mourner who is generally the eldest son shaves his face except the eyebrows and the head except the top-knot, and performs the tenth day *shráddha* or mind-feast. For the other men of the family, the rule is that only those younger than the dead shave

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the moustache. On the eleventh day all members of the mourning family bathe and put on freshwashed clothes. On the morning of the eleventh the waistcloths, bamboo baskets, metal idols, rice and other grains and flour, turmeric, sandal paste, flowers, earthen vessels, sesame and molasses required for the eleventh-day rites are taken to the village river or pond, and during the course of the day a *shráddha* or mind-rite is performed. A young bull and a heifer are wedded, balls of rice-flour are offered to the spirit of the dead, and the chief mourner returns weeping aloud. A caste feast is given to the relations of the dead. On the twelfth as on the eleventh the mourners go to the village river or pond and perform the twelfth day rites. When they return the priest lays before the house twelve balls of wheat-flour each in an earthen saucer covered with a rim-down cup, of brass copper or in the case of a chief of silver. Each cup and saucer is tied together with cotton-thread. On the thirteenth day the village potter comes and removes the thread and receives an earthen vessel and a cup for his trouble. Of the remaining vessels half go to the Bráhman and half to the daughter's or sister's sons of the dead. Castepeople and servants as well as ascetics and beggars are then fed with sweetmeats and *mori biranj* that is pounded rice and pulse cooked in clarified butter and condiments, or *lápsi* wheat flour cooked with molasses and mixed with clarified butter, pulse and *khichdi* that is cooked rice and pulse, or *shiro* that is wheat flour cooked in clarified butter and molasses. If the deceased is a woman thirteen shallow bamboo baskets called *chhábdis* each containing a petticoat a bodice and a robe are presented in the name of the dead person to near relations. If the deceased is a man thirteen deep baskets are filled each with a headscarf a waistcoat a shouldercloth and a waistcloth and are given to near relations. At night a cot is laid out furnished with a mattress pillows and cushions and a pair of shoes. A metal lamp, five garments, a waistcloth a shouldercloth a headscarf a coat and a waistcoat, wheat rice *juvár* molasses and clarified butter, dice and playing cards, betelnuts, brass salvers, jars, cups, and smoking pipes are also placed on the cot. A cow is brought in, the wife of the dead comes and holds the tail of the cow with both hands and over her hands the priest pours water. The bedding or *sejja* with the rest of the articles are presented to a Bráhman who is generally called *Káyatiya* that is funeral Bráhman. The Bráhman is laid on the bedding, and the cot is lifted by four men and carried out of the house to the village boundary. The men and women of the house follow for a short distance crying bitterly, and burning cowdung cakes are thrown after the *Káyatiya*. They then return home. If the family is well-to-do two sets of bed presents or *sejjás* are given one to the *Káyatiya* the other to the family-priest.

On the thirteenth day, the thirteenth-day rites are performed and the family priest is given a milch cow, a cot with mattresses pillows and cushions, a cup, a lampstand, waistcloths robes bodices and packets of sugar. Friends and relations are asked to dine at the house and Bráhmans are feasted and presented with money. The chief mourner is given a turban or cash by his father-in-law or maternal uncle and such friends and relations as are present are entertained with *kusumba* and

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betel-leaves and nuts. The sister or daughter of the dead distributes sweet balls of wheat flour to relations and friends in the village. On the fifteenth day a dinner is given to Bráhmans and castepeople. And till another month is over, that is for six weeks in all, the members of the family do not join in marriage or other feasts nor do they eat the special dishes which are taken on festive occasions. At the same time as the seclusion of the mourning family ceases, that is a month and a half after the death, the third fortnightly *shráddha* is performed. And four and a half months later the sixth-monthly *shráddha* follows. On the bright fifth of *Bhádrapad* (Sept.-Oct.) grain is cooked and served to Bráhmans. On the next day the members of the house feed on sweet balls. Three days later on the bright eighth of *Bhádrapad* (Sept.-Oct.) balls of rice or Indian millet flour mixed with molasses or sugar and clarified butter are made and given to Bráhmans with cash. A bamboo lantern is made and in it are put a headscarf a waistcloth a shouldercloth a coat and a jacket, with copper-pots ornaments a looking glass a silk waistcord and articles used in playing games. All of these including the bamboo lantern are presented to Bráhmans in the presence of the relations who add gifts of cash. On the bright tenth of *A'so* (Oct.-Nov.) Bráhmans are fed. And on the *Diváli* a wheat-flour lamp in a leaf cup is launched on the nearest river. On the *Sankránt* (Jany. 12) Bráhmans are fed with balls of *mag* Phaseolus radiatus flour mixed with sugar and clarified butter and are presented with earthen vessels and cash. On the *Akhátrij* or bright third of *Vaishákh* (May-June) earthen vessels filled with water are presented with cash to Bráhmans. A little less than twelve months after the death the first year feast is held when bamboo baskets and earthen and metal vessels and a cot with bedding waistcloths and metal vessels are given to the Bráhman priest, and Bráhmans and castepeople are feasted. From this day to the actual anniversary counting by months a Bráhman and an ascetic are fed daily, and, on the twelfth month death-day they are presented with dresses and cash. On the twelfth month death-day Bráhmans are presented with money. The widow and the sons of the dead leave off mourning and the widow goes to her father's house. On each anniversary a *shráddha* or mind rite is performed and Bráhmans are fed.

Except among their lower classes Rajputs have no headman. Caste disputes are usually settled by a jury of four or five respectable persons of the clan, who have power to fine or expel from caste. Priests are never consulted in caste disputes. A man who carries off a married woman or a woman who leaves her husband is considered an outcaste. No one except a few partisans have any dealings with them. In other quarrels when a settlement has been arranged or when the feeling of soreness passes off they drink opium-water together. At marriages and deaths Bháts and Chárans are either invited or come of their own accord.

SECTION V.—HUSBANDMEN.

Section V.
Husbandmen.

According to the 1891 census husbandry supports 6,231,253 persons or 56·36 per cent of the population. In the rural parts all classes, including Bráhmans, are interested in tillage as landowners if not as husbandmen. Among Bráhmans the Anávalás or Bháthelás, with the help of their hereditary ploughmen or *hális*, are the most skilful and hardworking husbandmen of south Gujarát. Of the Bráhmans whose chief occupations are priestcraft and service, some work in their fields with their own hands. Among these the Borsadás and Sajodrás and the Visnagara Nágars of north Gujarát are perhaps the most notable, but all are wanting in skill and power of work. A few of the writer classes, Brahma-Kshatris Káyasths and Parbhus, invest money in land, but they do not till with their own hands. Of late among pleaders medical practitioners and Government servants, the practice of putting savings into land has been growing more common. Both Meshri and Shrávak Vániás and Márvádi moneylenders and traders buy land from peasant-debtors, but neither till it themselves nor spend money in improving it. They seldom see it except at harvest time, when they go to recover their dues in kind from their tenants. Among Shrávaks almost the only cultivators are Vániás of the Osvál division. With few exceptions Rajput husbandmen are, though not wanting in intelligence or skill, careless slovenly and idle. Of the herdsmen classes almost none are cultivators except the Áhirs of Kachh. Except in large towns, all craftsmen and personal servants eke out their gains by the help of husbandry or of field-labour. Kolis and other early tribes are chiefly supported by tillage. Most of these classes dislike steady work and are wanting in care and in skill. To this the Talabda Kolis of Broach are an exception, being nearly if not quite as good husbandmen as Kanbis. Some of the early tribes of Surat chiefly Dublás Dhundiás and Chodhrás, have become skilful husbandmen, owing to their association with Bháthela and Kanbi cultivators. Of the depressed classes Dhedas and Bhangiás cultivate during the rainy season.

Except the Sunni Bohorás of Broach and Surat, who are steady and skilful husbandmen, the few Musalmáns who own land are idle unskilful and wanting in energy and perseverance. Like the Rajputs these Musalmáns labour under the disadvantage that their women do not help them in the fields. Pársis who were once famous husbandmen have almost given up tillage. The few who still earn their living as husbandmen are hardworking and skilful.

Though so large a proportion of the people of Gujarát depend either partly or entirely on tillage, the number of professional husbandmen is small. It includes six castes with a total strength of 1,544,486 or 15·62 per cent of the Hindu population.

Husbandmen, 1891.

Class.	Ahmedábád.	Kaira.	Panch Mahāls.	Broach.	Surat.	Native States.	Baroda.	Total.
Káchhiás	2752	5863	945	4676	1443	3270	8912	27,861
Kanbis	116,905	152,780	6501	25,144	37,868	630,926	440,298	1,410,422
A'njana	...	...	...	...	...	...	31,488	31,488
Kadva	76,138	12,690	457	6371	11,945	92,636	200,058	400,295
Leva	35,215	132,481	5843	14,531	20,757	160,189	199,169	568,185
Matia	...	...	...	...	4485	...	251	4736
Unspecified ...	5552	7609	201	4242	681	378,101	9332	405,718
Mális	2291	991	846	395	669	11,522	4449	21,163
Pateliás	227	...	12,528	...	...	2300	...	15,055
Ságars	125	...	...	...	...	15,994	1693	17,812
Sathvárás	6634	...	1	10	...	38,922	6606	52,173
Total ...	128,934	159,634	20,821	30,225	39,980	702,934	461,958	1,544,486

Ka'chhia's.

Ka'chhia's or market gardeners from *káchha* a vegetable garden, with a strength of 27,861, are found throughout Gujarát. The Káchhiás are said to be Kanbi and Koli cultivators who took to the growing of garden produce. They are of nine divisions, three among the Káchhiás of north Gujarát and six among those of the south. The three north Gujarát divisions are the Ajváliás or bright-fortnighters, the Andháriás or dark-fortnighters, and the Khambhátis or Cambay men. Of these the Andháriás are the lowest, the other two subdivisions neither eating nor marrying with them. The Ajváliás and Khambhátiás eat together but do not intermarry. The six south Gujarát divisions are Ahmedábádi, Khamár, Khatri, Koli, Máli, and Sangaria. Of these the Ahmedábádis, who are also called Kanbis and are said to have moved to Ahmedábád from Chámpáner, rank highest. Except that the other five divisions eat food cooked by Kanbi Káchhiás the six subdivisions do not eat together and do not intermarry. They are a strong well-built class of a dark or wheat colour, and in general appearance are much like Kanbis and cultivating Kolis. They speak Gujaráti. They live in one or two storied mud or brick houses with tiled roofs. They are vegetarians, eating neither flesh nor fish. In north Gujarát many of them eat opium and in south Gujarát some drink palm liquor. Except that the men wear flat turbans able to bear heavy headweights, and that in carrying their plants to market they tuck up their waistcloths in a style known as *káchhdo*, the dress of both men and women does not differ from that of the Kanbis. The men wear the hair of the head and the moustache and shave the chin. They are a hardworking and lively people. They grow garden crops and sell vegetables. In Surat the Káchhia vegetable-sellers have a special way of singing the praises of their wares. They are helped by their wives and children both in raising and selling vegetables. Their busy season is during the four cold-weather months (November to February). Some of the Káchhiás have taken to new pursuits. In north Gujarát some have opened grocer's shops, and some, especially the Khambhátis, have taken to hand-loom cotton cloth weaving. In south Gujarát some are bricklayers carpenters and sawyers, some sell pounded turmeric, and some, especially the Máli Káchhiás, drive

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bullock-carts for hire or are in private service. Except the Andhāriás of north Gujarát and the Khatris of south Gujarát, the Káchhiás belong to different religious sects. The Khambhátiás and the Ajváliás in north Gujarát are Bijpanthis, and a few of them in the Panch Mahâls are Shaivs, Vallabhácháryas, and Sváminaráyans. The south Gujarát Káchhiás are Shaivs, Kabirpanthis, or followers of goddesses. They have household-gods and visit their temples daily or on high days. They keep the ordinary fasts and feasts. Some among them become holy men or *bhagats* and live in their temples. One of these holy men named Santrám has a temple at Naḍiád and is the founder of a new sect. They respect the ordinary Hindu gods and visit the ordinary places of Hindu pilgrimage. The Andhária and Khatri Káchhiás are, like Matia Kanbis, followers of Imám Sháh, and observe half-Hindu half-Musalmán rites. Besides ordinary Hindu holidays they fast during the Ramzán and hold those Fridays sacred which fall on a newmoon day. They do not respect the ordinary Hindu gods, and do not visit their temples, and go to Pirána instead of to Hindu places of pilgrimage. All believe in exorcism sorcery and omens. They worship the cow and in small-pox epidemics the donkey who is the bearer of the small-pox goddess. They worship the cobra on the fifth of *Shrávan sud* (August) painting its image on the house-wall and worshipping it. No ceremonies are performed at the birth of a child, but on the sixth day after a birth the goddess Chhathi is worshipped. After child-birth the mother remains impure from ten to twenty days when she moves about the house, cooks, and does her ordinary work. The child is named by the father's sister when it is two or three months old. When a boy is two or three years old he is taken to a holy place and his head is shaved. Their marriage ceremonies do not differ from those of Leva Kanbis. Girls are married before they are eleven. Marriages are not allowed among relations either on the father's or on the mother's side. Widow-marriage is allowed among all classes: divorce is also allowed except that among the Ajváliás and Andhāriás the wife cannot ask for a divorce. In the seventh month of a woman's first pregnancy, the lap-filling ceremony is performed. They burn the dead and the nearest relations of the dead are held to be impure for ten days. *Shráddha* ceremonies are performed from the tenth to the thirteenth day after a death, and on the thirteenth castepeople are feasted. Their headman or *sheth* settles caste disputes. They send their boys to private schools, but take them away at ten to help them in their work. They are not prosperous as the competition of Ghánchis and other Musalmáns reduces their profits.

Kanbis.

Kanbis, including the four divisions of Ánjana, Kadva, Leva, and Matia, with a strength of 1,410,422, form 14·26 per cent of the Hindus of Gujarát. They are most numerous in the level lands between the Sábarmati and the Mahi, and, except in Káthiáváḍa and Kachh where their numbers are small, they are pretty generally spread over the province. The name Kanbi is traced to the Sanskrit *krishmi* a ploughman.[1] They claim to be of Kshatriya stock. According

[1] Doctor J. Wilson. This derivation is doubtful. Pandit Bhagvánlál traces the word to *kutumb* a household. It also seems possible that the word comes from the

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to one story, they are the descendants, and according to another the followers of Lava and Kush, children of Rám and Sita, who were driven out of Ayodhya and settled in Mathura, and, again forced to move, passed through Márwár into Gujarát. Their arrival in Gujarát is supposed to have taken place about two thousand years ago. They seem to have originally settled in the lands between the rivers Sábarmati and Mahi. This is the Kanbis' pleasant land or *charotar*,[1] and to its families the Kanbis both of Ahmedábád and of Broach yield a specially high social position. The reasons given in the Appendix article 'The Gujar' strongly favour the view that the Kanbis are of the race of the great conquering White Huṇa tribe of Gurjjaras or Mihiras, who, during the second half of the sixth century, passed south through the Panjáb and settled in Malwa and in Bombay Gujarát. The earlier settlement to which their local traditions refer seems to be during the first and second century A.D. the southern progress of the great Kushán or Śaka tribe whose most famous leader was Kanaksen or Kanishka the founder of the A.D. 78 era. Like the Kusháns the Mihiras and White Huṇas are frequently referred to as Śakas. Their common Central Asian origin, the similarity of their history in India, the fact that the later horde succeeded to much of the territory of the earlier horde, and probable marriage connections between both chiefs and people explain how the sixth century White Huṇa conquerors adopted as their own the legends and history of their predecessors the Śakas or Kusháns.

Dress.

Town Kanbis differ little from Vániás in appearance dress or manners; village Kanbis are darker and stronger. They live in roomy well-built houses and have a large store of household goods jewels and cattle. The peasant Kanbi is simple, rough-mannered, and carelessly dressed. The men wear the waistcloth waistcoat and turban or loose headscarf. The women wear a petticoat a coarse robe and a bodice. Men as a rule, and women when they go to work, wear shoes. Except the Ánjanás, the Kanbis are careful neither to eat flesh nor to drink liquor. Not only are they as careful as the strictest Bráhmans to abstain from anything that has had life, but all life is respected. Their greatest enemies, deer monkeys birds and insects, are driven away, never killed. A peasant Kanbi rises between five and six, and after eating millet bread with some spice goes to his field with his plough and bullocks. He works in the field till noon when he eats bread brought by his wife. On returning home in the evening he eats rice and pulse. His drink is water. He smokes tobacco, and

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Dravidian *kul* now meaning a labourer but apparently formerly a husbandman, tillage being the chief labour. Their own favourite punning derivation is from the Gujaráti *kan* grain and *bi* seed. Gujarát *Kanbi*, N. W. Provinces *Kurmi*, Dakhan *Kunbi* or *Kulambi*, and South Konkan *Kulvádi* are all descriptive names of the great husbandman class. In the cave inscriptions the name is Sanskritized as *kutumbika* (householder) but the most probable connection seems to be with the Dravidian *kul*. A. M. T. Jackson Esquire, I.C.S.

1 The *charotar* tract comprises the country between the Mahi and the Vátrak rivers, that is the Borsad Ánand Nadiád, Mehmadábád and Mátar sub-divisions of Kaira and the Petlád sub-division of the Gaikwár's territory. *Charotar* is generally derived from *charo* grass-land.

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very few of the Kanbis of north Gujarát take opium. The town Kanbi women spin cotton or silk and mind the house; peasant Kanbi women help the men in the field, spin cotton, and do house-work. Women neither drink liquor nor smoke tobacco. The elder women are fond of snuff and offer the snuffbox as a mark of hospitality.

Occupation.

Though many town Kanbis are skilled weavers of silk and cotton, dealers in cloth and grain, and some have risen to high positions in Government service or made money in trade or as moneylenders, the bulk of the Kanbis are husbandmen. Many are village headmen either *ughrátdárs* that is revenue headmen,[1] or *mukhis* that is police headmen, and enjoy allowances in cash and land. The officiators are chosen from the *matádárs*[2] that is those who have the right to sign village papers. They are very jealous of their rights, which give them a certain position and influence, and which go to show that they are the original *vatandárs* of the village and not mere immigrants. Gujarát Kanbis do not enlist as soldiers. Kanbis especially those of the Kadva and Leva divisions are capital husbandmen. They are learned in the properties of every soil and minutely acquainted with the wants of every crop. They are sober, peaceable, hardworking, hospitable, independent, and thrifty except on marriage and other great social occasions. They are good sons husbands and fathers. Gross vice is uncommon and crime is rare. They are also more intelligent and better educated than other peasants.

Condition.

As a class they are well-to-do, not scrimped for food or for clothes, and able to meet special expenses either from their savings or by borrowing at moderate interest. Like other classes in north Gujarát the Kanbis are fond of hearing stories told by Bháts and Chárans, who besides food are paid in cash or in clothes on marriage occasions. They are also great patrons of Bhaváyás or strolling players to whom they give food and money. Kanbis have genealogists or Vahivanchás who visit their villages at intervals of three to ten years. They stay two to four months in each village bringing their family registers up to date and being entertained by the villagers in turn.

Religion.

As a class Kanbis are very religious. Unlike Vániás and other high classes, the Kanbis belong to many sects, Bijmárgis, Dádupanthis, Kabirpanthis, Mádhavgarnis, Pranámis, Rámánandis, Shaivs, Svámináráyans, and Vallabhácháryas. They worship all Hindu gods and goddesses, and respect Musalmán saints. Though very few keep images in their houses, they often visit the temples of their sects. They are careful to respect Bráhmans and their spiritual leaders and to give grain in charity to the poor of the village and to travellers.

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[1] In some cases the offices of *ughrátdár* and *mukhi* are held by one person. *Mukhi* for police patel is a north Gujarát that is an Ahmedábád and Kaira word. It is not used in Broach or in Surat.

[2] Certain families in each Kanbi village bear the name of *matádárs* because in former times they set their *matu* or signature to a bond rendering themselves answerable for the Government revenue. At present the headman of a Kanbi Narvádári or Bhágdári village is chosen from amongst the *matádárs*. If none of the *matádárs* is fit for the post an outsider is appointed. Some of the *matádárs* without doing any work are entitled to a share of the office perquisites.

To their religious heads or *gurus* they show much reverence, paying them about Re. 1 on occasions of a marriage or of a death, and besides food about Rs. 2¼ on the *kanthi* or rosary ceremony. To their *guru* they also pay a small fee whenever he goes to their town or village. They have much faith in sorcery, witchcraft, and the influence of the evil eye. In sickness or in difficulty they consult a sorcerer generally a Koli or a Vághri, a Bráhman, or a religious beggar Hindu or Musalmán. They believe in omens and signs. On the lucky *Akhátrij* or third day of *Vaishákh sud* (April) they begin to take manure to their fields. On the fourth of the first fortnight of *Bhádarvo* (September) they worship Ganpati in order that his carrier the rat may not destroy their crops. Before sinking a well and before each season's first ploughing the ground is worshipped by making *kanku* or vermilion marks and sprinkling rice over the marks. Before watering the ground for the first time the water in the well is worshipped to increase its nourishing power. Rice and *kanku* are thrown into the water, a lamp fed with clarified butter is laid near the well's mouth, and a cocoa-kernel is offered to the water-god. To guard against too great a rainfall the village headman and other husbandmen go with music to the village reservoir and offer flowers *kanku* and a cocoanut. Of four-footed animals they hold the cow sacred, and of birds the *nilkanth* or jay and the *chás* or kingfisher on Dasara Day (Sept.-Oct.). For three days from the 13th to the 15th of *Bhádarva sud* (Sept.-Oct.), Kanbi women fast and worship a cow and feed her with barley, and on the fourth day they drink cow's milk mixed with a few grains of barley found in the dung. They observe the ordinary Hindu fasts and feasts, and occasionally make pilgrimages locally to Ambáji, Bahucharáji, Dákor, Dwárka, and Unái; and among more distant holy places to Allahábád, Banáras, Badrikedár, Gokul, Jagannáth, Mathura, and Shrináthji.

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Kanbi women go to their father's house to be confined. When a woman's time is come a barber's wife is called and attends the child and its mother every morning generally for ten days. Besides a set of woman's clothes, she is given about Rs. 5 if the child is a boy and about Rs. 2 if the child is a girl. On the birth of a child the family astrologer is asked to note the time, and, in the case of the birth of a son, a barber is sent to give the news to the child's father. The barber takes with him the foot-marks of the child impressed on a piece of paper with redpowder. The relations and friends of the child's father gather on hearing the news. The barber is feasted and paid from Rs. 2 to Rs. 5. The child's father distributes molasses and sugar to his relations and friends. As soon as it is born the child is bathed in warm water and about ten inches of the navel cord is left uncut and tied to a red cotton thread which is wound round the child's neck. For three days the child is fed on a liquid mixture of clarified butter molasses and castor-oil called *golthuthi*, and on the fourth day it is suckled. Cowdung ashes are rubbed on the navel daily for three or four days at the end of which the cord dries and is separated from the navel. On the sixth day the *chhathi* ceremony is performed. In the evening, on a footstool near the mother's bed are laid a piece of paper, an inkstand, a reed-pen,

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red rice, flowers, a rupee, a few copper pice, a lamp fed with clarified butter, some molasses, some cocoa-kernel, and a piece of the waistcloth of a man whose children are all alive. These things are taken away in the morning. The silver and copper coins are melted along with other similar coins and made into an anklet or wristlet for the child, and the piece of the waistcloth is made into a *jabhla* or small coat. On the morning of the tenth day the woman bathes, but continues impure for twenty-five days more in the case of a son and for thirty days in the case of a daughter. On the morning of the thirty-fifth or fortieth day she bathes, worships the sun the well and the door-post, and is pure. Four or five months after the birth the woman is sent to her husband's house. The woman's father, besides making presents of cash ornaments and clothes to the child and its mother, gives the child a cradle, a small mattress, and pillows. Except that the name is fixed by the family astrologer, no naming ceremony is performed. The child is named on the sixth or twelfth day or on a lucky day in the first second or third month. Four boys in the case of a boy, or four girls in the case of a girl, rock the child in a piece of cloth and the father's sister names the child. The father's sister receives a robe or *sádi*, a piece of silk for a bodice, and from Re. 1 to Rs. 2 in cash.

Instead of the Bráhmanic thread Kanbis wear a rosary of beads made of the stem of the basil plant. Some time when they are between seven and eleven years old both boys and girls are taken to the religious head or *guru* who binds the rosary round the neck of the novice. Besides a day's food the *guru* receives about Rs. 2 as the initiation-fee. The offer of marriage comes from the girl's father. If the boy's father accepts the offer the girl's father's family-priest accompanied by a barber goes to the boy's house, where, in the presence of the assembled guests, the boy worships a Ganpati painted in red on a low wooden stool. The boy's brow is marked with redpowder, and he is given a turban a cocoanut and a rupee. Opium water *kasumba* is handed to the male guests, and sweetmeats dry dates and betelnuts to the female guests. Cash presents are made to the priest and the barber, and a dinner is given to the family. Betrothals may be broken at any time before marriage. If the betrothal is broken by the boy's father the girl's father gets back the amount he has paid, but if the girl's father breaks off the engagement none of the betrothal money is returned. As a rule, the amount to be paid to the bridegroom is settled at the time of betrothal. The amount varies according as the parties are of family *kulia* or of no-family *akulia*. A bridegroom of high family gets a dowry of from Rs. 1000 to Rs. 2000, while a no-family bridegroom has to pay from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1000 to the bride. Landlords or *pátidárs* marry their daughters before they are eleven, and the ordinary peasant Kanbis between eleven and sixteen. As Kanbis of good family never marry their daughters to families of low social position, they find it difficult to get husbands for their girls, and in some cases the bride is older than the bridegroom.

Marriage.

The marriage-day is fixed by the Bráhman astrologer. About a week before the marriage-day, at the houses both of the bride and the

bridegroom, five women whose husbands are alive pound with a wooden pestle husked rice placed in a wooden mortar. Five or six days before the marriage the father of the bride sends a roll of paper or *laganpatri* with the family-priest. The names of the bride and bridegroom and the time for the marriage in hours and minutes are written on the roll. The priest takes the roll to the bridegroom's house and presents the roll along with a rupee to the bridegroom's mother. The priest is feasted and is given a cash present. Three or four days before the marriage the parents of the bride and bridegroom, each in their own house, worship a Ganpati painted on the house-wall. Two days before the marriage-day, the parents, each at their own house, perform the *grahashánti* or planet-pleasing ceremony. The bride and bridegroom, each at their homes, are then rubbed every morning and evening with a mixture of turmeric-powder, parched *adad* Phaseolus mungo flour, and camphor, and are given sweetmeats by friends and relations. The rubbing of the mixture is repeated daily till the marriage-day and women-relations sing songs in the mornings and evenings for a week or till the marriage is over. On the marriage-day the brother of the bridegroom's mother gives him presents in cash and in clothes, and the brother of the bride's mother gives the bride presents in ornaments and clothes. Marriage preparations then begin. At the house of the bride a square or *chori* of four posts of *shami* Prosopis spicigera wood is raised with either five or seven coloured earthen pots piled conewise at each post. At the house of the bridegroom the relations and friends of the bridegroom gather and take their meals. The bridegroom bathes and puts on ornaments and rich clothes. A *kanku* mark is made on his forehead and right cheek, lampblack is applied to his eyes, a lampblack mark is made on his left cheek, and rice, seven betelnuts, two or three betel-leaves, a rupee, and a cocoanut are put in the hollow of his two joined hands. Four women whose first husbands are alive by turns touch the bridegroom's nose with four millet stalks dipped in wet *kanku*, which are thrown to each of the four quarters of heaven. The bridegroom's sister waves over his head a copper pot containing seven particles of salt seven betelnuts and a rupee. The pot is wrapped in a handkerchief and is held in the sister's right hand, who, after waving it round her brother's head, passes it over her right shoulder. The bridegroom then sits on a horse or in a carriage. The procession sets out from the bridegroom's house with music, the men ahead, the bridegroom in the middle, and, except among *Pátidárs*, the women behind singing songs.[1] The bridegroom's mother, with a hood of palm-leaves, keeps in her hand a lamp fed with clarified butter. The procession stops at the outskirts of the bride's village. The bridegroom and his elderly relations sit on a carpet, while the young relations drive in bullock-carts to the bride's house, the swifter the bullocks the larger share of grain and spices they get. The bride's relations, both men and women, with a barber and with music, go out to receive the bridegroom and his party. The men of the two parties greet each other with the words *Rám-Rám* and an embrace. The barber

[1] Among *Pátidárs* no women, even the mother of the bridegroom, attend a boy's wedding.

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gives molasses and water to the bridegroom and his party to drink, and is paid a rupee by the bridegroom's father. The bridegroom and his party are conducted with music to a house which is set apart for them, and the bride's relations return to the bride's house. About an hour later three or four female relations of the bride, among them her sister or her brother's wife, go with music to the bridegroom's lodging. They take *siro* or wheat-flour mixed with clarified butter and sugar and give five pinches of it to the bridegroom to eat. The bridegroom eats the *siro* and gives about Rs. 3 to the bride's sister or brother's wife. About eight or ten in the evening of the marriage-day, the bridegroom and his relations go with music to the bride's house. At the entrance the bridegroom is received by the bride's mother who shows him a miniature plough, arrow, pestle, and churnstaff. He is led to the marriage-booth where he sits on a wooden stool, and, with the help of the family-priests of the bride and bridegroom, worships Ganpati. After the worship the bride, dressed in ornaments and clothes presented to her by her mother's brother, is brought in and set by her mother's brother on a stool opposite the bridegroom. The parents of the bride then worship Ganpati and the great toe of the bridegroom's right foot. Wreaths of red thread are thrown round the necks of the bride and the bridegroom. Their hands are joined and over their hands a piece of cloth is thrown. The hems of their clothes are tied together and their feet are washed with water. In the central square or *chori* a fire is lighted, and clarified butter barley and sesame are offered to it. With their hands one upon another the couple walk together four times round the fire. The bride and bridegroom then feed each other with coarse wheat-flour mixed with clarified butter and molasses served by the bride's mother. After he has finished eating, the bridegroom catches his mother-in-law's robe and does not loosen his hold till he has received a handsome present. The bridegroom in his turn pays about Rs. 3 to the bride's younger brother or sister. The bride and the bridegroom worship Ganpati and the ceremony is over. The bridegroom and his relations then go to their lodging. On the second day the opium-serving ceremony takes place. The bride's male relations go with music to the bridegroom's house where *kasumba* or opium-water is served. *Kesar* or saffron water is served to those who object to opium water. The bride's relations then return to their house and the bridegroom and his relations go to the bride's house to receive presents, the value of which depends on the wealth and social position of the giver. The bride's father then makes presents in cash or in clothes to Bráhmans, his family barber, his Máli or gardener, and his Kumbhár or potter. The family-priest of the bride then dips his hand in wet *kanku* and applies it to the coats of the bridegroom's male relations. The bride and bridegroom then worship the marriage-booth and go in carriages with music to the bridegroom's house with his relations. Before they start the bride's mother worships the spokes of the carriage-wheel and gives a cocoanut to be crushed by the wheels. For two days the bridegroom's relations are feasted by the bride's father and on the third day they go to their village with the bride and the bridegroom. After entering the house the bride and bridegroom worship Ganpati and as among Vániás play a game of chance.

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Except the *Pátidárs* Kanbis allow widow-marriage. Polygamy is common. Cases of Kanbis with three or four wives alive one of whom is divorced are not uncommon. If a husband divorces his wife, no money is paid, but if the wife claims a divorce she has to pay her husband money enough to meet the cost of his second marriage. Divorces are asked and granted if the husband and wife do not agree. The children are either kept by the father or taken by the mother. As a rule grown children stay with the father.

Pregnancy.

During the seventh month of a woman's first pregnancy, on a day fixed by the astrologer, the lap-filling or *kholo-bharni* takes place. A woman who has all her children alive lays in the pregnant woman's lap 5¼ or 10½ lbs. of clean rice. The pregnant woman empties the rice from her lap into a winnowing-fan, and from the winnowing-fan the rice is again passed to the pregnant woman's lap. After this has been repeated seven times, the rice is put in a new earthen jar. Seven balls made of the dung of a goat and a mouse, seven bundles of cotton-thread, seven figs of the banian tree, seven betelnuts, and seven copper coins, and a rupee and a quarter worth of silver coins, are put along with the rice in the jar. A red cotton thread is wound round the jar's mouth and in the mouth a cocoanut is placed. The pregnant woman with the help of the family-priest worships the cocoanut and the jar. After the worship is over, besides small cash presents, the priest receives the seven copper coins from the jar. The jar and its other contents are put aside and are carefully preserved. The pregnant woman receives presents in clothes from her father, and on the wrist of her right arm a silver armlet called a *rákhdi* or guard with a golden bead is tied by her husband's sister. The woman continues to wear the silver armlet till her delivery after which it is returned to the husband's sister with an additional cash present if the child is a boy. The ceremony ends with a dinner to friends and relations. In the course of the eighth month the woman goes to her father's house to be confined.

Death.

When a Kanbi is on the point of death the family-priest, who is generally an Audich Bráhman, and other Bráhmans of the village are called, and a lamp fed with clarified butter is placed near his bed. The dying person worships Vishnu, and gives, besides presents in cash and clothes, a cow or the value of a cow in cash to the priest. To each of the other Bráhmans, besides presents of cash, the dying man makes gifts of wheat, husked rice, pulse, salt, and rusty nails and shovels. If well off he sets apart sums of money to be spent after his death on works of public charity, sinking wells, making halting places on the roadside, and supplying water to thirsty travellers. Friends and relations come to visit the dying man, and, as the end draws near, they utter the name of Rám near his ear. One of the female relations sweeps the floor of the entrance room and cowdungs a portion of it of the length and breadth of a man. The cowdunged space is strewn with sesame and barley seeds, *tulsi* leaves, and *darbha* grass. The head of the dying man is shaved, he is bathed with hot water, and his brow is marked with *gopichandan* or milkmaid's earth, and the body is laid on its back with the head towards the north on the freshly cowdunged floor. Ganges water and some gold silver and coral, a

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pearl, a piece of crystal, and a basil leaf are placed in the mouth. A ball of unbaked millet-flour and a rupee are given to a Bráhman. When life is gone the nearest relations raise the life-cry or *prán-pok*, a call to bring back the spirit. Castepeople[1] go to the house of death, the men to bear the body to the burning-ground, the women to mourn. Two or three of the mourners bring from the market two bamboo poles, several short lengths of bamboo, coir string, and a piece of red silk if the deceased is a married woman and of white cotton cloth if the deceased is either a man or a widow. The poles and pieces of bamboo and the coir strings are made into a ladder-shaped bier and from each corner a cocoanut is hung. The corpse is laid on the bier and tied to it by the coir strings. The body is covered with the white or red cloth, and over the cloth redpowder and flowers are strewn. The bier is raised on the shoulders of four of the nearest relations and is borne forth feet first preceded by one of the nearest relations carrying an earthen or copper vessel with fire and cakes of cowdung. The relations and caste-fellows follow calling the words *Rám bolo bhái Rám* Call Rám, brothers, call Rám, with music if the deceased is old and wealthy or if he has left a large family. The female mourners follow the body for some distance weeping. Then they stop, beat their breasts, return to the house, and bathe either in well water or in a river. Midway between the house and the burning-ground the male mourners halt and set down the bier. The nearest relations cease to weep and the bier is borne head foremost to the burning-ground. When the burning-ground is reached the bearers lay the corpse almost uncovered with the head to the north on a pile of a man's length of wood and cowdung cakes. A little butter is dropped into the dead mouth and the chief mourner, generally the eldest son of the deceased, puts some fire near the face and the other mourners set the pyre ablaze. Two or three of the older men stay near the body while it is being burnt keeping the pile in order; others sit afar talking and making merry if the deceased was old and with a certain sadness and regret if the deceased was young. When the body is almost consumed, a little clarified butter is poured on the flames. The mourners bathe and return weeping to the house of the deceased and then to their homes. Letters telling friends and relations in distant villages are sent either by post or by carrier. On the second or third day the chief mourner and two or three of the nearest relations go to the burning-ground. The ashes and bones are gathered and are thrown into a river or a pond, and an earthen jar filled with water is set where the body was burned. The mourners bathe and with wet clothes return home weeping. They take with them a few of the bones and keep them in the house till some member of the family goes on a pilgrimage and throws them into the sacred Narbada or Ganges. After the mourners return from the burning-ground an earthen pot is filled with water and milk and placed on the roof of the house. The nearest relations remain impure for ten days during which they touch no one, do not approach the house gods, do not visit the temples, do not change their clothes, and do not shave. On the tenth day men

[1] The Kanbi funeral procession is large as by caste rules the attendance of one man from each house is enforced on pain of fine.

shave the head and moustache; girls and married women wash their hair with clay or with soapnut, the floors are cowdunged, and all earthen drinking pots which have been touched during the ten days are replaced by new ones. The mind-rite or *shráddha* ceremony is performed by the chief mourner from the tenth to the thirteenth day, on the eleventh with the help of a Káyatia Bráhman, and on the other three days with the help of the family-priest. During the four days of the *shráddha* ceremony the chief mourner instead of a turban wears a linen cloth wound round his head. On the thirteenth day his father-in-law presents him with a new turban and the linen cloth is removed. On the thirteenth day the family-priest is given, besides a few ornaments and a complete set of clothes a sleeping cot, some pillows, and some brass or copper vessels. Friends and relations are feasted from the tenth to the thirteenth day and the castepeople on the twelfth and on the thirteenth. If the deceased was a wealthy man presents in grain, in clothes, and in cash are given to Bráhmans, to religious beggars, and to the poor. During the first year, as among other Hindus, monthly half-yearly and yearly mind-rites or *shráddha* are performed, and a yearly *shráddha* in all subsequent years and an additional *shráddha* during the latter half of *Bhádarvo* (Sept.-Oct.). Landlords or *Pátidárs* and headmen of villages call all the villagers to dinner on marriage and death feasts. This custom has ruined many families.

Community.

Except *Pátidárs*, each community has its headman or *patel*. Social disputes are settled at a general meeting of the castepeople of the town or village. The Kanbis send their boys to vernacular schools, and a few boys are taught English up to the matriculation standard.

Subdivisions.

Of the four subdivisions of Gujarát Kanbis, Levás and Kadvás eat together but do not intermarry. Levás and Kadvás do not associate with Matiás or A'njanás, and these neither dine together nor intermarry. Except a few Kanbis who pride themselves on their high social rank all permit widow-marriage.

A'njana Kanbis.

A'njana Kanbis, with a strength of 31,488, are found chiefly in north Gujarát. Like Rajputs some of their names end in *sing*, such as Rájsing, Umsing, Dánsing, Harising. There are among them twenty-three clans who eat together and intermarry. These clans are Behera, Bholávat, Bhutádi, Chohán, Gosia, Jádav, Jarmál, Jua, Judál, Kaner, Khator, Ladhrod, Laho, Mádhia, Pántrashi, Parmár, Ráhátar, Rangávat, Ráthod, Solañki, Uchália, Uplána, and Vágda. A'njanás are more like Rajputs than Kanbis. They speak Gujaráti. They live in small houses with mud or brick walls. Besides field tools their houses have a few earthen copper and brass pots. Unlike other Kanbis, besides ordinary grains A'njánás eat the flesh of sheep and goats and of the wild boar and hare. They use opium and drink liquor. Except that the men wear Rajput-like turbans, white for every-day and red for marriage occasions, the dress both of men and women does not differ from that of Leva Kanbis. The hair of the men's heads is cut at the temples and at the back, and most of them wear flowing whiskers divided by a narrow parting down the chin. They are cultivators, overholders if well off, and half-crop sharers or tenants if poor. Their wives and children help in the field work. Those

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A'njana Kanbis.

who do not themselves work in the fields affect Rajput dress and manners, and do not let their women appear in public. As regards skill and industry they hold a middle place, better than Rajputs but neither so thrifty nor so hardworking as other Kanbis. In the disturbed times before British rule the A'njanás were martial in their bearing and as ready as Rajputs to use force in defending their cattle and crops. Since then they have settled to quiet and orderly ways. In religion they are Rámánujas, Shaivs, and Sváminaráyans. They respect Hindu gods and observe the ordinary fasts and feasts. Some of them worship in their houses the image of Shiva Rám and Krishna. They have faith in sorcery and witchcraft and in ordinary omens. They occasionally make pilgrimages to Dákor, Dwárka, Sidhpur, and Banáras. Their priests are Audich, Meváda, Modh, Sáthodra, and Visanagara Bráhmans. Their customs at birth, sixth-day, marriage, pregnancy, and death do not differ from those of Leva Kanbis. Girls are married when they are one to eleven years old. Widow-marriage and divorce are allowed. They have their headman, who, in consultation with a few elderly or respectable castemen, decides divorce cases and settles other caste disputes. Few of them send their boys to school.

Da'ngi Kanbis.

Da'ngi or Hill Kanbis of whom no separate details are given in the census reports are found in Mahi Kántha. Originally A'njanás, with whom they dine but do not intermarry, they are said to have lost their position by adopting the dress and language of Bhils. Many of them live in Meywár and have marriage and other relations with the Mahi Kántha Dángis.

Kadva Kanbis.

Kadva Kanbis, numbering 400,295, are distributed over all the five districts of Gujarát, and are found chiefly in Ahmedábád and in Kadi of Baroda. They are closely connected with the Levás, with whom they dine but do not intermarry. According to one story the Kadvás are descendants or followers of Kush the second son of Rám and Sita; according to another they are sprung from clay figures fashioned by Uma or Párvati the wife of Shiva. Shiva at Uma's request inspired the figures with life and founded for them the village of Unja about forty miles north of Ahmedábád, where a temple was raised in Uma's honour. This village and temple all Kadva Kanbis consider the chief seat of their tribe, and to it they resort from long distances to pay their vows. Except in Surat, there are no subdivisions among Kadva Kanbis. In Surat there are three subdivisions, one calling themselves Lálchudáválás from their women wearing red bracelets, the other Káláchudáva'lás from their women wearing black bracelets, and the third Ahmedábádis from Ahmedábád. These three divisions eat together but for the last fifteen years have ceased to intermarry. In south Gujarát the Kadva Kanbis of Patan and Ahmedábád are known as *kulia* or men of family, and the rest as *akulia* or men of no family. Men of family eat with men of no family, but do not give them their daughters in marriage. Except that in north Gujarát some Kadvás wear beards, flowing whiskers divided by a narrow parting down the chin, and a lock of hair over each ear, Kadvás in their appearance, dress, food, character, religion, and general mode of life do not differ from Levás. Unlike the Levás, the Kadvás are divided into two chief classes, artisans and peasants. The town Kadvás

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Kadva Kanbis.

are weavers both of cotton and silk, dyers, and printers. In Surat a few families make vermilion and other preparations of mercury.

The *chhathi* or sixth-day, name-giving, pregnancy, and death ceremonies do not differ from those observed by Leva Kanbis. Connected with their temple at Unja and their patron-goddess Uma a curious marriage custom prevails among Kadva Kanbis. Once in every nine ten or eleven years certain Bráhman priests and astrologers with the two headmen of Unja go together to worship Uma in her temple. Their object is to find out the propitious season for holding marriages. After worship lots are drawn, and, according as the lot falls, the year on which the lot falls or the year following is declared the proper time. When the year is known, the astrologers name a special day. The day always comes in *Vaisákh* (April-May).[1] For the sake of those prevented from sickness or other cause, a second day is chosen about a fortnight later than the first. As soon as these days are fixed, Bráhmans start to spread the news on every side. Wherever they go they are received with honour and rejoicing. At Ahmedábád they are met outside of the city in the Asarva suburb. The whole Kadva community comes to Dáda Hari's well, and after worshipping Ganpati and Umáji, the headman of Asarva reads out the names of the lucky days. After these days are over, another period of nine ten or eleven years passes before regular marriages can again take place. Children about a month old and sometimes unborn children are married.[2] As a rule every family succeeds in providing all its unmarried members with suitable matches. But this is not always possible. It happens now and again that no suitable husband can be found for the daughter of a house, and, as before the next regular marriage-day she will have reached a marriageable age, some special arrangement is required. To meet this difficulty two practices have been introduced. According to one of these, on the propitious day the girl is married to a bunch of flowers. The flowers are thrown into a well or a river, the parents of the bride bathe, and the girl, now a widow, can at any time be married according to the simple *nátra* or second-marriage form. The other practice is, on the propitious day, to induce some married man for a small money present to go through the ceremony of marriage with the girl and to divorce her as soon as the ceremony is over. The girl can then at any time be married according to the simple *natra* or second-marriage form. As all are busy marrying or giving in marriage on the wedding-day, friends of other castes are asked to go with the bride if the marriage is to take place in another village. When the bride is of age, the bridegroom goes to her house with a party of his friends and relations. Caste-dinners are given, and this, rather than the day of the ceremony, has the character of a marriage day. In April 1871 the provisions of the Infanticide Act (VIII. of 1870) were applied to the Kadva Kanbis, but on further inquiry

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1 During the past forty years marriages took place in *Vaisákh* in the following years: S. 1916 (A.D. 1860), S. 1927 (A.D. 1871), S. 1936 (A.D. 1880), S. 1946 (A.D. 1890).

2 It is said that among Kadva Kanbis unborn children are sometimes given in marriage. In such cases the pregnant women walk together round the altar or *chori* in the marriage booth on the understanding that if their children are a boy and a girl the couple will marry.

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they were freed from special surveillance. Except among a few Kadvás, who are men of family, widows are allowed to marry; but they do not marry their husband's elder brother. The husband can divorce his wife with the permission of the caste; but in north Gujarát the wife cannot divorce her husband without his consent or after she has become a mother. Certain families of specially good birth who are treated by the rest with respect and who hold the position of *shethiás* or leaders manage the affairs of the caste. The title of *shethia* is much coveted by such of the ordinary Kanbis as raise themselves to positions of wealth. But it is properly an hereditary distinction and the caste is very chary of granting the honour to a new family.

Leva Kanbis.

Leva Kanbis who are the largest division, numbering 568,185, are found all over the five districts and chiefly in the Kaira sub-divisions of Ánand, Naḍiád, and Borsad. Socially they are divided into two classes *Pátidárs* or shareholders and Kanbis or husbandmen. This distinction is sufficiently marked to form an obstacle to intermarriage. Among shareholders or *Pátidárs* the landowners of some villages, chiefly villages that are sharehold or *narva*[1] not tenant-held or *seja*, are known as *kulia* or men of family. The rest are *akulia* or of no family. *Pátidárs* will eat with husbandmen, and, though they will not give a daughter in marriage, will take a daughter for their son if she has a good dowry. In landlord families servants draw water and perform menial household duties. The women do not appear abroad, and, if they lose their husbands, are not allowed to re-marry.

Before the introduction of British rule the village-sharers acted as farmers of revenue and as middlemen between Government and the husbandmen and in most cases were found to have exacted the most ingenious and crushing taxes.[2] Though, under the survey settlement, they have lost this uncontrolled power of exaction they have still much influence and are admitted to have a higher social position than the

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1 As a rule landlords in *narva* or sharehold villages are *kulia*, and in *seja* or tenant-held villages are *akulia*. Government Selection CXLVII. 35.

2 The following perquisites were levied by *Pátidárs* before and for some years after the introduction of British rule. The *dalál* or broker supplied at one-eighth less than the market rate as much raw sugar *gol* as was required at a caste-dinner. The grocer or *gandhi* supplied at the same rate on ordinary occasions sugar *sákar* or *khánd*, betelnut *supári* or *haldhar*, and *ghi* clarified butter. The *dosivánia* or draper was paid an eighth less than the market rate for cloth. The *sutara* or thread-seller sent 1½ *mans* (sixty pounds) of cotton-thread without payment and was paid short of the market price for the *dhotis* or waistcloths bought from him. The *nesti* or grainseller was paid a sixteenth less than the market price for grain and was required to weigh corn at the *Pátidár's* house without payment. The *saria* or perfume and oil seller supplied opium at cost price. The *kansára* or brazier exchanged new for old pots of copper brass and zinc without receiving any return and repaired the broken ones. The goldsmith or *soni* made ornaments either in his shop or at the landlord's without payment. The *choksi* or assayer was paid a thirty-second less than the market price for gold or silver. The *nánávati* or coin-changer gave change at cost price and took back false coins at his own loss. The blacksmith or *lohár* had to make tools without payment. The *kumbhár* or potter had to supply earthen pots free. The ricepounder or *golo* had to husk rice and carry grain. The bricklayer or *dalvadi* had to supply a thousand bricks. The tailor and shoemaker had to work for two pounds of grain a day, and similarly the limemaker calenderer indigo-dyer oilseller washerman carpenter and many others, both resident villagers and visitors, had to work either without payment or at a nominal wage.

common husbandmen. Except a few Government servants, silk-cleaners and weavers, almost all Leva Kanbis depend on agriculture.[1]

Leva Kanbis.

For many years after the introduction of British rule, in spite of their skill and their steady work, their extravagance at marriages kept the Kanbis in a state of depression. The competition to marry their daughters into the higher families was keen and great sums were paid to secure the honour.[2] In A.D. 1848 to put a stop to this evil, Mr. Fawcett, the Magistrate of Ahmedábád, induced the chief men of the Kanbi caste to pass an agreement reducing marriage expenses and promising not to seek husbands for their daughters among the Kaira families. These agreements were enforced, till, in A.D. 1852, the Judge of Ahmedábád decided that they were not legally binding. The restriction was accordingly discontinued, and, for nearly twenty years, no further attempt was made to interfere with the Kanbi marriage customs. In A.D. 1871 information collected in connection with a measure for the suppression of infanticide (Act VIII. of 1870), showed among the Kanbis a startling excess in the number of males over females. Inquiries were made and the result seemed so suspicious that in April 1871 the provisions of the Infanticide Act were applied both to the Leva and Kadva Kanbis. The result of more complete information has been to show that the fears of Government were excessive. The Kadva Kanbis were declared wholly exempt from the provisions of the Act, and, in the case of the Leva Kanbis, the restrictions were reduced to a simple registration of births and deaths. One satisfactory result of the inquiry was to show that, in A.D. 1853, after compulsory agreement ceased, the Kanbis had among themselves adopted practices to prevent a return to former extravagance. Under one of these arrangements, the members of certain villages entered into a solemn agreement or *ekada* drawn up on stamped paper and signed by the headmen of the village, promising to marry only among persons in their own social position, and, among themselves, to give or take in marriage without claiming dowry. Another practice of exchange or double marriages between the same families has also become general.[3] With these safeguards there seems reason to hope that the Kanbis will not again fall into the practice of spending extravagant sums on their marriages.

Matia Kanbis.

Matia Kanbis with a total strength of 4736 are found only in the Jalálpur and Bárdoli sub-divisions of Surat. That they were originally Leva Kanbis of Kaira and Ahmedábád is proved by the traces of relationship still subsisting between Leva and Matia Kanbis, and by the surnames of Kothia and Bavalia from the villages of Koth and Bavla in Dhanduka. About 300 years ago a company of Leva Kanbis on their way to Banáras are said to have passed a night at the village of Garmatha about ten miles south-west of Ahmedábád. Imám Sháh,

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[1] Many are cultivators, some are rich landed proprietors who do not cultivate, a few are silk-cleaners and weavers, and a few are in Government service, some in high positions.

[2] Forty years ago (A.D. 1855) in villages near Broach communities mustering hundreds of souls had not half a dozen females. Bombay Gazetteer, II. 373.

[3] In A.D. 1872, out of 4290 marriages, 3977 were arranged by an interchange of children. Bombay Gazetteer, III. 31.

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Matia Kanbis.

a Musalmán recluse, was at that time living in Garmatha. According to one story, Imám Sháh spoke to the pilgrims, and learning that they were going to Banáras told them that if they would carefully listen to his doctrines they would visit Banáras without the trouble of going there. Some of the pilgrims paid no attention to what Imám Sháh said and went to Banáras. Others who trusted in Imám Sháh saw Banáras, bathed in the Ganges, and feasted the Bráhmans all without leaving Garmatha. Astonished with this miracle they adopted Imám Sháh as their spiritual head. According to another account they were saved from becoming Musalmáns by becoming the followers of Imám Sháh. The word Matia is derived from *mat* or opinion. Till lately there were no divisions among Matiás; but, during A.D. 1880, from 150 to 175 families formed themselves into a separate caste, calling themselves Vaishnav Matiás as distinguished from the original Pirána Matiás. This division is due to the preaching of an ascetic Nirmaldás of Surat, who told the Matiás of their Leva Kanbi origin. Some of his hearers, looking with hatred on their half-Hindu half-Musalmán customs, started on pilgrimage to Banáras and were put out of caste. The seceding or Vaishnav Matiás have joined the Rámánandi and Dádupanthi sects. They worship the images of Narsingji, Thákorji, and sometimes the *liṅg* of Mahádev. They observe the ordinary Hindu fasts and go on pilgrimage to Allahábád, Banáras, Jagannáth, and Mathura. The Vaishnav Matiás and Pirána Matiás do not eat together. Since the split no old betrothals have been broken and no new betrothals have been made. The Vaishnav Matiás have abandoned all Musalmán customs and in all respects live like Leva Kanbis. But Leva Kanbis do not dine with them and they do not intermarry.

In their appearance speech dress and houses Pirána Matiás do not differ from Leva Kanbis. Like Leva and Kadva Kanbis they are strict vegetarians, eating neither fish nor flesh and drinking no spirits. Caste rules forbid the use of assafœtida garlic onions and narcotics, and those who break the rules have to be purified before they are let back into caste. They are skilful and prosperous husbandmen. They follow the Atharva or fourth *Ved* and call themselves *Satpanthis* Followers of truth. They worship the tombs of the Musalmán saints whose mausoleums are at Pirána, Ahmedábád, Navsári, and Burhánpur. Their sacred book is the collection of religious precepts called *Shiksha Patri* made by Imám Sháh, the saint of Pirána. Some of them learn the book by heart and gain the name of *káka* or devotee. The *kákás* are laymen and like the rest of the Matiás maintain themselves by tilling the soil. One special family of *kákás* officiates at some of their ceremonies and are the agents through whose hands all presents pass to the saintly descendants of Imám Sháh at Ahmedábád Navsári and Burhánpur. The Matiás include three religious divisions *Pánchiás* or followers of Surabhái's mausoleum, the third of the five Pirána shrines, so called from the five devotees who at first managed the institution; *Sátiás,* from the seven original managing devotees, are the followers of Baba Muhammad's mausoleum, the fourth of the Pirána shrines; and *A'thiás*, from the eight devotees who managed the institution, are the followers of Bákar Ali's mausoleum,

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Matia Kanbis.

the fifth Pirána shrine. Except in being called after different saints these divisions do not differ in belief or in practice. Sin-removing or *láhe-utárni* is their chief ceremony. A woman after child-birth or monthly sickness, a cow or a buffalo after calving, a person who has accidentally defiled himself by the sight of a woman in child-bed, and all those who have broken caste rules by using forbidden articles of food, are made to pass through the sin-removing ceremony. At the house where the purifying ceremony is to be performed various dishes of sweetmeats are prepared. The village *káka* is called and comes accompanied by an assistant called *khal káka*. The *káka* brings with him four copper coins, an earthenware cup, and frankincense. He also brings with him in a small portable tin or brass box, pea-shaped balls made of white chalk or rice-flour mixed with milk or sandal-dust brought from the tomb of one of the saints. On entering the house the *káka* goes into the kitchen, lights a lamp fed with clarified butter, and mutters a text. While his chief is saying a prayer the *khal káka* calls for a brass plate, and in the plate piles from five to eight heaps of cooked rice according as the host is a Pánchia, a Sátia, or an Áthia Matia. After the *kalmo* or prayer is over the *káka* sits bowing on a waistcloth spread on the ground. He then burns frankincense and murmurs a second prayer. After the second prayer he spills a circle of wheat grains in a brass plate, and, inside the circle, sets four coins and on the coins a cup. Into the cup he pours a mixture called *núr* or light made of sugared-water milk and white chalk or rice from the saint's tomb. When this is ready the *khal káka* brings the brass plate with the heaps of rice and over each heap the *káka* sprinkles the mixture from the earthenware cup repeating a text at each sprinkling. The text for each sprinkling is different, but each ends in *Lá-iláha-illaláh, Muhammad-ar-Rasúl-alláh* or *Imám Sháh-Nur-Ali Muhammad Sháh*. The brass plate with the heaps of cooked rice is then put aside and the person to be purified is called in. The man or woman to be purified stands near the *káka* and bows to him, and after being sprinkled with the mixture from the earthenware cup, sits down. He or she then presents a silver or copper coin to the *káka* who washes it with water, and gives the water along with the mixture from the cup to the man or the woman to drink. The heaps of rice in the brass plate are mixed by the *khal káka* with the rest of the cooked articles, and distributed among the guests. The purifying fee is 8 annas for a woman after childbirth and for a buffalo after she has calved, 4 annas for a cow after she has calved, and ¼ anna for those who have broken caste rules. These fees are sent by the *káka* to the saint's tomb at Ahmedábád, Navsári, or Burhánpur. Besides these presents every Matia cultivator sends once a year to the saints through the *káka* three and a half *mans* (140 pounds) of husked rice and one rupee for each of his ploughs.

Matiás hold the second day of every Hindu lunar month sacred, and when the second falls on a Friday they fast for the whole day and do not eat until they have seen the moon. They keep the Ramzán fast, some of them eating no solid food during the whole month. Their other Musalmán holidays are the *Uras* or Saint's Day and the two preceding Sandal Days. On these days they do no work, and spend their time in feasting or in visiting the shrines of their saints in Navsári. Besides these

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Musalmán holidays they observe as days of feasting *Holi* February-March, *Akhátrij* April-May, *Diváso* June-July, *Balev* July-August, and *Diváli* October-November. Their chief places of pilgrimage are Navsári, Pirána, Burhánpur, and Vemál, seven miles from Miágam in Broach, which they visit on great days or whenever they have leisure. The *káka* accompanies the pilgrims to these places. At Pirána Navsári and Vemál the pilgrims visit only the saints' tombs. But at Burhánpur the pilgrims worship the great toe of their living saint. The spiritual guide sets his foot on a heap of not less than a hundred rupees contributed by one or two pilgrims. After it has been set on the heap of rupees the leader's foot is washed, rubbed with a fragrant substance, and the great right toe is kissed by each pilgrim in turn. The *káka* who accompanies the pilgrims receives from the spiritual head presents in clothes and ornaments both for himself and his wife.

As a rule a Matia woman gives birth to her first child at her father's house. On the birth of a first child, if it is a boy, its footprints are marked with wet *kanku* on paper and the paper is carried by a barber to the father who gives him a present of about Rs. 2. On the sixth day the goddess Chhathi is worshipped. On the twelfth day the woman worships the threshold, the doorpost, and the nearest well in the street by rubbing on them sandal-dust and *kanku*. Near the well she ties two cowdung cakes together by a cotton thread. The children of the street are given boiled wheat and *juvar* mixed with molasses. For forty days the woman is held impure and cannot touch anything in the house. She never leaves the house if she can help it, and if she is forced to go out she carries with her a sickle or a knife to ward off evil spirits. On some day between the thirty-fifth and the fortieth the woman bathes and the floor of the lying-in room is scraped. The woman is then purified by the sin-removing *láhe-utárni* ceremony. After this the child is named by a Bráhman astrologer. When the child is two or three months old the woman goes to her husband's house. No ceremonies are performed when a child is first fed with cooked food. Their marriage ceremonies do not differ from those of the Leva Kanbis. The family-priest who is an Audich or a Modh Bráhman officiates at these ceremonies. Marriages are forbidden within seven degrees of relationship either on the father's or on the mother's side. Girls are sometimes married when they are six months old, but generally between five and eight, and boys between eight and twenty. Widows are allowed to marry, the widow of a man marrying his younger brother. Divorce is lawful. A bachelor cannot marry a divorced woman or a widow, but this difficulty is got over by marrying him first to a *shami* Prosopis spicigera tree. A widow who marries again wears an ivory bracelet plated with gold. The lap-filling ceremony is performed during the fifth or seventh month of a woman's first pregnancy. But, unlike the practice of other Hindus, on this occasion no caste dinners are held and no presents are made. The Matiás bury the dead. A dying person is bathed and laid on the ground, the *káka* standing near and reading texts. When life is gone the body of the deceased, if a man, is dressed in cotton trousers a shirt and a cap, and if a woman in a silk robe a bodice and a petticoat. It is laid in a Musalmán bier and carried to the burial-ground which is generally

on the bank of a stream. The bearers do not take off any of their clothes or their shoes. On reaching the burial-ground the bearers, without removing any of the clothes, lay the body in a pit and fill the pit with earth. After the body is buried the mourners purify themselves by each holding a piece of frankincense in his hand and muttering two half-Hindu half-Musalmán prayers. The first prayer runs: In the name of Alláh the pitiful the merciful, of Satgor or Satgur Pátra, of Brahma and Indra, of Imám Sháh, of the spotless spiritual Vishnu, and of Ali Muhammad Sháh.[1] The second prayer is in these words: The incense burns, evil goes and faith wins (now is the time to) mercy implore.[2]

The funeral party go to the house of mourning and there the deceased's family feast them with sweet wheat-balls. The mourners eat a mixture of split pulse and rice cooked in a neighbour's house. Like Hindus Matia women weep and beat their breasts for ten days, and for ten days the sin-removing *láhe-utarni* ceremony is daily performed. Friends and relations from the villages round, summoned by a Bhangia, come to mourn, and are feasted with wheat-flour mixed with clarified butter and sugar. Unlike Hindus the nearest relations do not consider themselves impure for ten days. No death ceremonies are performed and no rice balls are offered to the spirits of the deceased. Castepeople are feasted on the tenth and eleventh days after a death or on any day between the thirteenth and the twentieth if the eleventh or twelfth falls on a Sunday or a Tuesday. On the first feast-day after a death each family of Matiás sends the chief mourner half a *man* (twenty pounds) of husked rice, and, besides the rice, friends and relations give eight annas. These presents, along with the clothes bed and bedstead of the deceased, are sent to the shrine of the saints at Burhánpur, Navsári, Ahmedábád, or Vemál. Besides these presents the chief mourner sends on his own account a money present, and if rich he sets apart a mango tree for the exclusive use of the saint. The aggregate amount of death-presents which go to their saints varies from Rs. 15 to Rs. 100. The Bráhman priest receives some presents on the eleventh day, not in his character of priest, but in return for the help he gives in feasting the caste-people.

The Matiás have no headman. Questions of divorce and breaches of caste rules are referred to five of the leading men, who inquire into the case and whose decision is binding. The fines inflicted on the offender are used either in making copper and brass vessels for the community or are sent as presents to the saints' shrines.

The Matiás give their boys some slight schooling but their attendance is irregular. During the *Navrátri* holidays (September-October) and on *Holi* (March) the Matiás, men and women together, are fond of

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[1] The Gujaráti runs: બીસ્મીલ્લા, અલ્લા રહેમાન રહીમ, સનગોર પાત્ર, બ્રહ્મા ઈન્દ્ર ઇમામશાહ, આદે વિષ્ણુ નિરંજના, નરઅલ્લી મહમદશાહ તમારી દુવા. The Satgor, properly Satgur, Pátra or Deserving (that is of worship) is Núr Satgur the first (A.D. 1163) and greatest Ismaila missionary from Persia. The Tabakát-i Násiri (Elliot, II. 335, 336) refers to Núr Satgur as Núr the Turk who caused a ferment in the reign of Sultánah Raziyah (A.D. 1237-1240). Compare Khán Bahádur Fazl Lutfullah Faridi's Gujarát Musalmáns page 37.

[2] The Gujaráti words are: લોબાન જલે, કુળઅલ્લા ટલે, દીનજાગે, કરૂન માગે.

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HUSBANDMEN.

moving in a circle and singing songs. Matiás are noted for their fondness for costly caste entertainments and showy marriage processions. They take great care of their buffaloes and bullocks and spare no money in keeping them smart and in good condition.

Ma'lis.

Ma'lis, with a strength of 21,163, are found mostly in north Gujarát. A few among them come from Márwár, but most seem to have been Kanbis whom they resemble in appearance and dress. In north Gujarát the men wear the beard. They speak Gujaráti and live in mud or brick houses. They eat the ordinary grains, and, in the Panch Mahála, fish fowls and the flesh of goats and sheep after offering them to a goddess. A few among them eat opium and in south Gujarát they drink liquor. They are gardeners and flower-sellers. They prepare nosegays and flower-ornaments for women's hair. In Ahmedábád a few among them are traders, ministrants in Shrávak temples, and domestic servants. From his dealing in flowers which are used in worship and on all ceremonial occasions, the sight of a Máli is lucky. Their women are reputed to be of easy virtue. In religion they are Kabirpanthis, Rámánujás, Shaivs, Sváminaráyans, and Vallabhácháryas, and in north Gujarát a few are Jains. They respect Hindu gods and observe the ordinary Hindu holidays. They believe in exorcism sorcery and omens. They worship the cobra and other snakes. Except that in the Panch Mahála no ceremony is performed on the sixth day after the birth of a child, their customs at birth marriage pregnancy and death do not differ from those of Kanbis. As a rule marriages between relations are forbidden though in Ahmedábád the children of brothers and sisters marry. Widows are allowed to marry. The widow of an elder brother marries his younger brother. Divorce is granted in some places and not in others. Social disputes are settled by a few of the elders of the caste. Very few Máli boys go to school.

Patelia's.

Patelia's, with a total strength of 15,055, are found mostly in the Dohad sub-division of the Panch Mahála and in the Báriya state of the Rewa Kántha. According to their story they are descended from Rajputs of Chámpáner, about thirty miles east of Baroda, who on the conquest of that city by Mahmud Begada in A.D. 1495, moved to Dohad and Báriya. Other Rajputs hold them degraded because according to one account their forefathers ate the flesh of a *nílgái* or *roz*; or according to another account, because, as they left many of their women behind, they married with the Bhils of Gángdi. According to this account they were first called *Vatalga* or impure, a name which has been gradually corrupted into Pateliás. Traces of their Rajput origin are found in the names of the men, some of which like Rajput names end in *sing*, and in such clan names as Báriya, Chohán, Gohel, Jádav, Parmár, Ráthod, and Solaṅki. They have no subdivisions. The Pateliás as a class are lean stunted and somewhat black, but of a quiet and obliging disposition. They live in small huts with walls of split bamboo plastered with mud and with thatched or tiled roofs. They speak corrupt Gujaráti. Their every-day food is maize bread and *adad* Phaseolus mungo; when they can get it they eat fish and the flesh of sheep goats and fowls. Some of them take opium. They formerly drank *mahuda* Bassia latifolia liquor to excess, but

during the last eight to ten years, changes in the excise rules have lessened the consumption. A few well-to-do men of this class wear a waistcloth a white turban and a cotton coat or jacket, but most wear a loincloth a turban and a shouldercloth. The women wear a bodice a petticoat and a piece of cloth thrown over the body. Of ornaments the women have silver or zinc anklets, a silver necklace, a gold nosering, and lac bracelets or silver wristlets. The men do not wear the beard. The Pateliás are unskilled husbandmen and field-labourers. They are helped in their work by their women and children. They have no definite notions about religion and do not belong to any particular sect. They honour Hindu gods, but keep no images in their houses. They respect Bráhmans and their priests are Audich Bráhmans. They make a religious beggar or a *gosái* their spiritual head or *guru* and give him a basketfull of grain in the threshing season. They have much faith in witchcraft exorcism and the influence of the evil eye. In fulfilment of vows taken to avert the influence of evil spirits and to check sickness and cattle plague, they worship on *Dasara* (September-October), *Diváli* (October,) and *Holi* (February-March) a stone called *Ghodadev* the Horse-god. On these days the worshippers meet together near the Horse-god, drink *mahuda* liquor, and offer it to the god. For this offering the liquor must be distilled by the Pateliás themselves, the mámlatdár issuing special licenses for its distillation to the headman of the village. Redpowder and redlead are applied to the horse-god, a cocoanut is offered, and a goat and a cock are sacrificed. Besides the horse the animals they hold sacred and worship are the cow in *Diváli* (October) and the Indian jay or *nilkanth* on Dasara Day. They believe in the ordinary Hindu omens and sometimes make pilgrimages to Dákor.

A pregnant woman goes to her father's house for her confinement, but no pregnancy ceremonies are performed. Except that some well-to-do families send the news of the birth of the first male child to his father and distribute molasses and coriander-seed to friends and relations, no ceremonies are performed at the time of child-birth. On the sixth day after a birth vermilion-powder and a wooden pen are laid near the woman's cot. The mother remains impure five to sixteen days. Few get their children named by a Bráhman. They perform no ceremonies on the occasion of giving cooked food to the child for the first time. Betrothal takes place some time before marriage. The offer comes from the boy's father and, if the girl's father accepts, the father of the boy goes with friends and relations on an appointed day to the girl's house, taking with him three to six *mans* (120-240 pounds) of molasses. A Bráhman priest applies vermilion marks to the forehead of the girl and of five or six elderly men. The boy's father distributes the molasses to such of the villagers as have been invited to the girl's house. After the molasses have been distributed the betrothal cannot be cancelled; and if the girl's father annuls it the headman of the caste compels him to make good the loss sustained by the boy's father. Marriages are celebrated on a day fixed by a Bráhman astrologer. Except that the bride's mother touches the bridegroom's head with a yoke and some other field tools before he enters

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Patelia's.

the house prepared for him by the bride's father, the marriage ceremonies do not differ from those performed by Kanbis. When a man and a woman, who are attached to each other and are not allowed by their parents to marry, or when the man is unable to pay the marriage expenses, the woman elopes with the man. The couple move about the place together for two or three days and then return to their house and live as husband and wife. This form of marriage is not considered honourable, but it saves expense. Marriages are not allowed between near relations or between people bearing the same surname. The husband and wife are, by mutual consent, free to divorce each other. If the wife is unwilling, the husband is bound to maintain her; if the husband is unwilling, the woman' second husband is made to pay the first husband's marriage expenses. The Pateliás practise polygamy and allow their widows to marry, but the widow of a man never marries his younger brother. The Pateliás burn the dead with no peculiar ceremonies. The near relations of the deceased remain impure for ten days when the men shave the upper lip. The *shráddha* ceremony is performed on the tenth and eleventh days after death, and castepeople are feasted for three days. The Pateliás have a headman or *patel* who settles all their caste disputes and whose decision is final. All marriage contracts are made in the presence of the headman who is paid Rs. 12. They have lately begun to send their boys to school, but are badly off. Twenty years ago three successive bad years (1877-1879) pressed hard on many families and forced them to part with their cattle and other property. Their condition has not very materially improved since that time of distress.

Sa'gars.

Sa'gars, with a strength of 17,812, are mostly found in north Gujarát. According to their own story they were Rajputs, descendants of king Ságar, the great-grandson of Bhagirath, who brought the Ganges from heaven to earth. Among their surnames are Bhángu, Bhensoda, Bhogar, Bhus, Chánlia, Chintaria-bhunch, Dádhála, Dakhni, Dungarpuria, Dungra, Gadhia, Jámarva, Jhudála, Juni, Kadia, Kánthavatia, Kataval, Magvánia, Mahudia, Meaddia, Modásia, Mugli, Munáji, Panthália, Patháyot, Rami, Sáthia, Sávda, Semari, and Vágadia. In appearance, speech, house, food, and dress the Ságars in no way differ from Kadva Kanbis. Like Kanbis they are husbandmen, some of them raising garden-crops. In religion they are Rámasnehis, and the seat of their religious head or *guru* is at Shâhápur in Márwár. Though they bow to the ordinary Hindu gods they have no house images. They worship the footprints of their *guru* and visit the temples where his deputies live and whom they support. They keep the ordinary Hindu fast and feast days. Most of them believe in exorcism sorcery and the ordinary omens. Some of them have been famous as saints, and at present (A.D. 1896) one of them named Sámdás has a high name for sanctity. They visit the ordinary places of Hindu pilgrimage.

No ceremonies are performed on the birth of a child till the sixth day, when the goddess Chhathi is worshipped. After childbirth the mother is held impure for twenty days, at the end of which she performs her ordinary duties. On the twelfth day the newborn child

Ságars.

is laid in a cradle and rocked by five children who are each given a handful of boiled wheat or maize. When about four months old the child is named by a Bráhman, and when eight months old is given cooked food for the first time. Their marriage ceremonies do not differ from those of Kanbis. Marriage is not allowed between near relations or among people of the same stock or *gotra*. Divorce is allowed, and widows re-marry, but never with the younger brother of their deceased husband. The seventh month of a woman's first pregnancy is marked by the lap-filling ceremony. Ságars burn their dead and the nearest relations of the deceased are impure for eight days. They perform the *shráddha* or mind-rite on the twelfth day after a death, and, on the thirteenth they make gifts to their priest who is a Báj Khedával Bráhman. Castepeople are feasted for three days, on the eleventh twelfth and thirteenth. Caste disputes are settled by a headman with the help of three or four leading men of the caste. They do not send their boys to school and are in poor circumstances.

Sathvárás.

Sathva'ra's with a strength of 52,173, are chiefly found in Káthiáváḍa and north Gujarát. Their surnames Chávaḍa, Dábhi, Kachetia, Maghadia, Parmár, and Ráthod, seem to show a Rajput origin. They have no divisions though Ahmedábád Sathvárás do not marry with the Sathvárás of Káthiáváḍa. In appearance they are like Kanbis. They speak Gujarati, and live in mud or mortar-built houses with thatched or tiled roofs. Their ordinary food is wheat or millet bread, rice and pulse *mag* Phaseolus radiatus and *adad* Phaseolus mungo, and the Káthiáváḍa Sathvárás eat besides grain the flesh of goats and sheep after sacrificing the animal to their goddess. They do not eat the flesh of any bird, but eat fish except in the evening. They drink liquor and a few in north Gujarát eat opium. The men wear a coarse waistcloth or tight trousers coming to the knee, a jacket reaching to the waist, and a piece of white cloth wound round the head. The women wear a petticoat a bodice and a robe. The men grow the moustache but not the beard and do not cut the hair either on the temples or at the back of the head. The women's ornaments are a silver necklace silver anklets and brass or ivory wristlets. They are husbandmen field-labourers and bricklayers. Those who are cultivators work in the fields throughout the year and are helped by their wives and children. In Káthiáváḍa they rear rich garden crops. As bricklayers they work from seven in the morning till sunset with two hours rest at noon for their meals and earn from Rs. 4 to Rs. 10 a month. The bricklayers do not work on the two elevenths, the dark fifteenth of every Hindu month, or on the leading Hindu holidays such as *Holi*, *Divali*, *Balev*, *Janmásthami*, *Dasara*, *Nágpánchmi*, and *Dev-divali*. In religion Sathvárás are Shaivs and Vaishnavs of the Vallabhácharya, Rámánandi, Svámináráyan, and Bijmárgi sects. They often visit Hindu temples and in their houses worship the images of Vishnu, Mahádev, and Máta. When their spiritual head visits their village each man pays a contribution of Rs. 2. Their priests are Audich, Shrimál, or Modh Bráhmans. They believe in sorcery and witchcraft and in the ordinary omens. Like other Hindus they hold the cow sacred. The only bird they worship is the *nilkanth* or jay on Dasara Day in October. At any convenient time Sathvárás make pilgrimages to Dákor, Dwárka, Sidhpur, Banáras,

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Sathvárás.

Gokul, Mathura, and Allahábád. Sathvára customs do not differ from Kanbi customs. No ceremony is performed on the day of birth. On the sixth day after the birth the goddess Chhathi is worshipped. The mother remains impure from ten to forty days according as the family is rich or poor. Poor women go to work after the tenth day. The child is named on the twelfth day by the father's sister, and the mother is sent to the husband's house when the child is from five to seven months old. During its sixth month the child is given its first cooked food and is made to lick milk mixed with boiled rice. Girls must be married before they are fourteen and in some cases boys and girls are married when not more than a month old. Marriages are held on a day fixed by an astrologer. Five or six days before the marriage Ganpati is worshipped and the bride and bridegroom are rubbed with turmeric. On the evening of the marriage-day the planet-pleasing ceremony is performed at the house of the bride, and presents in clothes and ornaments are sent to the bride by her mother's brother and to the bridegroom by his mother's brother. At midnight the bridegroom richly dressed goes to the bride's house with music and a company of friends. At the door he is received by the bride's mother who shows him a miniature plough, an arrow, and a churn-staff. The bridegroom is then led to the marriage-booth and seated near the bride. The ends of the bride's and bridegroom's clothes are tied by the priest who joins their hands. The bride and the bridegroom move four times round the fire and feed each other with coarse wheat-flour mixed with clarified butter and sugar. The friends and relations make presents to the bride and the bridegroom who bow to Ganpati, to the polar star, and to their parents. The fathers of the bride and bridegroom make presents in money and grain to the priest. Caste dinners are given and the bridegroom's friends and relations are feasted for three days by the bride's father. Marriages are forbidden between the descendants of collateral males within seven degrees. Younger brothers marry the elder brother's widow. Either husband or wife can get a divorce. In the seventh month of a woman's first pregnancy the lap-filling ceremony is performed. When a man is on the point of death he is bathed, laid on a freshly cowdunged part of the floor, and marked with yellow pigment on the brow. Leaves of the basil plant curds sugarcandy and a silver coin are laid in his mouth. When life is gone the body is tied to the bier and is carried to the burning-ground. There it is bathed, laid on a pile of wood, and the pile is set on fire. When the body is half-burnt the mourners bathe and return to their homes. On the third day the chief mourner accompanied by the priest goes to the burning-ground with two earthen pots, the larger filled with water the smaller with milk. The water and the milk are poured over the ashes of the deceased. The small pieces of bones are collected into the smaller pot and the larger pot is placed over the heap of ashes. The pieces of bone are thrown into a river. The chief mourner bathes and returns to his house. The nearest relations remain impure from five to nine days. Sathvárás perform the regular *shráddha* or mind-rite. Castepeople are feasted on the twelfth day after a death and on the death-day at the end of one month, of six months, and of a year. The caste has no head; it leaves the settlement of social disputes to a few of the leading men.

Section VI. CRAFTSMEN.

SECTION VI.—CRAFTSMEN.

THE sixteen main classes of Gujarát Hindu craftsmen are: Bhávsárs calico-printers, Chhipás calenders, Darjis tailors, Galiárás indigo-dyers, Ghánchis oilmen, Golás rice-pounders, Kadiyás bricklayers, Kansárás coppersmiths, Khatris weavers, Kumbhárs potters, Luhárs blacksmiths, Mochis leather-workers, Saláts stone-masons, Sálvis handloom-weavers, Sonis goldsmiths, and Suthárs carpenters, with a strength of 893,676 or 9·04 per cent of the total Hindu population. The following table gives the available details of their strength and distribution:

HINDU CRAFTSMEN, 1891.

No.	CLASS.	Ahmedábád.	Kaira.	Panch Mahâls.	Broach.	Surat.	Native States.	Baroda.	Total.
1	Bhávsárs ...	6768	3426	129	547	1195	9414	7779	29,258
2	Chhipás ...	89	71	26	217	1611	489	1333	3836
3	Darjis ...	7724	2269	814	1700	5647	51,754	16,308	86,216
4	Galiárás ...	2	...	...	124	125	127	123	501
5	Ghánchis ...	4605	100	870	3391	9596	18,519	14,153	51,234
6	Golás ...	2203	1774	282	1782	7386	2657	5984	22,068
7	Kadiyás ...	2027	899	210	164	499	5658	1169	10,626
8	Kansárás ...	1139	364	155	304	1275	8026	2865	14,128
9	Khatris ...	4000	16	471	761	10,595	32,853	4276	52,972
10	Kumbhárs ...	20,417	9264	2097	4603	10,606	151,563	49,860	248,410
11	Luhárs ...	12,536	6252	2294	1687	3164	57,520	24,186	107,639
12	Mochis ...	6722	2684	1126	1431	4405	37,492	11,139	64,999
13	Saláts ...	148	247	68	237	207	3880	1672	6459
14	Sálvis ...	6	1	1	2	5	969	1116	2100
15	Sonis ...	6201	2773	823	2071	5555	39,592	12,267	69,282
16	Suthárs ...	11,674	7605	1063	2150	5739	70,405	25,312	123,948
	Total ...	86,261	37,745	10,429	21,171	67,610	490,918	179,542	893,676

Bha'vsa'rs.

Bha'vsa'rs or Calico-printers with a strength of 29,258 are found chiefly in cities and large towns. Though some belong to the Vánia stock most claim to be of Kshatri descent and have such Rajput tribal surnames as Bhatte, Chohán, Gohil, Parmár, and Ráthod. Like the Kanbis the Bhávsárs are almost certainly of Gurjjara origin. According to their story during Parshurám's persecution of the Kshatris their ancestors hid in a Máta's temple and for this act of trust were afterwards known as Bhávsárs because they placed *bháv* or confidence in the goddess. The original home of their ancestors was Brij Mathura in North India from which they moved to Márwár and thence to Champáner and the country bordering the Mahi and the Narbada. From central Gujarát some went to Káthiáváda and Kachh in the north and some to Surat in the south. Certain local surnames bear witness to former settlements; Amadávádi, Harsotia, Jámnagra, Mesánia, Modesia, Parántia, and Visnagra. Their family goddesses are Ambáji and Hingláj. Besides being divided into Meshri and Jain Bhávsárs who neither eat together nor intermarry, Bhávsárs have three subdivisions, Rewa Kánthiás living on the banks of the Mahi and the Narbada, Rámdeshis living in Páli and Partápgad, and Talabdás living in north Gujarát. The members of these three divisions neither eat together nor intermarry, though the Rámdeshis and Rewa Kánthiás have no objection to eat food cooked by the Talabdás. Except that the men are somewhat darker and stronger

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Bha'vsa'rs.

Bhávsárs do not differ in appearance from Vániás. The women are fair and good-looking. Many of them live in upper-storied houses with brick walls and tiled roofs. They speak Gujaráti and some Kachh-Márvádi. Of the three subdivisions, the Talabdás alone live on vegetable diet; Rámdeshis and Rewa Kánthiás, except those who are Jains, have no scruple in eating animal food. None of them drink liquor. Except that in Káthiáváḍa and Kachh the men wear a white cloth wound round the head and a waistcloth over a pair of tight trousers and that in south Gujarát the women wear a white robe, the dress both of men and women does not differ from the Vánia dress. Bhávsárs are calico-printers and dyers. The cloth to be printed is first dirtied and then washed either by themselves or by professional washermen and then dipped into the dye which is generally light or dark-blue, black, or yellow. The dyed cloth is dried in the sun, and the design stamped on the borders with carved wooden blocks. Bhávsár women help in washing and drying the cloth and in folding and packing it when the pattern is complete. Some calico-printers are men of capital who own Rs. 5000 to Rs. 20,000, and prepare articles on their own account; the rest are employed by traders and other men of capital and are paid according to the number of robes or *sádis* they print. Bhávsárs are energetic and steady workmen. They rise at four, begin printing at seven, and continue at work till evening with two hours' rest for meals. Their busy season is during the summer months (March-May). Besides ordinary Hindu holidays they do not work on either the dark or bright seconds eighths elevenths or fifteenths of any Hindu month. The prints of Kaira and Ahmedábád have a good name and besides being largely used locally as women's robes are exported to Siam and other places. Formerly south Gujarát had a large demand for local calicos, but their place has to a great extent been taken by European prints. Many Bhávsárs have given up calico-printing and have become confectioners tailors washermen and sellers of petty brassware. Bhávsár dyers work in all colours, green for Musalmáns in the *Muharram* time, red blue and rose for Hindu turbans, and pale bright-green yellow or purple for women's robes. The dyers' busy times are in October at the *Diváli* and in February or March at the *Holi*; also on marriage days when all guests have their turbans and other clothes freshly dyed. Dyeing is strictly forbidden by caste rules during the four rainy months because the slaughter of insects in the dye vat adds to the evil and ill luck of that sunless and southing time. The women help in dyeing and bleaching. Dyers are paid according to the colour. The Bhávsárs' yearly earnings vary from Rs. 80 to Rs. 500. Like Vániás they are thrifty and orderly. By religion some are Jains and a few of them become Jain devotees. The rest belong to the Kabirpanthi, Rádhá-Vallabhi, Rámánandi, Santrámpanthi, Shaiv, Sváminaráyan, and Vallabhácharya sects, and some worship goddesses. They believe in witchcraft and exorcism and in the ordinary omens. They keep the regular fasts and feasts but are not strict temple-goers. They employ Bráhman priests in all their ceremonies. No ceremonies are performed on the day of a birth. On the sixth day the goddess Chhathi is worshipped and an earthen cake is laid on the house roof. After childbirth the woman remains unclean for about a month. The child is named by a Bráhman priest on some

lucky day after the twelfth. No ceremony is performed on the first giving of cooked food. Except that some *guvár* Cyamopsis psoraloides beans are scattered over the bridegroom before he enters the bride's house, in their marriage rites they do not differ from Vániás and Shrávaks. Girls are married before they are eleven and boys at any time after ten. Marriage is not allowed between people of the same surname. Divorce is allowed and a widow sometimes marries the younger brother of her deceased husband. Those Bhávsárs who were originally Vániás are said to have lost their caste because they allowed widow marriage. During the seventh month of a woman's first conception the same lap-filling ceremony is performed as among Vániás and Shrávaks. They burn their dead, the Jain Bhávsárs with the full Shrávak-Vánia ritual and the Meshri-Bhávsars with all Meshri-Vánia rites. Each community has its headman who settles caste disputes at a meeting of all the men of the caste. Though their craft is falling they do not seem likely to decline. They send their children to school and succeed in earning their living as clerks and in other employments.

Chhipás.

Chhipa's or Calenders, with a strength of 3836, found chiefly in Surat and Broach, are a subdivision of Bhávsárs. In look and dress they do not differ from Bhávsárs. But, unlike the Bhávsárs who are careful to live solely on a vegetable diet, some of the Chhipás eat dry fish and drink liquor. They polish and dress by beating with heavy wooden mallets black cloth for export to Africa and other places. On account of the decline in the demand for this cloth calenders are, as a body, badly off. Many of them, giving up their former occupation, now earn a living as labourers and bricklayers. Though they do not help them in their work as calenders, their women earn something by entering domestic service. By religion they are Vaishnavs, and, except that they allow their widows to re-marry, their customs are the same as those observed by Vániás. A few are given to the use of strong drink, but most are sober hardworking and thrifty. Calenders are employed by the owners of the cloth, and paid according to the quantity of work they do. Each community has its headman, and settles social disputes by a meeting of all the men of the caste.

Darjis.

Darjis also called Meráis or Suis, Tailors, with a strength of 86,216, live chiefly in towns and large villages. They are of eight divisions, Dhandhayás, Dosis, Dungarporás, Gujars, Maris, Rájkalis, Rámdeshis, and Shimpis, none of whom either eat together or intermarry. The Rájkalis, who are found in Ahmedábád Naḍiád and Cambay, seem to be of Rajput origin of which a trace remains in the surnames Chávḍa, Chohán, Dabhir, Gabda, Gohel, Lakadia, Makvána, Parmár, Ráthod, Solánki, and Sonora. The Rámdeshis who are found in north Broach were originally Márvádi *garásiás* and dress like Pátidárs. Though fair the Darjis as a class are lean and stunted. They live in good houses with one story and with tiled roofs. They speak Gujaráti. Except in Surat where they eat fish and the flesh of goats and fowls and drink liquor, they are strict vegetarians eating the ordinary food-grains and some of them in Kaira refraining from carrots or *gájar*. Except in Surat, where some of them have adopted the Vánia turban worn by Pársis and wear Pársi-like locks of hair over both ears,

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Darjis.

Darjis both men and women dress like Hindu artisans in towns and like Kanbis in villages. Though even in well-to-do families women sew their bodices and young children's clothes for everyday wear, every family has its own tailor. Some tailors work on their own account; others work for masters. Those who work for masters belong to a staff of three to ten workmen and according to their skill receive a daily wage of *annas* 2 to 8. As a rule tailors sew in their own houses, and in the tailor's shop may be seen workmen squatting in rows on a palm-leaf mat or on cotton-stuffed quilts. The wife and sons' wives of the head of the establishment sit and work in the shop along with the men. The tailor's tools are a bamboo *gaj* of twenty-seven inches, a pair of scissors, needles, thread, thimbles or *anghuti*, and of late in large towns an English sewing-machine. Their busy time is during the marriage season (Nov. - June). Those who are their own masters work from seven in the morning till evening and in the marriage season till eight or nine at night with two hours rest for dinner at noon. Those who belong to an establishment work from nine in the morning till sunset, and are paid extra wages when they work extra time. They enjoy twenty holidays a year in addition to days of caste ceremonials. As they have a bad name for filching cloth many people are careful to set tailors to work under their own eyes. When so employed, the tailor receives his two meals at the customer's house in addition to his daily wages. Except when at the employer's house tailors are paid by the piece. A village tailor is paid either in cash or in grain and is not unfrequently a member of the village establishment. During the rains, the tailor's slack season, he supplements his earnings by tillage, holding land which Government have continued to him on payment of one-half the ordinary rental. The yearly earnings of a town tailor vary from Rs. 50 to Rs. 200. In spite of the competition of Musalmán, and in some cases Portuguese tailors, in spite of the growing fashion among Hindu women of sewing their own bodices, and in spite of the introduction of sewing machines tailors are still able to keep up their position owing partly to a rise in wages, partly to obtaining new customers among Europeans and Pársis, and still more among Hindus and Musalmáns whose young men of late years have adopted the fashion of wearing tailor-made coats waistcoats and trousers. The town tailors are intelligent and a few of them are good embroiderers and skilful in other fine work.[1] Most of them who do not go beyond ordinary hemming and stitching are good imitators and able to satisfy their customers' cravings for fresh fashions. Though in Kachh some are carpenters and in Káthiáváda some have given up the needle for the plough, the bulk of the class keep to their original employment. They are quiet, intelligent, thrifty, and indolent. Except in south Gujarát where they are much given to liquor they are sober. Throughout most of Gujarát they hold a middle position in society. In south Gujarát in the absence of Bráhmans a Darji officiates

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[1] Of the tailors of Surat in the latter part of the seventeenth century (A.D. 1689) Ovington (Voyage to Surat, 280) writes: The tailors here fashion clothes for the Europeans either men or women, according to every mode that prevails, and fit up the commodes and towering headdresses for the women with as much skill as if they had been an Indian fashion or themselves had been apprentices at the Royal Exchange. The commode was a wire structure to raise the cap and hair (see "Spectator" No. 98).

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at Bharvád marriages, and in some Bráhman marriages a Darji is called with some ceremony to sew a bodice for the bride. On the other hand in the Panch Mahála and Rewa Kántha, besides tailoring Darjis blow trumpets at marriage and other processions and hold so low a position that even Dhedás object to eat their food. They belong to the Madhvácharí, Parnámipanthi, Rádha-Vallabhi, Rámánandi, Shaiv, Sváminaráyan, and Vallabhácharya sects. Hingláj is the family goddess of the Darjis of Káthiáváḍa and Kachh. They respect all Hindu gods, visit Hindu temples, and some have images in their houses. They keep the regular Hindu holidays and believe in witchcraft exorcism and omens. They visit the usual places of Hindu pilgrimage, respect Bráhmans, and employ Meváda and other Bráhmans as priests.

No ceremonies are performed on the day of a birth. On the sixth day after a birth Chhathi is worshipped and besides a pair of scissors a reedpen paper and *kanku* redpowder are laid in the lying-in room. After childbirth the mother remains impure for thirty days. The child is named on the twelfth day by the father's sister after consulting a Bráhman astrologer. All do not mark the first giving of solid food by any special ceremony. Except that they are less detailed, their marriage ceremonies are like those performed by Kanbis. Marriage between near relations is forbidden. Except in parts of Kaira their widows are allowed to marry, and, except in parts of Kaira and Panch Mahála, the husband and wife are free to divorce each other. A widow sometimes marries the younger brother of her deceased husband. Darjis burn their dead with no peculiar ceremonies. The nearest relations of the deceased remain impure for ten days, and, except among some Kachh Darjis, a *shráddha* ceremony is performed on the eleventh twelfth and thirteenth days after death, and castepeople are feasted on the twelfth and thirteenth. Caste disputes are settled by a few leading men at a caste meeting. Some Darjis send their boys to school and two or three of them have risen to honourable posts in Government service drawing from Rs. 80 to Rs. 200 a month.

Galia'ra's.

Galia'ra's or Indigo-dyers, with a strength of 501, found chiefly in Ahmedábád and Surat, are a subdivision of Bhávsárs, and in no way differ from them. Like the black cloth mentioned under Chhipás, cloth dyed with indigo is in much less demand than formerly, and indigo-dyers, as a class, are rather badly off. In their houses there is in one corner a well where the yarn and cloth are washed and beaten. In another corner is a vat with cement-lined sides about six feet in circumference and about twelve feet deep. This is kept full of liquid dye, and in it the cloth and yarn are soaked. Their women help them in the work of dyeing. Dyers are paid by the piece. From the decline of their craft the Galiárás have fallen into rather a low state and seem less fit than the Bhávsárs to find other means of earning their living. Few among them send their children to school.

Gha'nchis.

Gha'nchis or Oilmen with a strength of 51,234 are found chiefly in large towns and villages. They are of six divisions Ahmedábádis, Chámpâneris, Modhs, Patnis, Sidhpuriás, and Surtis. They have Rajput tribal surnames Gohil, Jhála, Padhiár, Parmár, and Solanki. Of the six divisions the Modhs and Sidhpuriás rank highest,

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Ghánchis.

the other divisions eating food cooked by them while they do not eat food cooked by the other four. None of the six divisions intermarry. Ghánchis are fair sleek and glossy, and their women are strong and occasionally handsome. They live in houses of moderate size, brick-walled and tile-roofed. As the entrance room is given up to the oil-press oil-pans and the press-bullock, the Ghánchi house is untidy and dirty. They speak Gujaráti. Though in south Gujarát some eat fish and flesh and drink liquor, Ghánchis as a rule live on vegetables. Except that the clothes of those who deal in oil are dirty and spotted with oil, in their dress Ghánchis are like Vániás and Kanbis. The men are specially fond of wearing clattering shoes. Indoors the women generally wear a petticoat and a bodice. As a class they are hardworking pushing and, except in south Gujarát, thrifty. The men, especially in south Gujarát, are fond of going on pleasure-parties and the women of singing songs while moving in a circle during the first fortnight of *Áso* (Oct.-Nov.). The women are generally hot-tempered. The Ghánchis' special work is pressing and selling sesame oil for eating and cocoanut castor and linseed oil for burning. The oilpresser generally buys the seed from the cultivator and presses the oil on his own account, though he sometimes presses oil from seed supplied by customers. The oil mill which is rough and clumsy is kept in one of the rooms of the oilpresser's house. The seed is crushed in a large stone mortar by a heavy wooden pestle weighted by stones and kept moving by a blindfold bullock driven round and round in a very small circle. So heavy and unceasing is the work that an oilman's bullock, *ghánchino balad*, is a proverb for ceaseless toil. As a class oilpressers have a bad name for adulterating their oil. Some sell their oil to retail shop-keepers, some keep a shop for retail sale, and some hawk it from street to street or from village to village. They are helped by their women (who also work as day labourers) in changing the seed from the oil press, in drawing off the oil, and in carrying it to the customer's house in copper pails. The oilpresser's busy season is during the eight fair months. Even in the busy season, besides on ordinary Hindu holidays, the press is stopped on the seconds elevenths and fifteenths of every Hindu month, for the first five days of *Chaitra* (March-April), and for five days at *Holi* time in *Fágan* (Feb.-March). Besides by pressing and selling oil and oilcakes, Ghánchis earn a living by lending money, by selling grain fruit vegetables and sweetmeats, by selling milk and clarified butter, by tillage, by labour, and in Kachh by making bamboo baskets. Though they hold almost as good a position as calico-printers and carpenters, the common south Gujarát expression Ghánchi-Gola is used in the sense of low caste Hindus, as Bráhman-Vánia is used for high caste Hindus. Ghánchis are fairly religious and belong to many sects, Kabirpanthi, Rámánandi, Rámsnehi, Shaiv, Svámináráyan, Vallabhácharya, and worshippers of Bahucharáji. They keep gods in the house and occasionally visit the temples of their sect. They observe the regular Hindu fasts and feasts, believe in exorcism witchcraft and omens, and visit all popular places of Hindu pilgrimage.

No ceremonies are performed on the day of a birth. On the sixth

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day a clay elephant and horse are laid on a footstool in the lying-in room beside a reedpen and inkstand and the newly-born child is made to peep at them. Wheat cakes and rice mixed with milk and sugar are distributed to friends and relations. After childbirth the mother remains unclean for twelve days, after which except by Modh Ghánchis, isolation is not scrupulously observed. The child is named on the sixth day or on some other convenient day by the father's sister. As a rule no ceremony is performed at the first giving of solid food. When it is performed three married women are feasted. Except that in south Gujarát the bridegroom goes to the bride's house hid in a flower veil and that the bride and bridegroom worship Hanumán or the Monkey-god immediately after they are married, Ghánchi marriage ceremonies do not differ from those performed by Kanbis. Marriages among near relations are avoided. Polygamy and widow marriage are allowed but divorce is rarely granted. The widow of a man sometimes marries his younger brother. In the seventh month after a woman's first conception the lap-filling ceremony is performed as among Kanbis. They burn their dead with all Kanbi rites. The nearest relations remain unclean for ten days, and on the tenth day the male relations have their head and face including the upper lip shaved. A *shráddha* ceremony is performed for four days from the tenth to the thirteenth day after death and castepeople are feasted for two or three days. Each community has its headman who settles caste disputes at a meeting of all the men of the caste. They send their boys to school, and though in south Gujarát some are badly off, partly owing to drunken habits and partly owing to the growing demand for kerosine oil in place of castor and cocoanut oil, they are as a class fairly prosperous with a tendency to rise. Three Ghánchis practise as pleaders in the Surat District Court.

Gola's.

Gola's or Ricepounders with a strength of 22,068 are found in most large towns. According to their story they were originally Rajputs of Chitor in Mevád who called themselves slaves or *golás* to protect themselves from the persecution of Parshurám.[1] In token of a Rajput strain the word Rána is always added to the name Gola. Their tribal surnames are Chohán, Chodhávála, Daladia, Divadia, Hirvania, Katakia, Manhora, Nagaretha, Pánchshahdia, Pat, Parmár, Pasia, Sámaliya, Sitpuria, Solanki, Takoria, Vághela, Vághmar, Varsadia, and Vehirija. Golás, both men and women, are dark strong and well-built. Except that their expression is somewhat sluggish and vacant the men do not differ in look from the lower

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1 Compare Tod's Western India, I. 179. According to another story, when pursued by Parshurám they hid themselves in a temple of Mahádev. As they were long without food, Párvati, Shiv's consort, took pity on them and brought them earthen pots or *goras* filled with curds. In their hungry scramble the pots fell to the ground and were broken to pieces. After eating as much of the curds as they could pick up they went to Shiva to ask his advice. To make some provision for the refugees Shiva changed his discus into a mill, his arrows into pestles, his ash-balls into mortars, his rosary beads into a sieve, and his shield into a winnowing fan. He then ordered them to make their living by pounding rice. According to this story Gola is a corruption of *gora* an earthen pot.

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artisans. The men wear a thin moustache. Their houses are generally untidy, with one-storeyed walls of brick and tiled roofs. Though some profess to be vegetarians, even scrupling to eat snakegourds pumpkins and carrots, they eat, besides coarse food-grains, fish fowl and the flesh of the goat deer hare and antelope. They drink liquor many to excess especially at their feasts and caste-dinners. Out of doors the men dress in a small waistcloth reaching the knee, a cotton jacket or coat, and a ragged red turban; the women wear a petticoat a bodice and a *sári* or robe. Indoors as well as when at work the men wear a waistcloth, and the women a bodice and petticoat. The men wear no ornaments; the women have a brass wristlet, ivory or wooden bracelets, a gold necklace, brass nose and ear rings, and silver anklets. Golás are mostly ricepounders. Every high caste Hindu family generally stores in the rice season (November-January) a year's supply of unhusked rice. Out of this as much as lasts for a month or two is pounded and cleaned by a Gola attached to the family. The Golás' tools are a grinding mill, two or three pestles and mortars, and two or three sieves and winnowing fans worth altogether about Rs. 6. When called by his employer, the Gola goes to his house at about nine in the morning, and with the help of his wife and a lad, under the watchful supervision of his employer, finishes the grinding and cleaning before noon. They have to be closely watched as they not unfrequently carry rice away.

Besides pounding rice the Gola does menial work in his employer's family on extraordinary occasions and is given his day's food and a wage in cash. He also receives occasional presents in food and clothes. When he has no employer he takes service under a grain-dealer. If well off he trades in rice on his own account. A few families have earned considerable sums as grain-dealers. The Gola's busy season is during the eight fair months (Nov. - June). He is an early riser beginning at seven and working till dark with two hours rest for meals. Besides on the ordinary Hindu holidays and caste ceremonial days, he does no work for a week in each month. Some Golás have given up rice-pounding and work as sawyers, as apprentices to grocers and cloth dealers, as field and day labourers, as sellers of salt, and as carriers of goods either on their shoulders or on donkey-back. In south Gujarát some Golás have lately become craftsmen, a few of them showing special skill as weavers of silk and brocade. Like Kumbhárs they ride on donkeys. Gola women are valued as wet nurses, and when so employed receive besides their food a monthly pay of Rs. 5 to Rs. 10. A Gola's yearly income varies from Rs. 50 to Rs. 200.

The Gola is held in little respect; a slovenly Vánia is called a Gola in contempt. The Golás and Ghánchis are the first on the other side of the boundary line between high and low caste Hindus. Though Golás rank among the first of lower class Hindus a certain contempt attaches to them partly owing to their unskilled profession, their love of drink and their poverty, and partly owing to their fondness for riding donkeys. In central Gujarát a Gola ordinarily rides on a donkey; and in south Gujarát, on the *Holi* or March festival he is specially hired and grotesquely dressed and paraded on a donkey's back, with the beating of drums. The Golás are fond of pleasure.

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Gola's.

Parties of eight to ten men and women go on picnics, where they drink and gamble, sometimes abusing each other and sometimes coming to blows.[1] Their women are noisy and talkative. On the *Holi* (March) and other holidays both men and women form circles and dance round striking sticks to the beating of drums. Another favourite amusement is swimming, which they practise on high days.

As a class Golás are religious. They are Bijpanthis, Kabirpanthis, Rámánandis, Shaivs, and Sváminaráyans. In Kaira, like Matia Kanbis, they belong to the Pirána sect. Except the Pirána Golás who worship their saints' tombs and a heap of flowers, they respect all Hindu gods, but keep no idols in their houses. They believe in witchcraft, exorcism, the regular Hindu omens, and the influence of the evil eye. They are careful to observe the regular Hindu fasts and feasts. During the whole of the *Adhika* or intercalary month, bands of as many as fifty men and boys go to the river to bathe every morning singing hymns and songs. They have their religious heads who occasionally visit them and are paid about a rupee by each family. The animals they worship are the cow on Sankránt Day (12th January) and the donkey on New Year's Day. A *kanku* mark is made on the donkey's forehead, a flower wreath is thrown round its neck, and a cocoanut is offered to it and the kernel distributed to castepeople. They visit the ordinary places of Hindu pilgrimage. Their priests are chiefly Audich, Ráekval, Meváda, and Shrimáli Bráhmans. Two or three Golás have become holy men or *bhagats*.

A Gola woman generally goes to her father's house to be confined. On the birth of the first male child the news is sometimes sent to the father and sugar or molasses is distributed to friends and relations. On the sixth day the goddess Chhathi is worshipped and boiled rice mixed with sugar and milk is distributed to relations and friends. After delivery the woman does not cook or go out for twenty or thirty days. The child is named with or without ceremony. When the child is named with ceremony the father's sister gives the name and sweetmeats are distributed to the children of the street. Except that three married women of the caste are sometimes feasted no ceremony is performed at the first giving of solid food to the child. Golás do not wear the Bráhmanic thread, but at the time of performing death ceremonies some hang a cotton thread across their shoulders. Betrothals take place sometimes immediately and sometimes years before marriage. A betrothal is seldom broken. Except that they are less detailed their marriage ceremonies do not differ from those performed by Kanbis. Marriages are not allowed among near relations or between people bearing the same surname. They allow widow marriage, the widow of a man sometimes marrying his younger brother. In the seventh month after a woman's first conception a pregnancy ceremony is performed. They burn their dead. The near relations of the deceased remain impure for ten days. From the eleventh to the thirteenth day after death, and in some parts only on the eleventh day

[1] A quarrel ending in abuse with a certain amount of gentle slapping is called *Gola ladái* or a Gola brawl.

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Gola's.

the chief mourner performs the *shráddha* ceremony with the help of a Káyatia Bráhman. Castepeople are feasted for one to four days and presents are made to Bráhmans. Monthly and yearly death-days are kept and friends are feasted. Caste disputes are settled by a headman with the help of five leading men. In parts of the Panch Maháls they never go to the civil courts, but have all their money disputes settled by the *panch* or committee. Very few send their boys to school. As a class they are not well-to-do.

Kadiya's.

Kadiya's or Bricklayers also called Chunárás or lime-men, with a strength of 10,626, are found mostly in towns and cities. In their appearance and dress they do not differ from other artisans. They live in small houses. Their staple food consists of millet-bread and pulses and they are said to use in secret flesh, fish, and liquor. They are bricklayers, though a few among them work as masons. The master bricklayer is called *mistri*. He assists the *gajjar* or master carpenter in settling the plan of a building and supervises the work of the bricklayers who are under him. Their busy season lasts from March to June and their daily wages vary from annas 9 to 12. In their trade they have to compete with Chhipás, Golás, Kolis, and men of other castes. Their women do not help them in their craft. They belong to the Parnámi, Sváminaráyan, Rámánandi, and Kabirpanthi sects. They keep all the Hindu fasts and feasts and believe in ghosts and spirits. In all their ceremonies on the occasions of birth, marriage, and death they do not differ materially from other artisans. Divorce and widow-marriage are allowed and practised. All social disputes are settled by a few respected men of the caste. Very few among them send their boys to school.

Kansa'ra's.

Kansa'ra's or Coppersmiths from *kánsu* bellmetal, with a strength of 14,128, are found in most large towns.[1] The Kansárás say that their original home was Pávágad, twenty-nine miles east of Baroda. According to their story five brothers lived at Pávágad, warm devotees of Kálka Máta, whom they worshipped by beating bellmetal cymbals. The goddess was so pleased with their devotion that she told them to make a living by beating metal. From beating brass they advanced to making brass copper and bellmetal vessels. Their surnames are Bagáya, Bármeya, Bhatti, Gohel, Kársakariya, Parmár, and Solanki. The tribal surnames of Bhatti Gohel and Parmár seem to show that Kansárás have some strain of Rajput blood. Their family goddess is Kálka Máta. Kansárás belong to four divisions, Chámpáneris, Márus, Sihorás, and Visnagrás. Except that Visnagrás eat with Chámpáneris, none of the four divisions eat together or intermarry. Of the four divisions the Márus or Márwáris wear the Bráhmanic thread. In their look, dress, and speech Kansárás do not differ from Vániás and Kanbis. The women are good-looking and of easy virtue. Many of them live in houses of one or two stories with brick walls and tiled roofs. They live on the ordinary food grains, except a few in Kachh who eat fish and

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1 Siddhpur in north Gujarát has no coppersmiths. The saying is: Copper will not melt in Siddhpur.

goat's flesh and drink liquor. Kansárás who work in particular metals are called by the name of the metal; copper-workers Támbághada, brass-workers Pitalghada, and gold workers Sonára Kansárás. They work in their own houses generally in bands of five or six, the women helping in burnishing the pots, working the lathe, and in other processes not requiring heavy labour or special skill. They make vessels of copper and brass of various sizes and shapes. In some places, notably in Sihor in Káthiáváḍa and in Kadi and Visnagar in north Gujarát where there are remarkably good workmen in brass and copper, the Kansárás, in addition to the ordinary household vessels, turn out delicately carved ornaments such as penholders, inkstands, betel boxes, idols, lamps, and bells. Some Kansárás make vessels to order and others on their own account for retail sale or for sale to shopkeepers. A coppersmith is paid in money at fixed rates depending on the weight of the vessel. Besides working in brass and copper in their houses some Kansárás move about the town tinning plates and mending vessels.[1] The tin-plater is generally accompanied by a boy who goes along the main streets calling out for vessels to be tinned or mended. When he has gathered a good number of vessels to be tinned, he sits in a corner of the street, sets up a forge, and carries on his work. The Kansárás' busy season lasts from November to June, when, except during two hours at noon, their quarters resound with hammering from dawn to late at night. Besides on ordinary Hindu holidays they do no work on Sundays, on the elevenths and fifteenths of every Hindu month, and during the *Navratri* or Nine Night festival in *A'so* (October). Their yearly earnings vary from Rs. 100 to Rs. 300.

The Kansárás are quiet and contented with a great liking for the hubble-bubble. They are also fond of music, their women some of whom are good singers specially delighting in singing songs while moving in the streets in a circle during the bright fortnight of *A'so* (October). Kansárás hold a respectable position and call themselves Mahájans. They are religious, Rámánandis, Shaivs, and Vallabhácháryás, but all holding their family goddess Kálka Máta in high reverence. They respect all Hindu gods, worship idols in their houses, and occasionally visit the temples in the town. They keep the ordinary fasts and feasts, their great holiday being the bright ninth of *A'so* (October) on which they perform a sacrifice and at midnight dance and leap holding a wreath of *karena* or oleander flowers in one hand and a lighted torch in the other. One of the revellers inspired by the goddess professes to cut off his tongue with a sword. They have not much faith in witchcraft exorcism or omens. The animals they hold sacred are the cow, mouse, elephant, snake, and the kingfisher or *chás*. They visit the usual places of local pilgrimage, chiefly the shrines of Ambáji, Bahucharáji, and Kálka. Their priests belong to many divisions of Bráhmans, Audich, Meváda, Shrigaud, and Shrimáli. A pregnant woman generally goes to her father's house to be confined. On the birth of a first

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[1] In some places the tin-platers are Musalmáns.

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Kansaras.

male child the news is sent to the child's father and molasses is distributed to friends and relations. On the sixth day after the birth the goddess Chhathi is worshipped, and on a footstool in the lying-in room, a reed-pen paper and sometimes a hammer and anvil are laid. Some Kachh Kansárás paint part of the wall of the lying-in room red, light a lamp fed with clarified butter near the red mark, dress the child in a necklace of false pearls and make it bow to the painted wall. On the twelfth day the child is named by the father's sister. When the child is six months to a year old it is given its first cooked food. Kansárás do not wear the Bráhmanic thread. Except that in parts of central Gujarát on the marriage day the bridegroom when he goes to the bride's house holds a dagger, Kansára marriage ceremonies do not differ from those of Kanbis. Marriages are not allowed between near relations. Except among Visnagra Kansárás widows are allowed to marry, the widow sometimes marrying her husband's younger brother. Only in south Gujarát is divorce allowed. A pregnancy ceremony is performed during the seventh month after a woman's first conception. In Kachh some Kansárás do not bind a bracelet or *rákhdi* to the pregnant woman's arm; in central Gujarát, while passing from her father's to her husband's house, the woman, holding a cocoanut in her hollow hands walks with her brother along the road underneath a canopy formed by a piece of cloth held at the four corners by four female relations. The brother holds up the cocoanut in his sister's hands. With these differences the pregnancy ceremonies are the same as those performed by Kanbis. They burn their dead. Except that in central Gujarát a knife is laid near the corpse when it is tied to the bier, that the four male relations bathe before taking the corpse out of the house, that if the deceased dies without a son, his sister's son walks in front and holds in his hand a pot containing live charcoal, and when the party has reached the burning ground lights the pile, and that sweet balls are thrown to dogs, the Kansára funeral is like a Kanbi funeral. On the tenth day after a death near relations and in some places all male members of the caste have their head, chin, and upper lip shaved. A *shráddha* ceremony is performed from the tenth to the thirteenth day after death except in Kachh where it is confined to the eleventh. Presents in clothes and cash are made to the Bráhman priest and castepeople are feasted for two or three days. Caste disputes are settled by a headman with the help of a few leading members of the caste. They have their own trade guild. In south Gujarát an outsider who sets up a coppersmith's shop pays Rs. 7 to the guild fund, Rs. 11 if he starts a peddlar's business, and Rs. 150 if he wishes to work in brass. They give their children elementary schooling, keep to their calling, and are fairly off.

Khatris.

Khatris or Weavers, with a total strength of 52,972, are found chiefly in Surat and Ahmedábád. They say that they belong to the Brahma-Kshatri stock, and in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries came into Gujarát from Sindh, tempted by the strong European demand for their cloth. Their regular features and fair

Khatris.

complexion, and the fact that they wear the sacred thread favours their claim to be of Brahma-Kshatri origin. And the great veneration in which they hold the temple of Devi at Hinglâj, on the western border of Sindh, would seem to point to some early connection with that province.[1] Many Khatris have good houses, brick-walled and tile-roofed. But most of them have rather a poor uncared-for appearance. They live as a rule on vegetable food, but many in south Gujarát eat fish and drink liquor to excess. They weave women's robes bodices and other cotton clothes. This industry has suffered much since the introduction of European piece-goods rendered useless the delicate looms which once turned out the fine cloth of Surat and Broach. Besides by weaving, many Khatris, especially in Surat, earn a living by preparing the gold and silver thread and lace used for embroidery. Among the Khatris the women help in the work of weaving and preparing the gold lace. Most of the Khatris are employed by men of capital, supplied with materials, and paid according to the quantity of cloth they turn out. As a class they are said to be thriftless and idle; and at least the Khatris of Surat to be excessively fond of strong drink. By religion they are Vaishnavs. But most of them prefer the worship of Devi, especially as noticed above of Hinglájmáta. Among their number are many men who, by the power of Devi, claim to be able to cure snake-bites and work other wonders. Except that their widows marry, their customs differ little from those of Vániás. Each community has its headman, and settles its social disputes by a meeting of all the men of the caste. On the whole, the Khatris seem to be declining. Few of them send their children to school, or show any fitness for pushing themselves forward in any new calling.

Kumbha'rs.

Kumbha'rs[2] or Potters, with a strength of 248,410 are found in almost every town and village. The houses of many of them are very small, poor, and unti[illegible] look and dress they do not differ from Kanbis. They liv[illegible] vegetable food, and except some in south Gujarát they abstain from liquor. They make vessels and pots for water butter oil and grain, and tiles bricks and toys. The earth they use is generally taken from the bottom of reservoirs and pools. Their tools are the wheel and a few flat wooden mallets, worth in all not more than Rs. 5 to Rs. 10. Most of them have a donkey or two to bring earth and litter for fuel. The pottery of Ahmedábád and Pátan is well burnt, glazed, and

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1 In the Panjáb according to Sherring, no difference appears in the pronunciation of the two names Khatri and Kshatri, and the tradition is that up to the time of Aurangzeb the Khatris did not leave their old profession of arms, but when a large number of them were slain in the Dakhan wars waged by the emperor, he felt pity for the condition of their beautiful widows and proposed that the women should be remarried. He summoned a council of the more respectable Khatris of Dehli, and wished them to adopt the custom of remarriage. Those who agreed formed a distinct caste. (Sherring's Tribes, I, 278, 282.)

2 Kumbhárs from *kumbh* a water-pot and *kar* a maker. They are also called Hoja and Prajápati, that is Brahma the Creator, a title the justice of which few will question who have seen masses of mud on a whirling wheel growing into shapely vessels in the potter's creating hands.

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Kumbha'rs.

ornamented with designs. The village potter is a member of the village community. In return for gifts of grain he supplies the villagers with articles of earthenware, and, on payment of one-fourth part of the ordinary rental, the lands formerly held by village potters have been continued to them by the British Government. Besides working as potters, many of this class are in villages employed as servants by well-to-do families, and in towns have become carpenters. In their work as potters, the whole family joins, kneading the clay and collecting litter for fuel. Potters are generally paid for vessels by the dozen, and for bricks and tiles by the thousand. Their yearly earnings vary from Rs. 60 to Rs. 150. They are quiet, sober, and thrifty. By religion they are Vaishnavs, and except that they allow their widows to re-marry, their customs are the same as those observed by Kanbis. Each community has its headman, and settles social disputes at a meeting of all the men of the caste.

Luha'rs.

Luha'rs, short for Lohokar Ironworker or Blacksmith, with a strength of 107,639 are found in cities and large villages. According to their account they are the descendants of one Pithvo, so called because he was created by Párvati out of the dust clinging to Shiv's back, to prepare weapons in Shiv's wars against the two demons Andkár and Dhundhkár. When Shiv killed the demons, Pithvo turned their skulls into anvils, their hands into hammers, and their lungs into bellows. With these tools Pithvo repaired the axle of Shiv's chariot wheel, and, in return, Shiv gave him the boon that every time he cleared his furnace he would find one gold *mohar* (Rs. 15). Pithvo spoiled by this wealth grew insolent and declined to mend Shiv's chariot. Shiv withdrew the gold from the ashes and Pithvo fell on his knees and begged the god's pardon. After much entreaty Shiv decreed that, to save Pithvo from the labour of clearing the furnace, however [illegible] might be burnt no ashes would remain. Some of the Rajp[illegible] lights [illegible] to have joined the descendants of Pithvo, as their tribal surna[illegible] lude Chávda, Chohán, Parmár, Ráthod, Solanki, and Vála. Among their local surnames are Afádia, Asodia, Bardia, Bodána, Chiptada, Chitroda, Deládia, Devgha, Dodia, Harsura, Háthodia, Jhilka, Kahalia, Karjania, Kava, Maru, Pati, Pithva, Podhyár, Sándhav, Sirohia, and Vanol. A Luhár takes pride in being called Pithvo, a rare surname except among Márwár Luhárs. Among Luhárs are six main divisions, four, Bhávnagris, Pancháls, Sirohiás, and Suratis found mostly in south Gujarát, Khambhátis in central and north Gujarát, and Parajiás in Kachh. These six divisions neither eat together nor intermarry. All speak Gujaráti. They live in middle class houses with brick walls and tiled roofs, though in large cities some of them own handsome dwellings two or three stories high. Except Khambhátis who are like Vániás, the Luhárs are dark with muscular limbs. In Mangrol, Verával, and other parts of Káthiáváḍa the Luhárs wear a lock of hair over each ear. Except in south Gujarát where they privately eat flesh and fish and drink liquor to excess the Luhárs are strict vegetarians. In Ahmedábád those who drink are fined by the caste committee and in the Panch Maháls some

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Luhárs.

of them like Bráhmans do not eat carrots or *gájar*. The Luhárs are blacksmiths smelting iron, making nails knives nutcrackers swords daggers and field tools, and repairing carts. The Luhár's shop is generally the veranda of his house where people bring articles that want mending. His tools are a pair of bellows, a pair of tongs, an anvil, a hammer, and a furnace, costing together from Rs. 15 to Rs. 30. Of late European bellows and anvils have come into general use, and, among town blacksmiths, many men have shown great quickness in understanding the working of European machinery. In blowing the bellows and in the lighter parts of the work the Luhár is helped by the women of the family. He works from seven in the morning till dark with two hours' rest for meals. In the rainy season which is his busy time he sometimes goes on working till midnight. Besides on ordinary Hindu holidays he does no work on the elevenths and fifteenths of any Hindu month. In some parts of north Gujarát where Jainism is powerful the Luhárs are not allowed to work during the *Pachusan* holidays in August and in Káthiáváḍa they do no work for two or three days after the death of an elderly member of the caste. On a rough calculation they work for nine months in the year. The competition of European ironware has forced some Luhárs to give up their original calling and become silversmiths, carpenters, watch-repairers, weavers, and in some cases field and day labourers. In large towns some, known as Sonári Luhárs, undertake every kind of silver work making gold and silver anklets of various patterns. Their yearly income varies from Rs. 100 to Rs. 500. In villages besides working in iron the Luhár tills the soil and is a useful member of the community. In return for mending field tools the villagers pay him in grain at the harvest season.

Luhárs belong to many religious sects, Gódiápanthis, Kabirpanthis, Márgipanthis, Meherájpanthis, Rámánandis, Shaivs, Sváminácáyans, and Vallabhácháryas. Most of them believe in witchcraft exorcism and the ordinary omens. Some of them regard their bellows as a symbol or home of Devi and on big days worship the bellows and set near it a lamp fed with clarified butter. Their priests belong to many divisions of Bráhmans who are known by the name of Luhár Gors and are despised by other Bráhmans. As a class they are fairly religious.

A pregnant woman generally goes to her father's house to be confined. On the birth of the first male child molasses is distributed to friends and relations and the news of the birth is sent to the child's father. On the sixth day the goddess Chhathi is worshipped when a reedpen and paper are laid on a footstool in the lying-in room. In Surat instead of the pen and paper a lamp is kept burning in the lying-in room, and near the lamp are laid a white cap, a white jacket, and a dish containing various eatables; in Kaira an iron ring is laid on a footstool; and in Káthiáváḍa a knife and file are worshipped. When the child is two or three months old it is named either by the father's sister or by a Bráhman priest. Except that in some places four married women are feasted and the family goddess is worshipped no ceremony takes place at the time of giving the child its first cooked food. Kachh Luhárs are girt with the Bráhmanic thread but wear it

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for a short time only. With one or two peculiarities the marriage ceremonies are like those performed by Kanbis. The peculiarities are that on the third day before a marriage the mothers of the bride and the bridegroom go separately with music and female relations a little way from their house and drive an iron nail into the ground, and that on the day before the marriage at the house both of the bride and of the bridegroom seven women of the caste take seven earthen pots filled with water from a river pond or well. Except in parts of south Gujarát where the children of sisters or of brothers and sisters marry, marriage between near relations is avoided. Divorce is generally allowed. Except among some Kachh Luhárs the widow marries, but rarely the younger brother of her deceased husband.

They burn their dead with all Kanbi ceremonies. The nearest relations of the deceased remain impure for ten days and on the tenth day the men have their head chin and upper lip shaved. *Shráddha* ceremonies are performed for three days from the tenth to the twelfth and castepeople are feasted on the twelfth and the thirteenth. Caste disputes are settled by a headman of each division or by a few leading men at a special caste meeting. A few send their boys to vernacular schools and in spite of the competition of European ironware they are fairly off.

Mochis.

Mochis or Leather-workers, with a strength of 64,999, are found in towns and in most large villages. According to their own account they were Rajputs living near Chámpánir who got their present name because one of them made a pair of stockings or *moju* out of a tiger's skin. Traces of their Rajput descent appear in their tribal surnames Chohán, Chudásama, Dabhi, Gohil, Jethva, Jhála, Makvána, Máru, Parmár, Ráthod, Solanki, and Vághela. Their local divisions are Ahmedábádis, Khambhátis, and Suratis, who eat together but do not intermarry. Besides being divided according to their settlements they are split into many sections according to their callings. The chief of these craft sections are Mochis or shoemakers, Chándlágarás or makers of lac spangles, Rasaniás or electroplaters, Chitárás or painters, Minágarás or workers in enamel, Pánágarás or gold and silver foil-makers, Ángigarás or makers of idol ornaments including Krishna's peacock and feather-caps, and the talc tablets or *gokhs* of the goddess Bahucharáji, Pákhariás or makers of ornamental horse hangings, Netragarás or makers of idols' eyes, Jingars or saddlers, Dhálgars or shield-makers Bakhtargarás or armour-scourers, and Dabgars or leather potters. Formerly these different sections ate together and intermarried. Of late in some places the Chándlágarás Chitárás and Rasaniás have separated into distinct castes. Their taking to cleaner callings has so raised them in social position that though they do not touch a Mochi, high class Hindus treat them as they treat bricklayers carpenters masons and other artisans. Mochis are fair but of poor physique, stooping and roundshouldered. In south Gujarát the face except the moustache and the head except a tuft on the top are shaved. In north Gujarát some wear whiskers. The Chitárás or painters are weaksighted. They live in houses of one or two stories and with brick walls and tiled roofs.

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Mochis.

They speak Gujaráti. Besides the ordinary food-grains they eat fish and the flesh of sheep goats and fowls, and drink liquor. Of late years, through many Mochis becoming followers of Svámináráyan, the use of flesh and liquor has grown less and in some places has ceased. The men wear indoors a small waistcloth reaching to the knee, a jacket and a skullcap, and outdoors a turban instead of the cap and a cotton coat instead of or in addition to the jacket. The women wear a petticoat a bodice and a *sari* or robe. Their ornaments are silver anklets, ivory or wooden bracelets, brass wristlets, and a gold or silver necklace. As the names of the different subdivisions show, the Mochi is a man of varied callings, working in leather, painting, electroplating, enameling, and making tin gold and silver foil. Mochis also work as gold and silver carvers, as embroiderers on wool and silk, as diamond polishers and setters, and as bricklayers. Besides making saddles bridles shields scabbards hunting-whips and bags, the Mochi's chief employment as a leather-worker is shoemaking. The shoemaker generally works independently, but he sometimes works as a member of an establishment on a daily wage of 4 annas. He generally makes shoes to order, but sometimes on his own account and sells them himself, or to other shopkeepers for retail sale.[1] Besides in large towns making boots and shoes of English shape he makes shoes of different patterns. The colour of the shoes is red and black; but on all lucky occasions red shoes should be worn. The shoes worn by the bridegroom when going to the bride's house must be red, with uppers of embroidered broadcloth. His tools are several leather-cutting broadbladed knives, needles, stone-scales, earthen water-jars, brushes, and wooden blocks of different sizes of the shape of a man's foot costing together about Rs. 2. He buys the hides of cows, oxen, sheep, goats, and buffaloes from Musalmán hide merchants and occasionally from Dhedás and Bhangiás who dispose of dead cattle.[2] As a rule a Mochi neither tans hides nor cobbles shoes. In sewing shoes with cotton thread and in selling them he is helped by the women of the family who also do house work and at their leisure make bamboo sieves. Besides on ordinary Hindu holidays and caste ceremonials, he does no work on the elevenths and fifteenths of any Hindu month. His busy season is during the eight fair months; in the rainy season, when in villages his regular employment is at a stand, he works as a field labourer. Though quiet, well-behaved and except in south Gujarát, sober, the Mochi is neither a skilled[3] nor

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[1] The wearing of shoes depends on a man's circumstances, his taste, his habit, and his religious feelings. Some Bráhmans do not wear shoes because they consider the touch of shoes polluting or because they are under a vow; some well-to-do Vániás on religious or economic grounds wear no shoes and are nicknamed *ughád-paga* or barefoot. Some labourers and cultivators and almost all of the early classes are too poor to wear shoes. Both high and low caste Hindus do not wear shoes indoors, high caste Hindus considering their touch polluting when at meals or in the god-room. Some Bráhmans wear wooden sandals after the morning bath. Except sometimes in villages high caste Hindu women never wear shoes.

[2] The skin of the deer and tiger are sacred and Bráhmans use them without scruple when at prayer.

[3] The proverb is: *Chaturmá chitáro ane murakhmá mochi* that is Among the skilled the painter stands first and among the unskilled the shoemaker.

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a steady[1] workman, and is generally thriftless.[2] In his work he has to compete with Musalmáns and in some large towns with Hindus from Upper India who seem to have accompanied regiments returning from the north. As painters, enamellers, gilders, embroiderers, and diamond setters, Mochis have a good name for fine and tasteful workmanship, and some of them are men of moderate means. The yearly earnings of people of this class vary from Rs. 100 to Rs. 300.

The Mochi holds a low position in the social scale, and though he does not touch Khálpás, Dhedás, or other depressed classes, a high caste Hindu considers the touch of a Mochi a pollution. Though the different subdivisions eat together, those Mochis who have left off leather working, especially those who have so far improved their position that they do not freely touch other Mochis, prepare glass eyes for idols, peacock-feather caps for Krishna, and talc tablets for Bahucharáji. Mochis are fairly religious and belong to the Rámánandi, Parnámi, and Bijmárgi sects. Some of them are followers of some goddess. Most of them worship images in their houses, and, especially the followers of Swaminaráyan, daily visit their temples. Except a few in Kachh and the Panch Mahále, most of them believe in exorcism witchcraft and omens. Thinking them spells placed by an enemy for their hurt, they are seriously alarmed if they find near their house a lemon with redlead in it, or five beans of *adad* Phaseolus mungo, or an ivory image daubed with lampblack. They keep the regular Hindu fasts and feasts and visit the usual places of Hindu pilgrimage. Some of them take to religious lives and make a name as *bhagats* or holy men. In all their ceremonies they employ Bráhman priests who are called Mochi Gors and are despised by other Bráhmans. No ceremonies are performed on the day of a birth. On the night of the sixth day the goddess Chhathi is worshipped when the wall of the lying-in room is marked with redpowder and on a footstool are laid, besides a reedpen and a water jar, a sword or scimitar wrapped in cloth and set upright. Female relations worship these articles and the child is made to peep at them. In some places instead of the jar and sword an earthen cake is laid on the house-roof. The child is named on the twelfth day. After childbirth the woman keeps herself aloof for ten or fifteen days. When the ceremony for giving the child its first cooked food is performed, which is not everywhere done, the child is given a few mouthfuls of coarse wheat flour mixed with sugar and butter and some brass cups are distributed to friends and relations. A few Kachh Mochis wear the Bráhmanic thread but without any thread-girding ceremonies. Except that in the Panch Mahále some *guvár* Cyamopsis psoraloides beans are scattered on the bridegroom before he enters the bride's

[1] The off-putting Mochi is a bye-word: *Sonini sánj ane mochinu vahánu* The goldsmith's to-night and the shoemaker's to-morrow morning.

[2] *Mochini chhátiupar pathar* The stone on the shoemaker's breast is the weight on the mind of the dying Mochi when he remembers that his want of thrift prevents him leaving money for his twelfth day ceremony. *Mehel karvat mochina mochi* that is Even if sawn in two a Mochi remains a Mochi. This proverb refers to the belief that if a man gets himself sawn in two at a sacred place he will be re-born a king. It illustrates the general experience that a Mochi's efforts to better his fortune end in failure.

house, their marriage ceremonies though less detailed are in the main those performed by Kanbis. Girls are married before ten and boys at any age after eight. Marriages are not allowed among near relations or between people bearing the same surname. Polygamy is allowed and divorce is granted, but in some parts of south Gujarát to the husband alone. Widow-marriage is allowed and in some places the widow marries the younger brother of the deceased husband. In the seventh month after a woman's first conception the lap-filling ceremony is performed with all Kanbi details. They burn their dead. Four cocoanuts are kept hanging from the bier one at each corner and they are thrown to the four quarters of the heavens at the halting place midway between the house and the burning ground. In Kachh when the dead body is laid on the pile the lighting begins from the toe of the left foot. When the body is burnt a heap of wheat-flour in the shape of Shiv's *liṅg* is made on the burning ground and handfuls of a mixture of water milk curds and cow's urine are poured one hundred and eight times on the wheat flour *liṅg* out of an earthen jar. The jar is covered with cotton thread and its mouth is closed by a lid bored in four places. A sweet-ball is laid on the lid and the jar is set near the *liṅg*. For three days a second earthen jar full of milk and water is placed on the house-roof. The nearest male relations of the deceased have their heads chins and upper lips shaved on the tenth day. A *shráddha* ceremony is performed for three days from the eleventh to the thirteenth day after death. Castepeople are feasted for one or two days. When they cannot get a Bráhman on the death days they lay wheat buns and milk on the roof. Each community has its headman of limited power. Social disputes are settled at a meeting of all the men of the caste. Very few send their boys to school. At about twelve a boy begins to learn his father's work. Though most shoemakers are badly off, some are well-to-do, and they are on the whole a pushing class.

Sala'ts.

Sala'ts or Stoneworkers, from *salya* a stone, with a strength of 6459 are found only in cities and in some large towns. The leading and only true class of masons are the Somparás who are found in large numbers in north Gujarát, Káthiáváḍa, and Kachh. Some Kumbhárs in Kachh and some Talabdá Kolis in Surat and Broach have taken to stonecutting and have formed separate castes from other Kumbhárs and other Talabdá Kolis. According to their story the Sompara Saláts were originally Bráhmans. At the desire of Somnáth Mahádev, whose temple is at Prabhás on the south coast of Káthiávaḍa, half of the Bráhman disciples of a sage took to stonecutting. The other half of the disciples remained Bráhmans, and were ordered to act as priests to those who had become Saláts. After this division, though they never intermarried, Sompara Bráhmans and Saláts are said for a time to have continued to dine with each other. According to another account the Sompara Saláts lost their Bráhmanic purity under the following circumstances: A Jain merchant of Navánagar named Vardhmán in building some Jain temples employed a large number of Sompara Saláts. When all the temples were finished the idea struck Vardhmán that if one of his descendants turned out a miscreant, his religious labours for the glory of Jainism would be fruitless. He

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wished therefore to be without a child. Childlessness could be secured only by provoking Bráhmans to curse him. To secure the wished-for curse Vardhmán invited all his Sompara Saláts to a dinner prepared by Bráhman cooks. Before they had finished dining Vardhmán went into the dining hall and as is done to fellow-castemen in all feasts presented the guests with betel-leaves. When the Bráhman Saláts saw Vardhmán, a Vaishya, in their midst, distributing betel-leaves, they considered themselves defiled, and in their fury called down the curse of childlessness on Vardhmán. Vardhmán thanked the Bráhmans, accepted their curse in good grace, and was satisfied. Thus the Sompara Saláts ceased to be Bráhmans. In support of this story they say that a stone or *páliya* near Vardhmán's Jain temples records this event and that even at this day Somparás do not drink water at Navánagar the place of their defilement. The Kumbhár Saláts of Kachh were originally from Navánagar where is the place of worship of their family deities Amba, Chavan, and Párvati. Their tribal surnames point to a Rajput not a Bráhman origin, Balsod, Bhatti, Chohán, Gohil, Kacha, Ráthod, Solanki, and Tank. Except in their calling, Kumbhár Saláts and Talabda-Koli Saláts are in every respect like Kumbhárs and Talabda Kolis. The Sompara Saláts are strongly built and have sunburnt swarthy faces. They live in middle class houses with or without upper stories and with tiled roofs. They live on the ordinary food-grains eating neither fish nor flesh and drinking no spirits. Like orthodox Bráhmans most of them have scruples about eating onions garlic and carrots. Except that in south Gujarát the men wear Bombay Parbhu turbans and that in Káthiáváḍa they shave no part of the head, the Sompara's dress does not differ from the Bráhman dress. They live by stonecutting, the working in the oolitic limestone of Porbandar and the sandstone of Jhálávád affording employment to a large number of masons. Besides being used for house building, the stones are worked into articles of domestic use and ornaments such as images filters and water-bottles. Their busy season is during the four hot months March to June. The Somparás work from seven till noon when they dine and take two hours rest. They resume work at two o'clock and, except a few who rest in the afternoon, work without break till after sunset. Besides on the ordinary Hindu holidays and on such family occasions as marriages and deaths they stop work for three days in a month. Their women do not help them in their work or earn wages from any other source. But boys after eight or ten assist their fathers. Their yearly earnings vary from Rs. 80 to Rs. 150. Some of them, especially in Navánagar, have a talent for portrait painting. In spite of Musalmán competition Somparás hold their own as stonecutters. Their yearly earnings vary from Rs. 150 to Rs. 500. Somparás are Sváminaráyans and Shaivs worshipping Mahádev but respecting other Hindu gods. In Kachh some of them are Vallabhácháryas. They believe in witchcraft, exorcism, the evil eye, and the ordinary omens. They keep the regular Hindu fasts and feasts and visit the usual places of pilgrimage.

No ceremonies are performed on the day of a birth. On the sixth day after a birth a piece of cloth, a reedpen, and vermilion or *kanku* are

laid on a wooden stool near the woman's cot, and a lamp fed with clarified butter is kept burning. After childbirth the woman remains impure for forty days. The child is named on the twelfth day by the father's sister, the first letter of the name being fixed by the astrologer. The first giving of solid food takes place when the child is five months old. The Somparás wear the Bráhmanic thread, the thread ceremony being performed either immediately before marriage or in connection with some other family rite. The thread, marriage, pregnancy, and death ceremonies do not materially differ from those performed by Bráhmans. Their priests are Audich and Sompara Bráhmans. Marriage between near relations is avoided. Girls are married at from one to thirteen. They do not allow divorce but their widows marry, the widow of a man sometimes marrying his younger brother. In some places caste disputes are settled by the headman, in others by five or six leading men who have power to fine and excommunicate the breakers of caste rules. The Saláts send their boys to school and are in middling circumstances.

Sa'lvis.

Sa'lvis, a small class of Handloom Weavers, called from *sál* a loom, of whom there are said to be about 2100. Though in the census returns they would seem to have been included under the head of Khatris, they form a distinct community according to their own account of Kanbi stock. In look dress and customs they do not differ from the other classes of town or artisan Kanbis. Their houses are generally brick-walled and tile-roofed, somewhat larger and more neatly kept than those of the Khatris. They are careful to eat nothing but vegetable food, and almost none of them take liquor. They hold a somewhat higher position than Khatris. Their work is the handloom weaving of silk and brocade. They are said to be thrifty, hardworking, and honest. As the demand for their goods has of late years somewhat increased they are at present well-to-do. Few of them are men of any capital. Hindu and Musalmán traders bring them the raw silk and pay them certain rates for working it up.

Sonis.

Sonis or Gold and Silversmiths, with a strength of 69,282, are found in cities towns and some large villages. They are of six main divisions Gujjars, Márus, Mevádás, Parajiás, Shrimális, and Trágads. The Trágad *mastán* or community, with the two divisions of *nánu* or small and *motu* or large, claims descent from a Vánia father and a Bráhman mother. In token of their part-Bráhman origin they wear the Bráhman thread and do not eat food cooked by any one other than a Bráhman. The Parajiás,[1] called after the village of Parjar about twenty-four miles south of Junágaḍh, claim to be Rajputs. They are of two branches Garána and Patani. Gango, the founder of the Garána branch, established himself at Girnár, and his descendants, 500 houses

[1] It is said that the Parajia Sonis came from Persia, but they have no mark or trace of having originally been Persians. They worship fire, but this may be because fire is the chief help in their craft. They are fond of stories of old wars, they like praise, and are talkative. They are well-built and handsome. Their character and physique favour the view that they were formerly a fighting class, perhaps belonging to the Palhavas mentioned in Sah or Sinha inscriptions.

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in all, are found in Hálár, Sorath, and Bhávnagar in Káthiáváḍa. Nando, a Songhad Rajput, the founder of the Patani branch, went to Patan during the reign of Sidhráj Jaysing (A.D. 1094 - 1143) and astonished the king by his skill. Sidhráj's goldsmiths had made some gold fish which were able to swim; Nando, by the aid of his goddess, made a golden goose which swallowed the gold fish. Sidhráj was so pleased with the fish-eating goose that he promised Nando to give him whatever he asked. Nando asked to be allowed to reign in Patan for three and a half days. During the three days he remitted all taxes and set free all prisoners, and for these charitable actions his descendants claim immunity from giving alms to beggars.[1] Patani Sonis are found in Kachh and in Káthiáváḍa. The Patanis and Garánás eat together but do not intermarry. The four other subdivisions, Gujjars, Márus, Mevádas, and Shrimális claim to have once been Vániás. The Shrimáli Sonis, who originally belonged to the Shrimáli Vánia community and of whom many in north Gujarát are at present known as Soni-Vániás, are of two divisions Ahmedábádis and Charotariás. These two eat together. The Ahmedábádis take Charotaria wives, but never give their daughters to a Charotaria in marriage. Meváda Sonis originally belonged to the Meváda or Meywár Vánia community; the Márus or Márwár Sonis have come into Gujarát from Márwár, and the Gujjars belong to the Gujjar Vánia stock and are a trace of the great settlement of Gujjars or Gurjars who gave its name to Gujarát the bulk of whom of the Leva and Kadva divisions are now hid under the name Kanbi or Pátidár. Besides the six classes of Gujarát professional Sonis some Shrimáli Vániás, coppersmiths, blacksmiths, carpenters, and shoemakers do goldsmith's work. Some of them are very skilful workmen, the best silver workers of Kachh being of the carpenter shoemaker and coppersmith castes. A few Dakhan Sonis are found here and there who are said to have settled in Gujarát during the Marátha rule. They have not mixed with Gujarát Sonis. Their home speech is Maráthi and their dress habits and customs are the same as those of Dakhan Sonis. In skill position and wealth they are inferior to Gujarát Sonis. Some Musalmáns do goldsmith's work for Musalmáns but all their finer ornaments are made by Hindu Sonis for their Musalmán customers. Some Dáudi Bohorás of Cambay do goldsmith's work and are called Vohora Sonis.

In look Gujarát Sonis do not differ from Vániás. Their women are generally fair and some of them remarkably beautiful. They speak Gujaráti or Kachhi. They live in well built houses with one or two stories and with walls of brick and tiled roofs. Like Vániás they live strictly on grain. All men smoke tobacco and many, especially in south Gujarát, are fond of hempwater or *bháng*. Except that some Gujjar Sonis wear the Bhátia turban and that some Parajiás wear tight-fitting knee-breeches, the Soni dress does not differ from the Vánia dress. Both men and women are fond of wearing ornaments especially at their caste feasts. The ornaments are mostly their own, though a few of them belong to their customers. Sonis

[1] In south Gujarát Sidi or African beggars claim, as of right, some copper coins from a Soni.

generally work in gold and silver, though some of the solid and plain gold bracelets and silver anklets and silver pots and vessels are prepared by Luhárs. Arranged according to their work, Sonis are gold-smelters and workers of gold ornaments, *Jadiás* or tracers of designs on ornaments, and *Pachchigars* or diamond and precious stone setters. They work for their customers in one of the front rooms of their houses. This is the Soni's shop or *dukán*. Their tools are an anvil or *eran*, hammer or *hathodo*, pincers or *sánsi chipio* and *samáni*, scissors or *kát*, wiredrawers or *jatardu*, bellows or *dhaman*, a bamboo pipe or *bhungali*, a shallow earthen jar or *kundi*, a hearth or *angithi*, and a small portable wooden box containing weights and a scale balance. The value of these tools varies from Rs. 15 to Rs. 30. Besides these tools every Soni's shop has its strong wooden box to keep his customers' ornaments and an image of his goddess Vágheshvari in one of the niches. Some keep a parrot in their shop. The Soni rises at six and begins work at seven. He works till noon when he dines. After dinner he rests for an hour and is again at work by two, and from two he works till evening. His busy time is during the marriage season (November to May) when he often works from five or six in the morning to eleven or twelve at night with not more than an hour's rest for meals. During the four rainy months as he has little work, he is free to move about and indulge in the pleasures of fairs and picnics. Even during the busy season, besides on ordinary Hindu holidays, the Soni does no work on the dark eleventh and fifteenth of every month and on the *Vyatipát* and *Vaidhrit* days which number about three in a month. Some Gujjar Sonis do no work during the Shrávak Pachusan or fast-days in August. The women do not as a rule help the men in their work. But some women who are specially trained in making necklaces or *galachvás*, armlets or *vánks*, and bracelets or *ponchis* earn sums varying from Rs. 4 to Rs. 6 a month. Boys of ten or twelve are made to serve as apprentices for a few years in a goldsmith's shop. In the beginning they receive no pay, but, after an apprenticeship of two or three years, wages at Rs. 2 to Rs. 4 a month are paid either quarterly or once a year. As soon as he masters the craft, a son generally helps his father or takes over his business. But some spend their whole lives working in large establishments.

Each upper class Hindu family has its own goldsmith to whom they give all their work. The Sonis have a bad name for filching gold and for mixing metal. The saying is: A Soni takes gold even out of his own daughter's ornaments. Employers are careful in their dealings with Sonis. Gold is always melted in the employer's presence, who, to guard against fraud, keeps a small piece of the metal, called *chásni* or *máslo* that is sample, and when the ornament is ready sends the ornament with the sample to an assayer or *chokshi* who by rubbing them on a touch-stone or *kasoti* tells whether the gold in the sample and in the ornament is of the same quality. Further the employer either himself sits near the Soni while the ornament is being made or sends one of his family to watch. In spite of these precautions the Soni never fails to filch some of the gold while the spy's attention is distracted by the prattling of the parrot, by the coquetting of a handsomely

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dressed young woman of the family, or by some organised mishap in the inner rooms among the women of the house. The Sonis are paid partly by the weight of the ornament and partly by the kind of work. The rates vary from Re. ⅛ to Re. 1 and are sometimes as high as Rs. 3 the *tola* of eighty grains. Besides from working in gold the Soni has other sources of income. The clearings[1] in his shop are every day heaped together and sold to professional dust-washers or Dhuldhoyás. These men every second year dig the floor of the shop and take away the earth in carts. For this the Soni receives a lump sum varying in amount according to the number of his customers. A goldsmith's average yearly earnings from all sources vary from Rs. 100 to Rs. 600. As a class Sonis are well off. In respect both of lodging and clothing they are in good condition and spend more in caste dinners and marriages than any other artisans. Against the fact that the Soni is a loser owing to the growing desire among high caste Hindus for pearl ornaments in place of gold ones, is to be set the turn of fashion which is forsaking plain in favour of finely worked ornaments. Except a few Parajiás in Kachh who are stone-masons carpenters and husbandmen, Sonis stick to their hereditary calling and are averse to new pursuits.

The Parajiás are inferior workmen who use their talents chiefly as forgers of base metal. With this exception the Sonis as a class are intelligent and clever workers, the Sonis of Amreli in central Káthiáváḍa being specially noted for plain burnished work. They are quiet, well-behaved, hardworking, and fond of show and pleasure. In Surat their special pride is in keeping handsome bullock carriages. Socially Sonis hold a high position ranking next to Vániás who with few exceptions will smoke from a Soni's pipe.[2] Sonis and Kansárás must formerly have exercised great influence, as, except Vániás, they alone enjoy the title of Maháajan or great men. As a class Sonis are religious and respect the ordinary Hindu gods. Some of them are Shaivs, some Vallabhácháryás, and some Svámináráyans. All have their family goddesses. The family goddesses of most are Vágheshvari[3] and Mahálakshmi and of others Hingláj, Momai, and Asir. The Parajiás worship fire morning and evening and offer incense *dhup* to the fire. In Kachh some of the Parajiás have as their guardian-spirit Khetrapál the god of boundaries or a Musalmán saint. The family goddess especially Vágheshvari is represented by a trident painted with *kanku* or red-powder in one of the niches in the shop. A lamp fed with clarified butter is placed near the goddess who is worshipped especially on Sundays before sitting to work. Except some Parajiás in Kachh all worship the images of gods in their houses and all believe in exorcism witchcraft and the ordinary omens. Some Shrimáli Sonis are careful to

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1 In south Gujarát the Bhangiás who sweep the street dust are very keen to gather the dust near the Soni's house in the hope of finding some particles of gold.

2 Though Sonis rank next to Vániás, in some south Gujarát villages Dhedás will not eat food cooked by a Soni, because like Khálpás or tanners Sonis in their work use a shallow earthen jar or *kundi* and because the Dhedás will not eat food cooked by a Khálpa.

3 Vágheshvari is believed to have created two men both of them Vániás. The elder took to making ornaments and was called *Soni* and the younger taking to trade was called *Vepári*.

look at a lucky object early in the morning so that they may fare well during the day. They keep the ordinary Hindu fasts and feasts. They attend the temples of their faith in their cities and towns and visit Hindu places of pilgrimage. Akho (about A.D. 1740) the celebrated metaphysician of Ahmedábád, and Lálo who flourished about fifty years ago in Kachh were Sonis. At present (A.D. 1897) they have no holy men or *bhagats*. Their family priests are Audich, Sárasvat, and Shrimáli Bráhmans.

On the birth of a child a midwife is called and in the case of a male child the news of the birth is sent to the father. On the sixth day after a birth the goddess Chhathi is worshipped. Among the Parájiás the worship on the sixth day has the peculiarity that a tool is wrapped in red cloth, set upright in the lying-in room, and worshipped by the women of the family with *kanku* and flowers. A woman remains unclean from thirty to forty days after childbirth. Among the Parajiás the idea of the woman's impurity during these thirty or forty days is so strong that her touch is considered a pollution. On the twelfth day after birth the child is named by the father's sister. The first giving of cooked food to the child takes place when it is five or six months old. Of the six divisions of Sonis the Trágads and Parajiás alone wear the Bráhman thread. Among the Trágads the thread ceremony is performed when the boy is from seven to nine years old with full Bráhman rites. Among the Parajiás the boy is girt with the sacred thread at marriage if he is married before he is fifteen or at fifteen if he is not married before that time. The boy is girt with the thread without any ceremonies either by a family priest or by a Vaishnava Maháráj. Like Vániás the other four divisions of Sonis wear the Bráhmanic thread only when performing *shráddha* or death ceremonies. Except that the women sing coarse or lucky songs the Soni marriage does not differ from the Vánia marriage. Boys are generally married before twenty and girls when they are from ten to twelve years old. Among the Ahmedábádi Shrimáli Sonis, owing to the scarcity of boys, the wives are generally older than the husbands. The Márus, Parajiás, and Charotaria Shrimáli Sonis practice polygamy and allow widow marriage. Among Charotaria Shrimális alone the wife is free to divorce her husband. The expense of a Soni marriage ordinarily varies from Rs. 100 to Rs. 600.[1] Except among some Parajiás the lap-filling ceremony takes place in the course of the seventh month after a woman's first conception. The Sonis burn their dead, Parajiás who reverence Musalmán saints alone bury. The death ceremonies of those who burn do not differ from Vánia death rites. The nearest relations of the deceased remain impure for ten days. *Shráddha* is performed for four days from the tenth to the thirteenth. Each community has its headman or *patel*, who, in consultation with four or five leading men, settles caste disputes at a meeting of all the men of

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1 In the case of the Charotaria Shrimáli Sonis among whom marriageable girls are scarce, the boy's marriage expenses vary from Rs. 1200 to Rs. 2500. In the case of Ahmedábádi Shrimális among whom boys are scarce the girl's marriage expenses vary from Rs. 200 to Rs. 400.

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the caste. Their boys generally learn as much Gujaráti writing and reading as their calling requires. Few parents are anxious to give their children much schooling, and very few have risen to high positions as pleaders or in Government or native state service.

Suthárs.

Suthárs or Carpenters, with a strength of 123,948, are pretty evenly distributed over the province. They belong to six divisions A'hir, Gujar, Meváda, Pancholi, Márvádi, and Vaish. Of these the Pancholis and Vaishas are found only in Gujarát proper, the Gujars and Márvádis in Gujarát Káthiáváda and Kachh, and the A'hirs only in Kachh. The Gujars, Mevádás, Pancholis, and Vaishas claim to be the descendants of Vishvakarma the divine world-builder, the Vaishas by a courtesan or *veshya*, the Gujars by a woman of Gujarát, the Mevádás by a woman of Mevád, and the Pancholis by a woman of Panchal near Delhi. Two at least of these derivations are only meaning-makings. The high position of the Vaishas seems to show that they are not the offspring of a courtesan but are a trace of the old Hindu division of Vaishya or Traders. Similarly the low position of the Pancháls supports the view that the word is Panchuli or Panchkuli the same as Panchas that is the half of Dasás or only one-quarter pure blood. The Márvádi Suthárs of six branches, Bháti, Bombardi, Chohán, Ráthod, Solanki, and Tuár claim to have been Márvád Rajputs; and the A'hir Suthárs of six tribes Avadya, Bhala, Chohán, Fagnishia, Ghati, and Phodherya claim to have been A'hir Kshatris. Both Márvádis and A'hirs took to carpentry when Parshurám resolved to destroy the Kshatris. The Gujars say that they were once stone-masons as well as carpenters, but gave up stonecutting because of an attack made on them when Sidhráj Jaysing had engaged them to build his Rudramál.[1] Their caste has they say a thousand subdivisions.[2] Except that the other five divisions eat food cooked by Vaishas none of the six divisions eat together or intermarry. Of the four divisions Gujar, Meváda, Pancholi, and Vaish found in Gujarát proper the Vaish rank highest because they do not eat food cooked by the other divisions, because they wear the Bráhmanic thread, and because they do not allow their widows to marry. The Pancholis rank lowest because they alone prepare oil-presses, build ships, and do other wood work which causes the loss of animal life. Besides the regular carpenters, some Sai tailors, Kolis, Kumbhárs, and Tapodhans have taken to carpentry. But these are not recognised as true carpenters, as in the religious ceremonies which are performed after building a house or a temple, none but a Suthár by birth can take a part.

In look and dress Suthárs do not differ from Vániás. Many own good houses. Except a few in the wilder parts of Surat who drink liquor and privately eat fish and the flesh of goats, they live on vegetable food and abstain from liquor.

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[1] A book on their caste called Vishvakarma says that about 3000 years ago when their caste was formed their ancestors washed regularly, repeated the most sacred *gáyatri* or sun text, and performed other ceremonies like Bráhmans, and like them were divided into families *gotras* and branches *shakhás*.

[2] Among these subdivisions are Abásnás, Agárás, Bakraniás, Bhardiyás, Dudhaiás, Gharvaliás, Limbosiás, Pinavás, Vadámás, and Vágadiás. These are now family names rather than clan or tribe divisions.

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Suthárs.

Suthárs may be divided into two classes, town and village carpenters. The town carpenter is generally well trained and skilful in his calling. He has a full set of tools, hatchets or *vánslo,* chisels or *vidhna,* a hammer *hathodi,* a saw *ári,* an auger *sáldi,* a plane *rando,* a bamboo yard measure *gaj,* a pair of compasses and a tape, worth together from Rs. 20 to Rs. 30. As a rule the Suthár bathes early before he sets to work. The hours of work vary slightly. In some places the carpenter begins at seven, works till noon, takes an hour's rest for dinner, and is again at work till sunset. In other places the carpenter rises about six, does some job or house work for a couple of hours, and after a meal goes to work at 9 A.M. He works till 3 P.M. when he takes half an hour's rest during which he eats parched grain and again sets to work till sunset. The women of his family do not help a carpenter in his work nor do they earn wages from other sources. After ten or twelve years of age his sons join their father or his friends in easy jobs and earn 1½ to 4 annas a day. Besides on ordinary Hindu holidays Suthárs do no work on the dark fifteenth of every Hindu month and in south Gujarát on either eleventh of the four rainy months (June to September). In north Gujarát Suthárs do not work during the Jain Pachusan holidays. The yearly income of an ordinary town carpenter varies from Rs. 100 to Rs. 200. Many town carpenters devote themselves to special work. Some build houses, some build carriages and riding carts, some carve wood for articles of furniture toys and calico-printers' blocks, some are house contractors, and some build ships and oil-presses. In cities and some of the larger towns house-building has of late been a favourite investment. Every year many houses are built giving employment to a large number of carpenters. The house building season does not generally begin much before the end of March because the sun sets later in the summer than in the winter months and because the carpenter's daily work is fixed not by the number of hours but by the time of sunset. A house-building carpenter receives besides scraps and shavings for fuel a daily wage in cash from 8 to 12 annas. He also earns something by working extra hours. Among the house-builders is a special class known as Gajjars or measurers. These measurers are highly skilled carpenters who profess to know the house-building rules laid down in the Shilpa Shástra or the science of carpentry. The post of overseer which the Gajjar generally holds, is a coveted one and though it is as a rule hereditary in certain families, there is nothing to prevent an ordinary carpenter of special ability rising to the position. There are no Pársi or Musalmán Gajjars. In arranging for the wood work of a new house the practice is to call in one of these measurers. He draws up a rough plan, estimates the cost,[1] and with his employer goes to buy materials from timber merchants. He brings as many carpenters as are wanted, and, while the work is going on, acts as overseer, receiving one-fourth more wages than the other carpenters. In building a new house three religious ceremonies are performed, at all of which the Gajjar must be present. On a lucky-day the door-post

[1] To induce a man to build a new house the Gajjars underestimate the cost. The actual cost of a new house is generally double and sometimes triple the Gajjar's estimate.

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Suthars.

or *bársákh* of the main entrance is set up. The owner of the house with the help of the family priest worships the door-post, festoons it with mango leaves, and marks both it and the brow of the Gajjar with *kanku* or redpowder. When the centre tie-beam or *mobh* is erected, which is also done on a lucky day, the Gajjar is again present. The owner of the house worships the tie-beam and rolls round it from two to three yards of white cloth. The Gajjar's forehead is marked with *kanku* and the cloth is allowed to remain on the post for several days, after which it is taken by the Gajjar. During the first *Áshádh* (July-August) or *Shrávan* (August-September) after the new dwelling is habitable, the third ceremony called *vástu* or housing is performed. This ceremony is on a larger scale than the *bársákh* that is the door-post, or the *mobh* that is the tie-beam ceremonies. The owner of the house with his wife sits before Ganpati and worships. Fire is lighted in the central hall, and, with holy recitals, offerings of clarified butter and a cocoanut are made to the fire-god. The window frames are marked with *lings* of sandal dust and redpowder. The Gajjar and the head bricklayer attend and have their brows marked with *kanku*. The owner makes presents in cash and in clothes to all the workmen employed in building the house, the Gajjar receiving a shawl and a turban and sometimes a yard measure plated with silver. The owner of the house feasts his friends and relations and all the workmen employed. The peculiarities of this feast are that the guests instead of sitting in the street sit in rows in every room in the house, and that clarified butter or *ghi* and *kansár* is the chief article in the dinner. In agreement with the favourite Gujarát doctrine of tenderness to life the *vástu* or housing is held to be an expiatory ceremony for the loss of animal life in building a house. Behind this refined explanation lie the two worldwide reasons for a house-warming; first to please the place-spirit annoyed by the trespass and burden of the new house, and second to drive forth or to house in the feasters the vagrant spirits who have made their lodging in the empty half-finished dwelling. Useful as it is both for scaring evil influences by means of its guardian lights and food, and also from its power of tempting trespassing spirits from their perches on the walls and the rafters into the eaters, the caste feast can hardly be expected to remove all causes of danger. Further the house-guardian may be angry at the ruin of her old home, or, even if well-disposed her influence is apt to be weak since she is not yet at ease in her new god-room. It follows that either the guardian has ceased to guard or that some rival spirits remain or even enter and settle in the house after the caste dinner has been held. Either the angry guardian, or these interlopers, or it may be the glance of the evil eye of envy that humbles the pride of the prosperous, or the damps from undried mortar or the airs from half-seasoned timber cause sickness. The elders breathe more freely when a year is past and bless the house-goddess if, by her favour, the unfriendly influences have been baulked of the victim which, according to the Gujarát saying, is due before the close of the first year in a new house.

Of the many varieties of work carried on by carpenters next in importance to house-building comes the building of bullock and horse

carriages. The carriage builders are generally Pársis and the rest Hindus. The builder generally carries on business on his own account employing carpenters and paying them daily wages. He rarely keeps ready-made carriages for sale, generally building to order.

The woodcarvers and furnituremakers are Hindus and Pársis; the furnituremakers generally Pársis. They carve in blackwood and in sandalwood and make furniture either for sale or to order. The woodcarving of Surat, and of Mángrol and Sihor in south Káthiáváḍa is specially skilful and delicate.[1] The carpenters of Mángrol are clever woodcarvers showing their skill not only in the woodwork of houses but in the more delicate carving of blackwood and sandalwood boxes. Sellers of old furniture and housebuilding materials are known as Wood-dealers or Kátpitiás. All Kátpitiás but a few Pársis and Musalmáns are Hindus. When an old house is to be pulled down, the owner of the house calls a Kátpitia, who estimates the value of the woodwork. When the house is pulled down the Kátpitia carries all the woodwork to his yard. Sometimes he sells the materials as they are and sometimes freshens them and passes them as new. Boatbuilding and the making of oil-presses are considered unlucky as thousands of insects are destroyed by the oil-press and the boat. Pársis and Pancholis that is the lowest Suthárs alone engage in this industry. Pársi boatbuilders are called *Wádiás*.

The village carpenter is not found in every village, only in villages of considerable size. In his work he is less trained and clumsier than the town carpenter. His chief occupation is the making and mending of field tools. Some of them can make carts and do the woodwork of the poorer class of houses. The lands formerly set apart for the use of carpenters have been continued to them by Government on their agreeing to pay a fraction of the regular yearly rental. In addition to the outturn of his fields, the carpenter receives from the villagers a certain amount of grain or *avadh* for making and mending their field tools. When special work is asked of him, making a cart or building a house, the village carpenter is paid in cash at the ordinary market rates.

All six divisions of Suthárs are quiet thrifty and sober. In religion they are Parnámipanthis, Rámánandis, Shaivs, Sváminaráyans, and Vallabhácháryas. The Sváminaráyan Suthárs build the temples of their sect without taking wages. In Káthiáváḍa and Kachh, Suthárs are goddess worshippers. Different families have different goddesses, such as Bhanibhan, Chamund, Dhrangad, Máha Máya, Mátag, Solánki, Vachran, and Verai. All believe in sorcery witchcraft and the ordinary omens. They keep the usual Hindu holidays and visit places of Hindu pilgrimage. No ceremonies are performed on the day of a birth. On the sixth day after birth the goddess Chhathi is worshipped. After childbirth the mother remains unclean thirty to forty days. On the twelfth day after birth the child is named by the father's sister. The

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[1] A beautifully carved miniature house was prepared by a Surat carpenter for the Bombay Art Exhibition of 1873. It was much admired and sent to England. The Sihor carpenters are famous for massive wooden chests ornamented with brass. No high caste Hindu wedding outfit is complete without one or more Sihor chests.

Section VI.
CRAFTSMEN.
Suthárs.

first giving of cooked food takes place when the child is six months old. Of the six divisions of Suthárs the Vaish and the Mevádás in north Gujarát wear the Bráhmanic thread. The thread ceremony is performed with full Bráhmanic rites. The Suthárs' marriage customs do not differ from those of Vániás and Kanbis. Girls are married before eleven and boys before sixteen. Among the Vaish and among the Mevádás in north Gujarát widow-marriage polygamy and divorce are not allowed; among the rest the widows are allowed to marry, divorce is granted, and polygamy practised. During the seventh month after a woman's first conception the lapfilling is performed. Suthárs burn their dead with the same ceremonies as Vániás and Kanbis. The nearest relations of the deceased remain impure for twelve days. *Shráddha* ceremonies are performed for four days from the tenth to the thirteenth day after death. Castepeople are feasted on the twelfth and thirteenth days.

Caste disputes among the several divisions are settled either by a headman or *patel* or by a few leading men at a meeting of all the men of the caste. No fee is levied on an outsider who takes to carpentry. Carpenters who work on the dark fifteenth of any Hindu month are fined, and those who work as shoemakers are excommunicated. Suthárs send their boys to school and one of them is a graduate of the Bombay University. Suthárs especially in cities and large towns are a fairly prosperous class.

SECTION VII.—BARDS AND ACTORS.

Section VII.
Bards and Actors.

Under Bards and Actors come five classes Bháts or Báhrots bards and genealogists, Chárans genealogists, Gandhraps musicians, Targálás or Bhaváyás strolling players, and Turis low class drummers, with a strength of 112,873 or 1·14 per cent of the total Hindu population. In 1891 the strength and distribution were:

Hindu Bards and Actors, 1891.

Class.	Ahmedábád.	Kaira.	Panch Maháls.	Broach.	Surat.	Native States.	Baroda.	Total.
Bháts	3959	7165	611	828	368	19,512	21,432	53,875
Chárans	1515	417	1171	49	20	33,128	2838	39.188
Gandhraps	...	...	...	18	37	38	59	152
Targálás or Bhaváyás	1847	96	15	308	190	4057	6376	12,889
Turis	434	334	64	63	...	4231	1693	6819
Total ...	7755	8012	1861	1266	615	60,966	32,398	112,873

Bha'ts.

Bha'ts or **Ba'hrots**, Bards and Heralds, with a strength of 53,875, are found in small numbers in south Gujarát and form a large community in north Gujarát and in Káthiáváda. According to one account Bháts are sprung from the Creator's brain; according to another from the sweat of Shiv's brow. Other accounts make Bháts the offspring either of a Kshatriya man and a Bráhman widow; or of a man of the Vaishya and a woman of the Kshatriya castes. Local inquiries seem to show that the Gujarát Bháts were originally Bráhmans from Allahábád and Márwár who settled in Ahmedábád and its neighbourhood. That some at least came from North India appears from the existence of Kanojia Bháts both in Káthiáváda and Kachh. That their head-quarters are now in Ahmedábád and its neighbourhood appears from the fact that there are eleven Bhát settlements or *vádás* in north Gujarát, three in Ahmedábád one in the city itself, five in neighbouring Gáikwád villages, two in Kaira, and one in Cambay. Originally they had no divisions, but divisions arose as they seceded from the Bráhman standard of purity and adopted new callings. Traces of their Bráhman origin survive in their wearing, however irregularly and carelessly, the Bráhman thread, and in their having, especially the Káthiáváda Bháts, such clans or *shákhás* as Harmáni Kashiáni and Parvatáni. Like Bráhmans, Bháts of the same *shákha* do not intermarry. Their personal names are Rajput in form, the men's ending in *sing* and the women's in *ba*. Among their surnames are Akhraj, Andhi, Bágsadia, Bajánia, Bhutsari, Budhdeja, Chana, Chikávat, Chodána, Hingaria, Jaspara, Jasráj, Kharádia, Kuvadaria, Mandesara, Pitalia, Rána, Ráv, Sajávat, and Tariparia. In central Gujarát Bráhman Bhats are found in large numbers. In north Gujarát and Káthiáváda besides Brahma Bháts are twelve divisions, Atits, Devalvakiás, Kankáliás or Bhánds, Kanojiyás, Kápdis, Lávaniás, Mágans, Nagáris, Pálimangás, Mádhavia's or Ránimangás, Sádhus, and Vahivanchás, who live near Shetrunja hill in south-east Káthiáváda. Though the members of these divisions neither eat together nor intermarry, all eat food cooked by Vániás and Kanbis. In Kachh, besides

Section VII.
BARDS AND ACTORS.
Bhats.

Brahma-Bháts, there are Dongrás who do not wear the sacred thread and who dine with Rajputs; and Khavás and Dhádhais who are Musalmáns. Brahma-Bháts hold a higher place than any of the twelve divisions. Some of them have been careful to keep the Bráhman rules of social purity. They wear the sacred thread, do not allow widow marriage, and, though in Kachh they dine with Lohánás and Khatris, in north Gujarát and in Káthiáváḍa they do not dine with other divisions of Bháts or with Vániás and Kanbis. Except the genealogists or family heralds Bháts look like Bráhmans Vániás and Kanbis. Heralds look like Rajputs. The men wear long curled moustaches and whiskers and shave the hair at the temples. Some wear beards. Unlike Rajput women the wives and daughters of Bháts, who are tolerably fair and handsome, appear in public. They speak Gujaráti. They live in one or two storied houses with brick or mud walls and tiled roofs. In Kachh and Pálanpur all Bháts except Brahma-Bháts eat fish and flesh and drink liquor; in other parts they are vegetarians living on the ordinary food grains. They eat opium. The dress of the men varies according to their profession and the part of the country in which they live. The bards[1] of Rajput chiefs wear trousers, a Rajput turban, a waistband with a dagger stuck in it, and a short cotton coat with four *chins* or plaits. In former times instead of the short cotton coat they wore a full skirted coat that fell to the ankles. The Ránimanga Bháts instead of a turban wind a woman's robe round the head. The Sádhu and Atit Bháts dress like Atit and Sádhu beggars. Other Bháts dress like the other middle class Hindus among whom they live, and Bhát women dress like Kanbi women except that in central Gujarát they wear very full petticoats with fifteen to twenty cubits of cloth. The chief patrons of Bháts are Rajputs, but, except in south Gujarát, most middle class Hindus Kanbis Kolis and Lohánás have their Bháts who visit their patron's house.[2] The Bhát is the genealogist bard and historian of his patron's family.[3] Mr. A. K. Forbes writes: 'When the rainy season closes the Bhát sets out on his yearly tour to visit each of the Rajput chiefs from

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[1] A bard seldom appears without the *katár* or dagger, a representation of which is scrawled beside his signature and often rudely engraved upon his monumental stone or *páliya* in evidence that he died in the sacred duty of *trága* or self-sacrifice. Rás Mála, II. 265.

[2] In towns and large villages in central Gujarát a Bhát sometimes gets from his Kanbi patrons from Rs. 200 to Rs. 300. A rich family sometimes pays as much as Rs. 500.

[3] Though Bháts are found chiefly in Gujarát, they are not unknown in other parts of India. Their main occupation is repeating verses of their own compositon or selections from Hindu legends. They chant verses in a style peculiar to themselves and not unpleasing to a stranger, as the modulation of the voice and an energetic graceful action give effect to the poetry, which is either to praise some renowned warrior, commemorate a victory, record a tragical event, or panegyrise a present object. The Hindu rájás and chieftains have generally a Bhát in their family, who attends them on public occasions and visits of ceremony. During these processions the Bhát loudly sounds the rája's praise and proclaims his titles in hyperbolical and figurative language. Forbes' Oriental Memoirs, II. 89. The author of the Áin-i-Akbari speaks of Bháts and Chárans as animating the troops by their songs. Bháts excelled Chárans in chronology while Chárans were better soldiers. Gladwin's Áin-i-Abkari, II. 70. Tod speaks of the Bháts as professional genealogists. Annals of Rájasthán, I. 33.

whom he has received grants of land or money. He times his arrival to suit occasions of marriage or other domestic festivals and sings festive songs prepared or improvised in honour of the occasion. After the usual courtesies he produces the *vahi*, a book written in his own or his father's crabbed hieroglyphics, which if the chief is the *tilát* or head of the family contains the descent of the house from the founder of the tribe; if he is a *phatáya* or cadet the herald's account begins from the immediate ancestor of the branch. The history is interspersed with verses or ballads, the 'dark sayings' contained in which, sometimes to the accompaniment of a musical instrument, are chanted in musical cadence to a delighted audience, and are then orally interpreted by the bard with illustrative anecdotes or tales. Sometimes he recites stories of the warlike deeds of the chief's forefathers, sings in praise of the living, or tells old legends and tales of hairbreadth escapes. The *vahi* or book is also a record of authority by which questions of consanguinity are determined when a marriage or a dispute relating to ancestral property is under discussion. It is the duty of the Bhát at each periodical visit to register any birth marriage or death which may have taken place in the family since his last circuit, as well as to chronicle all other events worthy of remark which have occurred to affect the fortunes of his patron; nor has ever a doubt been suggested regarding the accurate, much less the honest, fulfilment of this duty by the bard.'[1] They receive a fee for every entry made in their books and a yearly present according to the liberality of the chief. Bháts are held sacred by all Rajputs and it is to his Bhát that the proudest Rajput looks for solace in adversity. A favourite Bhát has often great influence in a Rajput house.

Under British rule the Bháts have lost their power and means of earning a livelihood. Many Bháts have abandoned their hereditary calling and become husbandmen. Some are well-to-do bankers moneylenders and traders; some are engaged in their hereditary calling either exclusively or in addition to agriculture during the rains; some are grocers and village shopkeepers; and some out of necessity are day-labourers domestic servants and messengers. A few among them are beggars. While moving from house to house the Nagári Bháts beat a *tokri* or drum, the Kankális carry a trident, and the Pálimangás a knife.

An interesting feature in the history of the Bháts was their use as securities[2] for perhaps 400 years before and for some years after the

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[1] Mr. A. K. Forbes' Rás Mála, II. 263, 264.

[2] It is stated that Rája Todar Mal (A.D. 1583-1590) first introduced the Bháts as securities for Government revenue. Káthiáwár Selections, XXXIX. Part I. 277. Mr. Kinloch Forbes (Rás Mála, I. 263) thinks that the security of Bháts in Government matters was introduced during the anarchy which prevailed in Gujarát after the overthrow of the Anhilpur dynasty towards the close of the thirteenth century. In A.D. 1789 Mr. James Forbes (Or. Mem. II. 89-90) wrote: The Bháts offer themselves as security to the different governments for payment of their revenue and for the good behaviour of the zamindárs patels and public farmers; they also become guarantees for treaties between rival princes, and for the performance of bonds by individuals. No security is esteemed so binding or sacred as that of a Bhát; because on failure of the obligation he proceeds to the house of the offending party, and in his presence destroys either

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introduction of British rule. At the close of the last century Bhát security was in common use both to ensure payment of rents and to prevent breaches of the peace. No deed or transaction was considered valid unless it was countersigned by a Bhát. This was the security the early British officers obtained (A.D. 1807) from the chieftains of Káthiáváḍa and other parts of north Gujarát.[1] In a country infested with robbers the Bhát was resorted to as the only person whose security could be accepted without danger. Kolis and Bhils as well as Rajputs respected Bhát security. 'The Bhát' says Mr. A. K. Forbes[2] 'had at his command means of extorting compliance with his demands which were seldom used in vain. These were the rites of *trága* and *dharna*. Trága consisted in shedding his own blood or the blood of some member of his family and in calling down the vengeance of heaven upon the offender whose obstinacy necessitated the sacrifice. Dharna consisted in placing around the dwelling of the recusant a cordon of bards, who fasted and compelled the inhabitants of the house to fast until their demands were complied with.'[3] On the establishment of British supremacy in Gujarát these rites became impossible and the custom of

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himself or one of his family, imprecating the most dreadful vengeance of the gods on the head of him who had compelled him to shed the blood of a Bhát. This is deemed a dire catastrophe as Hindus believe that for the Bhát's life, to which a high veneration attaches over and above the common horror of bloodshed, special restitution will be demanded from the aggressor by an offended deity. It is therefore very uncommon for an obligation to be broken when a Bhát stands security. For this responsibility the Bháts receive an annual stipend from the district village or individual they guarantee. They sign their name and place of residence to the agreement.

[1] A Turkish traveller early in the sixteenth century wrote: In Gujarát is a tribe of Bamianno, called Bhát, who warrant the safe conveyance of merchants and travellers from one country to another for a stipulated sum of money. If the Rajputs meet the caravan with the intention of robbing them the Bháts draw their daggers and threaten to kill themselves if the least harm should happen to the caravan. The Rajputs then let the caravan pass unmolested. But if it suffers the least damage the Bháts kill themselves, and if they did not, they would lose their honour and never afterwards be respected. If, on the contrary, they devote themselves for the sake of the caravan the Rajputs are judged guilty of death and are executed by their Reis together with their whole families. Two Bháts were sent to attend us. Sidhi Ali Kapudan (A.D. 1533) in Trans. Lit. Soc. Bom. II. 9.

[2] Rás Mála, I. 263.

[3] Of the Central Indian Bháts Sir John Malcolm (Central India, II. 138) wrote about 1820: In Central India, among the Bhiladás and lower tribes the Bháts enjoy great influence. They give praise and fame in their songs to those who pay them liberally, while they visit with satire those who neglect or injure them, in which they generally reproach them with spurious birth or inborn meanness. One more custom of the Bhát deserves special notice to which he resorts only when seriously offended. He fixes the figure of the person he desires to degrade on a long pole and appends to it a slipper as a mark of disgrace. In such cases the song of the Bhát records the infamy of the object of his revenge. This image, technically called *putla*, travels the country till the party or his friends purchase the cessation of the ridicule and curses thus hurled at them. In A.D. 1812 Sevatrám Set, a *sávkár* or banker of Holkar's court, offended a Bhát by pushing him rudely out of his *dukán* or shop, where he had come to ask alms. The Bhát made a figure of the Set to which he attached a slipper, and carried it to court, and everywhere sang Sevatrám's infamy. Sevatrám, though a man of wealth and influence, could not stop the Bhát, but obstinately refused to purchase his forbearance. His friends after some months subscribed eighty rupees and the Bhát's curses ceased; but it was too late as his curses had taken effect; within a few years the banker was ruined. It is not deemed within the power of the prince, much less of any other person, to stop a Bhát, or even to punish him for thus defaming his victim. The Bhát is protected by the superstitious and religious awe, which when general among a people controls even despotism.

employing Bháts as securities fell into disuse, though in parts of north Gujarát the practice is still in vogue. The following are instances of the self-sacrifice or *trága* which, probably more than anything else, was the cause of the fear and respect in which the Bháts were held. In his Oriental Memoirs Mr. James Forbes relates that in A.D. 1775 the Peshwa Rághoba or Raghunáthráo levied a heavy tax on the people of Naḍiád in the district of Kaira. As the Bháts refused to pay, the matter was reported to the English camp. The commanding officer sent the Brigadier Major privately into the town to convene the principal Bháts, and assure them if they discharged their quota quietly they might rely upon protection. The heads of the tribe informed the officer they were able to pay more than was demanded in any other mode, but if Rághoba persisted in compulsory assessments they should prefer death to submission. Remonstrances and persuasions proving ineffectual and Rághoba inexorable, the whole tribe of Bháts, men women and children, repaired to an open space in the city armed with daggers and with a loud voice proclaimed a sacrifice. They once more prayed for an exemption. This being refused, they rushed furiously upon each other, and a considerable number perished before the astonished troops could disarm them. One man, more cool and deliberate than the rest, brought his family to the arena before the *dárbár*. It consisted of two younger brothers and a beautiful sister, all under eighteen years of age. He first stabbed the unresisting damsel to the heart, instantly plunged the dagger into the breast of one brother and desperately wounded the other before he could be prevented ; indeed the whole horrid deed was in a manner instantaneous.[1] In A.D. 1806 a Bhát of Kanna near Viramgám became security for the chief of Mália in Machhu Kántha. In spite of the efforts of his security the chief refused to pay and the bard returned home. After sitting up the whole night talking the matter over, he ordered his wife to make their daughter, a girl of seven, ready for sacrifice. The child was bathed and dressed in her best clothes and holding her long hair on one side placed her head on her father's knee and without a struggle received the fatal blow.[2]

In A.D. 1808, in Kaira,[3] a Hindu messenger was sent to bring a Bhát into court. The Bhát without objecting to go committed *trága* by murdering his own daughter. The Bhát admitted the act, but pleaded that according to the custom of his caste such acts were not crimes. The Governor in Council directed that the opinion of the castepeople should be taken on the subject. Three leading Bháts of Dholka gave the following opinion : "Any Bhát or Báhrot depriving his mother or child of life, or committing an act of

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[1] Forbes' Oriental Memoirs, II. 89.

[2] Trans. Bom. Lit. Soc. I. 202. The practice of *trága* was not confined to Bháts and Chárans. Bráhmans, who like Bháts and Chárans possessed the qualification of being god-possessed and therefore of being specially dangerous ghosts, also practised *trága*. In A.D. 1806 a Rájgar Bráhman killed his mother and raised a stone in her honour with the picture of an old woman with a sword through her neck. His object was to prevent the chief of Amran tilling certain fields to which the Bráhman laid claim.

[3] Magistrate of Kaira to the Senior Judge of Circuit, 28th Nov. 1808.

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violence on his own body, is not subject to any punishment by the caste nor would he be turned out: this has been the immemorial custom of the caste; such actions are considered as appertaining to the duties of the caste. If a Bhát commits such an act in order to retain possession of land or money grants which are undoubtedly his property, then his conduct is commendable; if the cause in which he is embarked be an unjust one, the act is not commendable.' The Bhát was sentenced to three years' imprisonment and a notice was published warning the Bháts that in future the full punishment for murder would be awarded.

In A.D. 1816 the wife of an Ahmedábád Bhát was accused of some infamous practice.[1] The Bhát performed *trága* and killed both his wife and his son. The Bháts, assembled in a body, took their station opposite the door of the accuser, and demanded that he should be punished and expelled from the town. The disturbance lasted a day and night and all the shops were shut. One of the two slanderers was caught by the Bháts and stoned to death. For a time the men sent by Captain Ballantyne were able to protect the other offender. But he was at last caught, carried through the town on an ass, and killed.

Self-sacrifice was a duty among Chárans, of whom details are given below, as well as among Bháts.

On the introduction of the income tax in A.D. 1861 the Bháts of Naḍiád were called upon to pay. They refused urging that they were beggars and had never before paid a tax. Warrants of distress were issued, but on a threat of *trága* the warrant officer retired from the Bháts' quarter of the town. News of the threatened disturbance was sent to the mámlatdár and the Superintendent of Police was before long on the spot. This officer advised the crowd of Bháts who to the number of 200 men lined either side of the street in the neighbourhood of the police station to disperse and pay the tax. They refused, and two of their number who were detected with partially concealed knives, were arrested. On this the Bháts who lined one side of the street in front of the station shouted *Ambe Mátáki jey* Victory to Amba Máta. The other Bháts at once answered this call by drawing their knives and slashing their own bodies. Some of the wounds were slight, but the greater number were severe, and one was fatal. Of the whole number of accused nineteen pleaded guilty, three though pleading not guilty admitted the fact that they had wounded themselves, while the remaining five accused the police of having inflicted the wounds but failed to bring any evidence in support of the charge. Of forty-nine the total number of accused, twenty-seven were convicted of *trága* [2] and each was sentenced to imprisonment with hard labour for a term of six months and in addition with a fine of Rs. 200 and failing payment to be imprisoned for three months longer.

Except in native states Bháts are badly off. Poverty compels some Bháts to beg from the middle classes. But a good Bhát begs from

[1] Resident at Baroda, 16th Sept. 1876.

[2] Reg. XIV. of 1872, Section xxxiv.

the higher castes only. According to the saying A Bhát must not take alms from the Jám; Beggars are many givers are few.[1] In religion Bháts are Rámánujás Shaivs and Vaishnavs, and worshippers of Amba Bahuchráji and Kálika. In Káthiáváḍa some are Jains, and of late years some have become Kabirpanthis, Parinámis, and Svámináráyans. They worship in their houses the images of Ganpati, Máta, Shiv, and Vishnu, and visit village temples. The house *máta* is represented by a cocoanut set in a niche before which a lamp fed with clarified butter is kept burning during the time of worship. Their priests are Audich Modh or Shrimáli Bráhmans who officiate at all their ceremonies. They keep the ordinary Hindu fasts and feasts and on *Dasara* (September-October) they worship the horse and the sword. They believe in exorcism sorcery and omens, and make pilgrimages to Dwárka Banáras and the Narbada. Many Bháts have risen to fame as poets; among them are Dhiro Bhagat (A.D.1824) a native of Sávli in the Baroda State; Pritamdás (A.D. 1782) a native of Sandasar in Naḍiád; and Thobhan Bárot (A.D. 1809) of Dákor in Kaira.

No ceremonies are performed on the day of a birth. On the sixth day the goddess Chhatti is worshipped when, in north Gujarát Káthiáváḍa and Kachh, besides a reed-pen and an inkstand, a dagger is laid before the goddess. On the sixth day or on any day fixed by the astrologer the child is named by the father's sister. After childbirth the mother remains impure from twenty to forty days. When a child is a year old the first giving of cooked food takes place. The practice of wearing the sacred thread is not uniform. Sacred threads are worn by three classes. In the first class come the boys whose thread ceremony is performed according to Bráhman rites when they are from seven to eleven years of age and who continue to wear the thread till the end of their lives; in the second class come those whose thread ceremony is nominally performed on the marriage day and who either continue to wear the thread or discard it after the marriage ceremony; in the third class come those who have no chance of marrying and whose thread ceremony is performed when they are twenty to twenty-five years of age. Of the last class some continue to wear the thread and others discard it. Their marriage ceremonies do not differ from those of Kanbis. Marriages are not allowed among people of the same *gotra* or *shákha*. Contrary to the general custom the children of a Kachh Bhát and of his sister are allowed to marry. A man may divorce his wife on the ground of adultery or barrenness; but the wife is not allowed to divorce the husband. Some allow widow marriage; others forbid it. Those who do not allow widow marriage are called *kulia* or of good family; those who allow it are called *akulia* or of no family. A *kulia* eats with an *akulia* but does not give him his daughter in marriage. In former times partly owing to this distinction of rank and position, partly owing to the poverty of their parents, and

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[1] The Gujaráti runs: *Jaso* (that is *Bhát*) *na jáche Jámku yahi máganki tek. Ter mágan bahot he, mere bhup anek*, meaning Jaso (a Bhát) must not beg from the Jám (Chief of Jámnagar) this much self-respect we beggars have. Your beggars are many, my givers are several.

Section VII. Bards and Actors. Bha'ts.

partly owing to the heavy expense varying from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1000 of the marriage of a daughter, some girls were killed at birth by suffocating them in a basin filled with water and milk. At present, especially in central and north Gujarát, some Bhát women of twenty-five years old have never been married. During the seventh month of a woman's first pregnancy the lap-filling ceremony is performed. The Bháts burn the dead. The *shráddha* ceremony is performed from the tenth to the thirteenth day after a death. On the twelfth day the castepeople are feasted. The nearest relations of the deceased remain impure for thirteen days. Social disputes are settled by a few respected castemen. Except in some parts of central Gujarát the Bháts have no hereditary headman. In Godhra the headman is called Ráv and like a few respectable men of the caste in other parts of the province, he has power to fine and excommunicate for breaches of caste rules. In Kachh the caste levies a small fee on every betrothal marriage and caste feast. Most Bháts send their boys to school till they pass the fourth or fifth Gujaráti standard. Among the Ránimanga Bháts in Kachh a boy must be educated as fathers will not give their daughters to unschooled boys. The Bháts are a falling class.

Cha'rans.

Cha'rans, with a strength of 39,138, are spread over Kachh Káthiáváḍa and north Gujarát and in parts of central Gujarát. They are also found in large numbers in Rajputána. According to a Hindu story the Cháran was created by Shiv to tend four animals of incongruous dispositions, a lion, a serpent, a cow, and a goat. The lion attacked the cow and the serpent attacked the lion, but the herdsman by the gift of some of the flesh of his arm quieted them and brought them safe to Shiv who in reward gave him the name of Grazier.[1] According to the court Cháran of Lunáváḍa in the Rewa Kántha the term Cháran properly means not grazier but fame-spreader. Chárans, by this account, were originally superhuman spirit-beings ranking with the other half-divine fame-spreaders the Sidhis, that is the knowing ones, and the Vidyádháris or female scientists, news-agents, and god-messengers. In time, like certain other angelic classes, the Chárans settled on earth, and became the bards of kings and chiefs. After Parshurám's dispersion of the Kshatris the Chárans accompanied them in their southward flight. In those troubled times the Chárans took charge of the supplies of the Kshatri forces and so fell to their present position of cattle-breeders and grain-carriers. According to a bardic account Chárans are the descendants of a son born to an unmarried girl of the Dhadhi clan of Rajputs. To hide her shame the girl threw the boy as soon as he was born behind a fortress or *gadh*. The boy was saved and called Gadhvi by which name the Chárans are still known in parts of north Gujarát. The boy is said to have been also called Cháran because he used to tend a potter's donkey. Two facts are quoted in support of

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[1] According to Abul Fida A.D. 1590 (Gladwin's Áin-i-Akbari, II. 71) the Cháran created by Mahádev wrote verses, sang the praises of Mahádev, and revealed to mankind the past and future. Most of the tribe employ themselves in singing hymns and in reciting genealogies, and in battle they repeat warlike fables to animate the troops. Chárans are also famous for discovering secret things. Throughout Hindustán there is hardly a great man who has not some of the tribe in his service.

the story that the Chárans were originally donkey graziers. The potter is still known all over the province by the compound name of Kumbhár-Cháran. Till the time of Sidhráj Jaysing (A.D. 1094-1143) the Chárans of Anahilaváda used to levy a tax of Rs. 16 on the marriage of every Kumbhár girl, which was so heavily felt by the Kumbhárs that many girls remained unmarried till they were over twenty-five years old. When the Kumbhárs' grievance was brought to the notice of Sidhráj he called the Chárans and told them to choose one of two richly caparisoned animals, a donkey and a horse. The Chárans chose the horse and from that day they made the Rajputs their patrons and ceased to levy the tax from the Kumbhárs. The antipathy between Chárans and Kumbhárs is still so strong that no Cháran is allowed to be present at a Kumbhár's wedding.

Gujarát Chárans include four distinct sections, Gujjars apparently a trace of the great tribe that gave Gujarát its name, Kachhelás or Kachh Chárans also called Parajiás or outsiders, Márus or Márwár Chárans from Máru the Sanskrit name of Márwár, and Tumers probably from Sindh. Of the Gujjar Chárans little has been learned. They are said closely to resemble Márwár Chárans many of whom probably were originally Gujjars. The Kachhelás are the largest division of Gujarát Chárans. Besides in Kachh they are found all over Káthiáváda and form the bulk of the Cháran population both in north and in central Gujarát. Kachhelás belong to three clans: Chánvás with seventy-two stocks, Chorádás with fifty-two, and Narás with sixty-six. Kachhela Chárans are closely allied to the Káthis who in Káthiáváda are their chief patrons, and to the A'hirs whom Káchhela Chárans address as *máma* or maternal uncle and whose dialect closely resembles the dialect spoken by the Kachhela or Parajia Chárans.[1] Within the last twenty years a considerable body of Kachhela Chárans has moved from east Káthiáváda to the forest land in Hálol to the north and east of Pávágad hill in the Panch Maháls. The Tumers though sometimes included in the general term Kachhelás are a distinct class with whom other Kachhelás neither marry nor feed. The Pávágad Kachhelás tell the story that the Tumers get their name from *tumadi* a gourd because the founder of the caste was shortly after birth placed in a hollow gourd and left to float down a river by his mother a *vidiádhar* or angel who had loved a mortal. Máru or Málwa Chárans include twenty clans with 300 sub-clans or stocks. The twenty Máru Cháran clans are Asia with forty branches, Badhva with nineteen, Baratrohádia with twelve, Bati with thirteen, Budhda with four, Dhadhania with eleven, Dadhvádia with nineteen, Gelva with six, Háda with ten, Jula with thirty-one, Khadia with thirty-six, Kharol with two, Máda with two, Mahiaria with eleven, Nádhu with twenty-nine, Ratanu with one, Sandhayach with sixteen, Siyál with none, Soda with thirty-three, and Vijál with one. Márus of the same branch or stock cannot intermarry. They can marry with Márus of a different clan only. They cannot marry

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[1] The following are examples of this peculiar dialect: *Kise játose* or *kánu jatose*=*kyá jáychhe*; where are you going? *Batis Bes*=sit; *mudi*=*mási*, mother's sister; *mai*=*ben*, sister; *kánu kartoso*=*shu karechhe*, what are you doing?

Section VII.
Bards and Actors.
Chárans.

with Gujjar, Kachhela, or Tumer Chárans. The Chárans, both men and women, are a tall good-looking fair-skinned race. The men are like Rajputs strong and well-made. They wear the moustache and long whiskers, and in central Gujarát they wear the beard. Some have the hair of the head cut at the temples. The Gujjars speak Gujaráti, the Kachhelás Kachhi or Gujaráti or Áhiri, the Márus Márvádi or Gujaráti, and the Tumers Kachhi or Gujaráti. A few live in houses one or two storeys high with brick walls and tiled roofs, but most live in mud huts with thatched roofs. Their ordinary food is wheat or millet bread rice and pulse. In Rewa Kántha Pálanpur and Kachh, on holidays or when they can afford it, besides the ordinary food grains, they eat the flesh of sheep goats antelope hare and partridge, and fish except in Kachh. In Káthiáváda some Chárans who are the devotees of a goddess eat the flesh of sheep and goats when the animals are sacrificed. In Pálanpur two or three he-buffaloes are sacrificed on Dasara Day, and their blood is drunk by a Cháran woman. All Chárans eat opium and except in central Gujarát drink liquor. A man's dress consists of a pair of trousers, and, over the trousers a waistcloth, a jacket, a loose short cotton coat, and a Rajput-like turban or a piece of cotton cloth four cubits long wound round the head. A woman dresses in a petticoat, or in Rewa Kántha a pair of trousers, a bodice or a jacket, a robe, and, except in central Gujarát among those who are not connected with Rajput families, a black woollen blanket over the head. Among men the well-to-do wear a silver anklet on the left foot, gold finger-rings, a gold necklace and gold ear-rings. In the Panch Mahále no Cháran woman wears ivory bracelets. Well-to-do women wear silver wristlets, silver anklets, a silver or gold necklace, a gold nose-ring, and gold or silver ear-rings. Except that they are fewer in number and poorer in value, a poor woman's ornaments are the same as those of a well-to-do woman. The Panch Mahál Kachhelás are poor, untidy, and dirty. In other parts they are described as clean and neat, both in their dress and dwellings, and are manly and independent in their bearing. A few are thrifty and hardworking, but most especially those who are bards, are idle and given to opium. Cháran women are allowed much freedom, and in former times observed the practice of going in a body outside of the village to meet and escort distinguished visitors. They are supposed to have supernatural power, and in Kachh are even now addressed by the lower classes as Mother or Goddess Mother.[1] Several of the most popular goddesses of north Gujarát are the spirits of Cháran women who sacrificed themselves to guard the privileges of their caste.

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[1] Some Cháran women were travelling in the Chunvál to the west of Kadi in north Gujarát when the Kolis attacked and plundered them. One of the women named Bahuchara snatched a sword from a boy who attended her, and with it cut off both her breasts. She immediately perished. Her sisters Bhut and Balál also committed suicide and they as well as Bahachara became Devis. Shri Bahucharáji is worshipped in the Chunvál, Bhut Máta at Árnej near Kot, and Balál Devi at Bákalkua, about fifteen miles south of Sihor. Rás Mála, II. 90. According to the east Káthiáváḍa Kachhela Chárans who within the last fifteen years have settled in Hálol near Pávágadh in the Panch Mahále the nine *lákhs* of Mátás or Mothers were all unmarried Cháran girls. It was because the famous Kálika Máta of Pávágadh top was a Cháran woman of the Nesda clan that these Chárans came from Káthiáváḍa and settled in Hálol.

Chárans follow various callings; some are bards keeping genealogies of Káthis and Rajputs and reciting their praises and the exploits of their forefathers in short rude pieces. Some hold large grants of land[1] and sometimes whole villages, some are poor and unskilful husbandmen, some are traders and moneylenders, some serve in the irregular forces kept up by the chiefs, and some are beggars receiving presents at all feasts and marriages.[2] Most of them, especially of the Kachhelás are graziers cattle-sellers and pack-carriers. As graziers and cattle-sellers they move in companies of about twenty men during the eight fair months grazing and selling cows bullocks buffaloes camels and clarified butter. Formerly like Bháts they acted as guards to travellers and goods. No traveller could journey unattended by these guards, who for a small sum were satisfied to conduct him in safety. These guards, called *valivás*, were never backward in inflicting the most grievous wounds and even causing the death of their old men and women[3] if the robbers persisted in plundering those under their protection; but this seldom happened as the wildest Koli, Káthi, or Rajput held the person of a Cháran sacred. Besides becoming safeguards to travellers and goods they used to stand security to the amount of many *lákhs* or hundreds of thousands of rupees. When rents and property were concerned, the Rajputs preferred a Cháran's bond to the bond of the wealthiest banker as the Cháran could enforce the payment of a debt to himself or a claim for which he had become security by cutting or killing himself. They also used to stand security for good behaviour called *fail* or *chálu zámin*, and for personal attendance called

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[1] About A.D. 714, on the death of Rám Parmár of Telangána Kachh is said to have been given to the Chárans. Tod's Rájasthán, I. 84. The date favours the view that the Chárans who overran Kachh early in the eighth century were refugees from the Arab conquerors of Sindh. See Elliot and Dowson, I.

[2] In Central India in the beginning of this century (A.D.1800) Chárans, particularly of the Máru class who are mendicants, attended at feasts and marriages in great numbers. At marriages they were in the habit of extorting large sums by threatening to sprinkle their blood over the marriage party. About A.D. 1818 when the Rável of Bánsváda was on a visit to Sir John Malcolm, Bhimsing the son of the rája of Baglu settled to marry a lady of the Bansváda family. The marriage was delayed on account of a preliminary demand that Bhimsing should satisfy any Chárans and Bháts who might attend the wedding. Bhimsing told Sir John Malcolm that this stipulation might ruin him. Once pledged, the extravagance of the Chárans' demands and their violence in enforcing them were likely to leave no option but poverty or disgrace. Central India, II. 135-36.

[3] The Cháran who accompanies travellers likely to be attacked by Rajput robbers when he sees the robbers approach, warns them off by holding a dagger in his hand, and if they do not attend to him, he stabs himself in a place that is not mortal, and taking the blood from the wound throws it at the assailants with imprecations of future woe and ruin. If this has not the desired effect, the wounds are repeated; and in extreme cases one of the Cháran's relations, commonly a female child or an old woman, is made a sacrifice. Central India, II. 134-35. Further on (page 137) Sir John Malcolm says: 'I collected a number of well authenticated cases not only of individuals but of families; and in two instances I found that the Cháran inhabitants of a village had sacrificed themselves. On one occasion there was a string of four people with one spear through their necks. Instances of people dipping their clothes in oil, setting fire to them, and dancing in the flames till they were burnt to ashes were not uncommon. In one case a boy of fourteen had a spear-head thrust through his cheeks. To take it out the father had to place his knees on the boy's head. But he showed no signs of pain. He confessed it hurt him, but said if he had cried out he would have been considered a useless and unworthy wretch with nothing of the Cháran in him.

Section VII.

BARDS AND ACTORS.

Chárans.

házar zámin. The ordinary *trága* went no further than a cut on the arm with the *katár* or crease; the forearms of those who were in the habit of becoming security had generally several cuts from the elbow downwards. The Chárans, both men and women, wounded themselves, committed suicide and murdered their relations with the most complete self-devotion. The guardian-stones or *páliyás* which are scattered all over Káthiáváḍa, show that Chárans preferred death to dishonour, and that even women did not hesitate to kill themselves when the honour of the family or tribe was concerned.[1] Mr. Ovans, who was Survey officer in Broach in A.D. 1820, gives the following details of a case of *trága* which had taken place a few years before: 'In 1812 the Maráthás brought a body of troops to impose a payment on the village of Panchpipla in the Vágra sub-division of Broach. The Chárans resisted the demand, but finding the Maráthás determined to carry their point, after a remonstrance against paying any kind of revenue as being contrary to their occupation and principles, they at last cut the throats of ten young children and threw them at the feet of the Maráthás, exclaiming, These are our riches and the only payment we can make. The Chárans were immediately seized and confined in irons at Jambusar. The putting of their children to death was described to me by the Chárans who had committed the deed as a praiseworthy act.' Mr. Ovans adds: 'I cannot clearly comprehend what the Chárans are in regard to caste. They say they are better than Bháts because they give no security. They recite *impromptu* verses and call themselves *Devputras* or God-children. They claim as their chief duty the reciting of blessings (and curses).[2]

As was the case with the Bhát and the Bráhman the source of the Cháran's power lay in the widespread fear that a Cháran's blood brought ruin on him who caused the blood to be spilt. The ground of this fear was the belief that the ghosts of Bháts, Bráhmans, and Chárans are specially terrible. How strong was the dread of a Cháran ghost is shown by the Cháran suicide Bahuchara becoming one of the most dreaded and therefore most popular goddesses in north Gujarát. In all three classes, Bháts Bráhmans and Chárans, the reason why their ghosts are specially dreaded is that the castes are believed to be possessed. Some have thought that the Chárans' fairness of skin, made more notable in the case of the women by the wearing of black, helped the belief in their ghostliness. Only to a very limited extent can this be true. Nor can the Chárans' sanctity be traced simply to their connection with the worshipful cow. The main and probably the original reason for the belief that the Cháran was possessed was the reckless daring with which, as the Káthiáváḍa tombstones show, both men and women threw their lives away in defence of the cattle and villages entrusted to their charge. That respect for his ready self-sacrifice was a chief element

[1] Near the entrance of almost every village in Káthiávaḍa stand guardian-stones or *páliyás* which have been set up to perpetuate the memory of Cháran men and women, who usually with success have performed *trága* to prevent the carrying off or to recover the cattle of the village from the predatory Káthis. The name of the Cháran, the date, and the reason for committing *trága* are engraved on the stone, while a rude sculpture marks the way in which the *trága* was performed. Men are shown on horseback wounding themselves with a sword or spear; and women running a knife through their arm.

[2] Mr. Ovans' Survey Book of A.D. 1817.

in the honour paid to the Cháran is shown by the god Shiv's humorous application of the name Cháran or grazier to the man who fattened his mixed herd on his own body. Besides this of inspired courage the Cháran enjoyed the two great god-gifts of cursing and song. These three inspirations seemed sufficient proof of the Cháran's right to the proud name of *devputra* or sons of god, the favourite dwelling of the guardian spirit. It was the fact that the Cháran was possessed that gave their special power to his blessing and curse which were laden with the spirit which possessed the curser. It was the belief in his possession that made the murder of a Cháran the letting loose of the enraged unhoused spirit of a god or goddess as well as of a man, and therefore made the forcible death of a Cháran so hideous and so heavily punished a sin. As the worship of Bahuchara shows, the fear was greatest in the case of a suicide Cháran. How strong and widespread is the dread of the suicide's ghost is seen in the long-continued English efforts to keep the suicide ghost from walking by burying it nailed with a stake at the meeting of three roads. If the dread of the ghost of a suicide man is so keen who can set bounds to the horror of incurring the wrath and vengeance of a suicide god?

How did the rough cattle-guarding Cháran become a court poet? The present difference in appearance between the ordinary Cháran grazier and the Rajput chief's Cháran bard and reciter is so great as to raise the question: Is the courtly high-class reciter a development of the rough dirty grazier or have they from the first been distinct classes? It has been suggested that the court reciters are distinct from the herdsmen, a set of Chárans of courtly Bráhman or part Bráhman origin who were Chárans or Fame-spreaders and only from the sameness of sound were supposed to be Chárans or graziers. It has also been suggested that the handsome high class Rajputána graziers whom Colonel Tod so greatly admired may be the forefathers of the courtly Cháran. Neither of these suggestions seems necessary. In spite of their present special appearance among the courtly reciters are families who belong to all the four main divisions of village Chárans Gujárs, Kachhelas, Márus, and Tumers. This fact proves that the court reciters are not a distinct class but are descended from Chárans of all divisions whose talents or good looks raised them to the favour of the local chiefs, and whose present special appearance is due to their having for generations married almost entirely with Cháran families who like themselves have long enjoyed the easy well nourished life of court bards and reciters. Though aided by their gifts of paralysing their chief's enemies with their curse and of inspiriting their chief's troops with their song the Chárans probably mainly owed their success to their unflinching readiness for martyrdom. This surprising devotion of whole families, old women men in their prime and young children, proved to the people the truth of the Cháran's claim to be inspired. When it was well established the Chárans found that the belief they were god-possessed opened to them several well paid forms of employment: Begging, since the people prized their blessing and dreaded their curse; caravan-guiding leading to caravan-owning and the Chárans' close alliance if not identification with the Vanjárás: and debt-insuring opening an escape

Section VII. Bards and Actors. Cha'rans.

from the narrow path of self-sacrifice to the highway of snug commonplace moneylending.

Under British rule the need for securities has ceased and with it the special respect and sacredness of the Cháran have passed away. Railways have slain the pack-bullock and the spread of tillage and so-called forest has scrimped the grazing grounds. Of those who were carriers, some have settled as petty traders and moneylenders, and others have taken to agriculture. Though their worshipfulness has gone Chárans still hold a high social position, eating with Bháts Rajputs and Káthis. In Kachh a Rajput allows a Cháran to smoke from his pipe.

As a class Chárans are religious. Most of them are Shaivs and are devotees of the consort of Shiv under many titles, both in her well known forms of Amba Bhaváni and Párvati and under local names. The rest are Bijmárgis, Kabirpanthis, Rámánujás, and Sváminaráyans. They worship in their houses the images of Mahádev, Máta, and Vishnu, and are careful to visit the village temples. All respect Hindu gods and observe the regular Hindu fasts and feasts. The devotees of goddesses fast for nine days during the *Navrátri* (September-October) and sacrifice a goat on the tenth day. They believe in omens witchcraft and sorcery. In the Panch Mahâls, that some uneasy family ghost may not harass them, some men wear round the neck a plate stamped with a human face. Of animals they worship the cow, the cobra on the fifth of *Shrávan sud* (August), and in Kachh the *nilkanth* or jay. Of plants and trees their favourite guardians are the *tulsi* or holy basil and the *pipal* Ficus religiosa. Chárans have family priests Audich Meváda Parájia Rájgor Sárasvat and Shrigaud Bráhmans who officiate at all their ceremonies. Chárans make pilgrimages locally to Dwárka, Girnár, and Prabhás Pátan and outside of Gujarát to Allahábád, Banáras, Gokul, and Mathura. The sect mark on the forehead of the goddess' devotees is an *ád* or horizontal red line or streak made with oxide of lead. Chárans boast of several eminent poets and holy men, of whom the chief are Bráhman a native of Kán in Káthiáváḍa who is the author of the Somti Prakásh, Brahma Vilás, and other works and who assisted Sahajánand in his religious propaganda; Isvar Bárot a native of Navánagar, the author of Harirás; Kolvo Bhagat a native of Dwárka; Madan Varsodo a native of Dehgám in the Gaekwár territory; Godadji a native of Válodad; and Dalurám of Khambháliya, who is still alive (A.D. 1897). As noticed above, several Cháran women are worshipped as goddesses even by high caste Hindus. Among the Panch Mahâls Kachhelás on entering the seventh month of pregnancy a yellow tape called *rákhadi* or guard is tied round the woman's right wrist. Her father gives the husband a turban a shouldercloth and a waistcloth, the husband's mother a bodice, the wife a shoulder-robe a bodice and a skirt and a pair of cocoanuts are laid in her lap. The relations and neighbours are fed. No ceremonies are performed on the day of a birth. On the sixth day the goddess Chhathi is worshipped. Except among the Panch Mahâls Kachhelás a reed-pen an inkstand and a dagger or a knife or a sword are stuck in the ground before the goddess. Among the Panch Mahâls Kachhelás

friends come bringing rice or wheat and lay it before the child's cradle or sheet-swing. In return each is given some *gugari* or boiled spike millet which they take to their homes and give to children. The child is named on the sixth day after birth or on any other day chosen by the astrologer. The child is bathed, richly clothed, and marked with *kanku* on the forehead. It is laid on a white cotton sheet the four corners of the cloth being held by four girls if the child is a girl, and by four boys if the child is a boy. In this cloth-cradle the child is rocked *jholi polied* thrice and named by the father's sister. The boys or girls are feasted and the child's father makes the father's sister presents in cash or in cloth. After childbirth the mother remains impure from twenty-one to forty days and in the Panch Mahâls for about twelve days. Among most Chárans the ceremony of giving the first cooked food takes place when the child is about a year old. Chárans do not regularly wear the Bráhman thread. In Pálanpur the goddess' devotees wear a black woollen thread and a few in Rewa Kántha wear the Bráhmanic thread only when they perform a *shráddha* ceremony. Except that the bride when sent away with the bridegroom is presented by her father with ornaments clothes cows and buffaloes, Cháran marriage customs do not differ from those of Kanbis. The ornaments presented to the bride by the bridegroom's father vary in value from Rs. 50 to Rs. 200. Girls are married between ten and twenty. Marriage between families of the same stock is forbidden. Except in Pálanpur and Rewa Kántha the children of two sisters or of a brother and a sister may marry. Except in Rewa Kántha in Kachh and in the Panch Maháls Chárans allow widow marriage; a widow marries the younger brother of her deceased husband. The rule about divorce is not uniform. In central and north Gujarát neither the wife nor the husband can divorce each other, though in some parts of central Gujarát a husband is allowed to divorce his wife, and in Káthiáváḍa and Kachh both husband and wife are allowed to divorce each other. Among none of the Chárans does the custom of female succession prevail in preference to male. As a rule in the absence of male children, clansmen become heirs of the deceased. In Káthiáváḍa and Rewa Kántha this rule is relaxed. There a man, even though he may be a member of an undivided family, is allowed by will to leave his immoveable property or *giras haks* to his daughter or daughter's son. The Chárans burn their dead. In Rewa Kántha on the evenings of the second third and fourth days after death the chief mourner places a jar holding milk and water on the roof of the house. Their other ceremonies do not differ from those of Kanbis. The nearest relations of the deceased remain impure from seven to thirteen days. In the Panch Maháls male mourners are not required to shave the moustache; instead of shaving they rub their heads with oil like Musalmáns. *Shráddha* ceremonies are performed for eleven days from the second to the thirteenth and in other parts of the province for four days from the tenth to the thirteenth. The castepeople are feasted generally on the twelfth day and the funeral rites are performed on the death day every month or every year. Some divisions of Chárans have an hereditary head called senior or *ghardero* who settles social disputes in the presence of a large company met at some high feast; in other divisions a few respected men settle disputes in

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consultation with the castepeople. Breaches of caste rules are punished by fine, and eating with forbidden persons by excommunication. An excommunicated person is re-admitted after he has feasted the castepeople. The Chárans send their boys to school when a school is available in their town or village. In other places the boys are taught bardic songs. Like the Bháts the Chárans are a falling class.

Ga'ndhraps.

Gandhraps or Musicians numbering 152 are found mostly in south Gujarát. They have entered the province from the north and say that they were originally Nágar Bráhmans of the Chitroda division. Traces of a northern origin remain in the men's long and flowing turbans and in the coverlets with which the women swathe themselves when they go out of doors. Both men and women are fair. They live in middle class houses. They eat all sorts of grain and abstain from flesh or fish. They do not drink liquor but smoke and snuff tobacco. They play on various musical instruments and accompany dancing girls in all their performances. From this source they eke out a monthly income of Rs. 3 to Rs. 15. They wear the Bráhman thread and their priests are Audich Bráhmans. In their ceremonies at birth thread-girding marriage and death they do not differ from Bráhmans. Owing to the smallness of their number, marriage is allowed and practised among the children of brothers and sisters. Divorce and widow marriage are not allowed. They respect all Hindu gods some among them being Shaivs and others Vaishnavs. They have no headman and all social disputes are settled at a mass meeting of the male members of the caste. They do not send their boys to school and take to no new pursuits and are on the whole a falling class.

Targa'la's or Bhava'ya's.

Targa'la's or **Bhava'ya's**, that is performers of *bhaváis* or comedies, with a strength of 12,889, are found mostly in north Gujarát. They are said to be the descendants of one Asit an Audich Bráhman or a Sonár who lived in the village of Unja fifty-six miles north of Ahmedábád. According to their story Asit was the family priest of Himála the Kanbi *patel* or head of the village. At that time the Emperor Farrukhsiyar (A.D. 1713-1719) ordered Himála to send him his daughter's eyeballs. Himála refused and the Emperor brought an army against Unja. Himála was summoned before the Emperor and on being asked to account for his conduct said that the girl in his house was not his daughter but was the daughter of his priest Asit. Asit was called to verify what Himála had said and as Asit declared Himála's statement to be true he was told to dine with the girl. Asit dined with her and the Emperor went away. Asit was excommunicated by other Audich Bráhmans for dining with a Kanbi girl. He was a good songster, and after being put out of caste he lived in the temple of the village goddess and supported himself by singing and dancing. His descendants followed his profession. The Targálás have two divisions the Vyás and the Bhaváyás who do not eat together or intermarry. Both consider they have the right to wear the Bráhman thread, but are not very careful about wearing it. The Vyás do not eat with castes lower than Kanbis while the Bhaváyás eat with Kolis. The men are fair and tall. They are somewhat feminine in speech, gait, and manner, as they often take a woman's part in their

pieces. Their women are like Bráhman women. They speak Gujaráti. They live in middle class houses of brick and mortar one or two storeys high and with tiled roofs. They are strict vegetarians eating neither fish nor flesh. They do not drink liquor. A few among the older people eat opium. The men wear a waistcloth, an under-jacket, a cotton coat, a shouldercloth, and a red turban shaped like the turban of a Charotar Pátidár or a Sipáhi. The women dress like high caste Hindu women. The men do not shave the head, but many shave the upper lip. Some goodlooking men who take female parts have a piece of gold fixed to two of their front teeth and also except in their own houses wear a gold necklace or *gop* and sometimes rings in the upper ear. The Bhaváya's homes are almost all in north Gujarát. As actors they may be divided into two classes; high class performers found almost solely in Ahmedábád Vadnagar and Visnagar, and lower class performers scattered over the rest of the northern districts. The high class performers earn their living entirely by acting. They are trained to perform *náṭaks* or religious dramas as well as *bhaváis* or plays of common life. They spend the rainy months in practising and in learning new parts and pieces. The lower class performers travel during the fair season and return to their homes and cultivate during the rains. At the close of the rains both men and boys leave their homes in companies or *tolis* of fifteen to thirty. Each company has its head or *náik* by whose name it is known. They move about the province with their stage property clothes and false jewels, and in places where there are no railways they travel in carts. They have no theatres and perform in open places in the outskirts of towns and villages. When a company of Bhaváyás visits a village the *patel* and other leading men raise a subscription. Among Kolis and Kanbis it is a point of honour to support a company of Targálás. The Targálás stay two or three days in one village, are fed by the villagers, and before leaving generally collect from Rs. 20 to Rs. 50. In north Gujarát Targálás are attached to most villages and in some hold land though they are seldom residents. In certain villages a band of Targálás had the right to levy one rupee from the fathers of all girls who have been married since the Targalá's last visit. This practice is widespread. It is observed in the Panch Maháls. In some cases the villagers exercise the right of calling on the Targálás to entertain them in return for the land they enjoy. The Bhaváya's chief goddess is Bahucharáji Máta the head-quarters of whose worship is in the Chunvál division of north Gujarát. After their six months of practising or of cultivating all bands of Bhaváyás should play before Bahucharáji some time during *A'so* or *Kártik* that is October or November. No band should start on their cold weather acting tour without performing before the Máta.[1] Besides performing before the goddess on fair days

[1] Though the plays or *bhaváis* performed at Ambáji's temple in the Mahi Kántha are more celebrated than those at Bahucharáji's the players are not Bhaváyás. Ambaji's actors belong mostly to high and middle Hindu castes. They are not professional players and they do not act for money. The cleverest players are the Bráhman companies, generally under the management of a Vadnagar or Visnagar Nágar Bráhman who have the monopoly of performing at the autumn fairs in *Shrávan* and *Bhádrapad* (August-September) when the bulk of the visitors are Bráhmans. At the spring (March-April) when the bulk of the visitors are middle class Hindus the players are generally Kansárás and some Vániás.

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they appease the Máta by playing before her during times of cholera and cattle-disease. Their performances were formerly popular with all classes and they are still popular among villagers where men women and children throng to the place of performance. During the performance except the headman and the leading men of the village who sit on pillows the spectators sit on the ground and when there is a great crowd they climb into the branches of overhanging trees. The performances begin at nine in the evening and last till daybreak when the part of Rámdev is performed. The performance is begun by the blowing of the long straight brass horn called *bhungal* which forms a special feature of these companies. A *bhavái* or comedy begins with a personification or *ves* of the god Ganpati by the *náik* or leader of the troop. After the personification of Ganpati Sámalia a *jutan* or buffoon corresponding to the *vanchar* or woodsman of the religious drama or *nátak* comes on the stage. A lady enters and asks Sámalia 'Have you seen my husband?' Sámalia says 'I have.' 'Where did you see him?' 'He was feeding with the asses.' The lady is angry and abuses him. Sámalia says 'I forgot. He is begging at the three gates in Ahmedábád.' This banter goes on till Sámalia asks 'How came you here without your husband?' She says 'An elephant of the Emperor's broke loose: my husband ran one way I ran another and we lost each other.' Sámalia says 'If I bring back your husband what will you give me?' 'I will give you a gold bracelet.' Sámalia says 'Something better than that.' 'A pearl necklace.' Sámalia repeats 'Something better than that.' 'What then?' 'Your love.' The lady strikes him. He says 'Why do you strike me; I am a better man than your husband?' The lady says 'Be off. Bring my husband and I will make you happy.' Sámalia goes. Then after a blast from the horns the lady sings calling on her husband to come. The husband appears smartly dressed, and the two dance. Then Sámalia returns and strikes the husband with a knotted cloth. The husband and wife ask each other where they went when they parted and what they did. The husband says 'I have been drinking opium with my friends.' Sámalia breaks in 'You were begging not drinking opium.' The husband beats him. The husband says 'I'll go and take service.' The lady says 'I'll go with you.' The husband says 'I must ride, how can you come?' She says 'Don't go to bad districts with bad water.' The husband answers: 'If I take service what does the water matter? You stay at home, I'll send you what you want.' The play ends with a dancing and singing duet between the lady and her husband. Another favorite play is Mia Bibi and Jindo. In Unja village lives a Bania lady named Tesa. Jindo a Musalmán soldier comes to Unja. Tesa's husband is a grain merchant and Jindo gets his supplies at the husband's shop. Jindo and Tesa see each other and fall in love. Tesa leaves her husband and lives with Jindo. The husband accuses Jindo of ruining his house. Jindo and Tesa dance and sing. After this Jindo and Tesa have a quarrel. Tesa says she will go away. 'Who will live with a Musalmán?' Jindo drives her out. Tesa goes to her husband's house and all is forgiven. Life without Jindo is hateful, so Tesa cries to her husband: 'I want Jindo, call him here.' The husband says 'Am I a broker' and beats her. Tesa goes on pressing her husband to bring

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Jindo till he goes to Jindo and asks 'Have you bewitched my wife? She won't eat and is calling for you.' Tesa meanwhile comes and catches Jindo's coat and begs his pardon and weeps. Jindo is pleased and says nothing wrong has been done. 'You go home and I'll leave the town.' The piece ends with a duet sung and danced by Jindo and Tesa. In some cases the villagers as a body or a wealthy villager agrees to pay a lump sum for all the performances during the time the Targálás stay in the village; in other cases when the villagers or any wealthy villager make a handsome payment they publicly receive the thanks of the company accompanied by the blowing of long horns. Targálás are Shaivs and keep in their houses images of Máta and sometimes of Mahádev. They are occasional but not regular visitants to the village temples of Shiv. They observe the ordinary Hindu fasts and feasts. They have much faith in exorcism witchcraft and omens. Jealousy and ill-feeling run high between the different companies and rival actors resort to sorcery and charms to bring about each other's ruin or death. Some Targálás are clever jugglers and perform tricks by, as they declare, the favour of some goddess or spirit. During the rainy season they make pilgrimages to Ambáji, Bahucharáji, and Dákor, and sometimes to Banáras and Jagannáth. Their priests are Audich Bráhmans. No ceremony is performed on the day of a birth. On the sixth day the goddess Chhatti is worshipped. After childbirth the mother remains impure for thirty days. When the child is six weeks or two months old it is named by a Bráhman. No ceremony is performed at the first giving of cooked food. Though they are not very careful about wearing it, every boy is girt with a sacred thread when he is between seven and eleven. The ceremony is performed with full Bráhmanic rites. Their marriage, first pregnancy, and death ceremonies do not differ from those of Kanbis. Marriages are not allowed among the descendants of collateral males on the father's side, but they are allowed among the descendants on the mother's side when they are from three to seven degrees removed. Widows are allowed to marry, but the widow of a man does not marry his younger brother. Divorce is granted on the ground of disagreement, the offending party having to pay a fine of Rs. 12. They have a headman in Ahmedábád but he exercises little control. Social disputes are settled by the majority of the castepeople. They send their boys to school and keep them under instruction till they are able to read and write. On leaving school boys are trained to sing and dance. The state of the Targálás is falling partly because the people's love for their performances has abated, but mostly because they are no longer able to exact money by threatening to pillory any one who refuses to contribute to their plays.

Turis.

Turis or **Drummers** numbering 6819 are found chiefly in north Gujarát. They take their name from the *tur* drum. According to their own story the Turis are the descendants of a Bhát. In the reign of Siddharája (A.D. 1100) a Dhed named Mahid offered himself as a sacrifice to stop the leakage of the Sahasralingh lake in Patán. At that time Dhedás were forced to go bareheaded, to carry a spittoon hung round their neck, and to drag branches of the *sami* Prosopis spicigera

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tree to wipe out their footmarks. They were forbidden to rear cows and buffaloes or to worship the *pipal* Ficus religiosa tree or the basil plant. As a return for his self-sacrifice Mahid begged Siddharája to free his castepeople from those degrading rules and to give them a priest and a bard. Siddharája agreed. Another account is that Turis are descended from a Bhangia and a Musalmán dancing girl. They are probably degraded Rajputs as among their surnames are Debler, Makvana, and Parmár. In appearance house dress and language Turis do not differ from Dhedás. In position they rank between Dhedás and Bhangiás. Dhedás will not dine with Turis and Turis will not dine with Bhangiás. Besides grain of all kinds they eat fish and flesh. They do not kill either the cow or the buffalo, but eat the flesh of animals that die a natural death. They eat the flesh of goats, sheep, fowls, deer, bears, hares, and porcupines. But they do not eat dogs, cats, horses, asses, jackals, camels, crows, vultures, owls, serpents, snakes, crow-pheasants, cranes, or iguanas. They eat flesh when they get it, or when it is to be offered to their goddesses Umia and Harshid. They drink liquor and eat opium. They are followers of the goddess Umia whose shrine is at Unja fifty-five miles north of Ahmedábád and of the goddess Harshid whose shrine is at Ujjain. To these shrines they go on pilgrimage. The goddess Umia is represented in every house by an iron trident, and near the goddess they keep a lamp and burn incense, and offer a goat during the *Navrátra* or Nine Night festival. They bow to the rising sun and to the fullmoon. After building a new house the earth is propitiated by burying a goat. Their teacher is a Dheda saint at Dákor who receives a yearly contribution of Re. 1 and one day's provisions from each house. Their chief holidays are *Holi* in February-March, *Nágpanchmi* or the Cobra's Fifth in August, and the fifteenths and the seconds of every Hindu month. Immediately after a birth cooked rice and molasses are distributed among children. On the sixth day in the lying-in room seven *pipal* leaves and two slips of bamboo, one dipped in redpowder the other in lampblack, are laid under a shallow earthen pitcher. On the seventh day the Gáruda or Dheda priest fixes the child's name and the name is given by the father's sister. The Gáruda receives 2 annas, the father's sister about 8 annas, and each of the relations a sweet cake. When the child is nine months old they offer 1¼ *shers* of cooked rice mixed with molasses and cake to the goddess Umia, putting pieces of the cakes mixed with sugar and clarified butter into the child's mouth. Boys and girls are married between seven and ten, a Gáruda or Dheda Bráhman acting as priest. Ganpati and a *sami* twig are worshipped, the pair pass four times round the central square, and the parents and relations of the bridegroom are feasted. At the bridegroom's the bride and bridegroom worship the goddess Umia and play a game of chance and struggle for a rupee and a silver ring in a jar of water, to see which is to rule in after-life. Marriage between relations whether on the father's or the mother's side is forbidden. Widow marriage is allowed, the younger brother of the dead husband having the first claim. Divorce is granted on the ground of adultery or of disagreement. A divorced woman receives nothing from her husband, lives at her father's, and has no claim over her children. During a woman's first

pregnancy the lap-filling ceremony is performed. The dead are buried. The dead body is carried to the burial-ground on a bamboo bier with a cocoanut hanging from each of the four ends. Before laying the body in the grave, the eyes mouth hands and feet are bathed in cocoanut water. On the third day a pot filled with water, a sweet ball, and a lamp fed with clarified butter are placed near the burial-ground. Death ceremonies are performed for nine days, and unmarried children are feasted on rice. On the tenth day the male relations shave their moustaches. Turis cultivate during the rains. In the fair season they wander playing the drum called *turi*, and singing tales half prose half verse to the accompaniment of a guitar *sárangi*. Owing to the competition of the Rávaliás their income has of late years greatly fallen; and they are now a poor class. Boys of seven or over, go about with their fathers. They have a headman who, with the majority of the men present in a caste meeting, settles all disputes and questions about lending and borrowing. Breaches of caste rules are punished by fines which are spent in caste feasts. The yearly expense of a Turi and his wife and two children varies from Rs. 30 to Rs. 60. Their earnings as players vary from Rs. 20 to Rs. 25. The Gárudas teach the boys to read and write. As a class they are badly off.

SECTION VIII.—PERSONAL SERVANTS.

Section VIII.

PERSONAL SERVANTS.

Of Personal Servants there are three classes, Dhobhis or washermen, Hajáms or barbers, and Khavás or personal attendants, with a strength of 212,176 or 2·14 per cent of the Hindu population.[1] The details are:

Hindu Personal Servants, 1891.

Class.	Ahmedábád	Kaira.	Panch Mahála.	Broach.	Surat.	Native States.	Baroda.	Total.
Dhobhis ...	1231	1137	239	721	25	4957	2889	11,199
Hajáms ...	17,035	13,371	3262	37,902	5264	65,490	31,557	173,881
Khavás ...	753	71	...	1	...	26,192	129	27,096
	19,019	14,529	3501	38,624	5289	96,639	34,575	212,176

Among almost all classes of Hindus some members earn their living by household service. In a few rich households a cook and one or two other family servants are kept. Formerly in most households the women of the family washed the clothes, drew the water, swept the rooms, ground the corn, cooked, scoured the cooking and drinking vessels, and did the whole house work. Of late years in cities the employment of house servants has come to be thought a necessity in families whose yearly income is over Rs. 2000. A Bráhman cook besides his food is paid Rs. 3 to Rs. 5 a month. A general house servant, in caste something above the impure, besides food is paid Rs. 2 to Rs. 4 a month. As a rule Hindus do not employ any personal or body servant. In well-to-do families the elders disapprove the fashion of handing house work to servants. They say that the younger women suffer from forms of ill-health which were unknown when the women of the family did the whole house work.

Dhobis.

Dhobhis or Washermen, from *dho* to wash, **11,199** strong, are found in every town and city. In villages, as almost every family washes its own clothes, washermen have no employment. Except that they are darker they differ little in appearance from Kanbis. They live in small tiled houses with walls of mud or brick and mortar. Though in south Gujarát some eat fish and drink liquor, the Dhobhi's ordinary food consists of millet bread rice pulse spices and sometimes vegetables. Both men and women are always clad in white. The men wear a skullcap a waistcloth and a jacket or a cotton coat; the women wear a cotton jacket, and instead of a silk or cotton robe a waistcloth. The waistcloth is worn like the ordinary robe, except that it is pulled back between the feet somewhat like the Marátha robe. Dhobhis generally wear their employers' clothes, as the proverb says *Dhobhina pánch paráya* The Dhobhi's five are foreign.[2] Cotton clothes alone are sent to the wash. Among Hindus cotton coats *angarkhás*, jackets *badans*, shirts *peherans*, shouldercloths *pichodis*, coverlets

[1] The census figures for A.D. 1891 are apparently incorrect. Dhobhis in Surat were returned at 1485 in A.D. 1872 while only 25 were returned in 1891; Hajáms in Broach were returned at 3936 in A.D. 1872 and at 37,902 in A.D. 1891.

[2] The five are the cap, jacket, coat, waistcloth, and robe.

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chádars, pillow or cushion covers *galefs*, handkerchiefs *rumáls*, and sometimes waistcloths *dhotiyás* are sent to the washerman. Men's waistcloths and women's every-day robes are washed at home by the women of the house or by servants. Besides cotton coats, shirts, jackets, handkerchiefs, coverlets, and pillow or cushion coverings, Pársis and Musalmáns give the washerman their skullcaps and cotton trousers. A washerman has from five to twenty customers of all castes except Dhedás Bhangiás and other depressed classes. Some Pársis and a few rich Hindus change their clothes every third day, and others once a week; but the bulk of the people including Vániás wear their clothes for a fortnight, and the Ghánchis or oilsellers for at least a month. The washerman is called in once a week or once a month. Before they are given to the washerman the clothes are carefully counted and entered in a list. As the washerman has generally from five to twenty customers whose clothes are much alike, he sews a private mark on each piece. The Bhaváyás or strolling players never make fun of a *dhobhi* respecting the skill with which they sort their clothes.

Most Dhobhis own a bull or *pothi* which has been presented to them by some high caste customer who scruples to castrate the sacred animal. A Dhobhi keeps the clothes of each of his customers in a separate bundle till he has gathered from a hundred to three hundred pieces. He piles the clothes in a large shallow earthen jar filled with water mixed with carbonate of soda in the proportion of five pounds of carbonate of soda to seven gallons of water. The jar is set over a fire in the back of the house and left for about three hours, when the clothes are taken out and heaped on the ground. Next day the clothes are rolled in a great bundle and strapped on the back of the bull, the Dhobhi sitting behind the bundle and driving the bull to a freshwater stream or pond. There the clothes are washed and as many of them as have to be bleached are soaked in rice gruel or in water mixed with wheat flour. In the evening when the clothes are dry, the Dhobhi goes home with the bundle strapped on the back of the bull. On the third day the clothes are sorted into heaps. Some of them are sprinkled with a little water and laid on a wooden anvil fixed to the ground and beaten with wooden hammers a process called *kundi*. Other clothes are ironed. The iron is a three-cornered smoothbottomed brass box with several holes in the sides and a brass lid with a handle. Live coals or a piece of red-hot iron is put in the box, the lid is closed, and the clothes previously starched are ironed separately after a little water has been sprinkled over each. Most Pársis wear ironed clothes. Twenty years ago a Hindu who wore ironed clothes was considered a fop and a spendthrift, and the number of Hindus who use ironed clothes for every day wear is still small. As a rule the washerman is paid by the number of pieces washed; for pressed clothes Re. ½ to Rs. 2 and for ironed clothes Rs. 3 to Rs. 6 the hundred. Dhobhis are honest idle and careless, and in south Gujarát they are fond of drink. Though he performs no part in any ceremonies the site of a washerman with clean clothes is lucky. The women and grown-up children help the men. By religion Dhobhis are Kabirpanthis, Rámánujas, and Vallabhácháris. Though they respect Hindu gods they have no house gods and do not go to temples,

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Dhobhis.

They keep the ordinary Hindu feast days. They believe in sorcery witchcraft and omens and visit popular Hindu places of pilgrimage. In Kaira during their holy Pachusan days in July-August (*Shrávan*) Shrávaks pay Musalmán Dhobhis fifty to a hundred rupees according as they abstain a week a fortnight or a month from work. Their sixth-day marriage pregnancy and death ceremonies are the same as those of Hajáms. They allow divorce and widow marriage. Caste disputes are settled by a headman in consultation with the men of the caste assembled at a special meeting. They seldom send their boys to school, and on the whole are fairly off.

Haja'ms.

Haja'ms or Barbers,[1] **173,881** strong, are found in almost every town and village in Gujarát. Besides a few Maráthás who are known as Dakhanis and Ghátis and a few Purbiás from North India, the Hajáms of the province belong to five main divisions Babars or Márvádis, Bhátiás, Limbachiás, Malus, and Masuriás or Matakiás. Of these divisions the Limbáchiás rank highest. They allow Bhátia Hajáms to smoke out of their pipes. But they will not eat with any other division. None of the divisions intermarry nor do they eat together except that all will eat food cooked by a Limbáchia. The Limbáchiás claim descent from a band of Rajputs who after some defeat fled for protection to their goddess Limach in Pattan. The goddess saved their lives and in acknowledgment they took her name. From Pattan they went to Chámpáner and from Chámpáner they spread over Gujarát. Among the Limbáchia surnames are Bhatti, Chandrasara, Chávda, Chohán, Dábhi, Gohel, Parmár, Ráthod, Solanki, Udia, and Vakáni. They are still found in large numbers in Pattan, and the Limbachiás in other parts of the province occasionally visit their goddess Limach in Pattan and pay a yearly contribution of 4 to 8 annas to the temple servant of Limach who moves about the province collecting their contributions. Though Limbachia Hajáms allow Bhátia Hajáms to smoke out of their pipes high caste Hindus will not, at least in central Gujarát, drink water brought by a Bhátia Hajám. In appearance speech and dress Hajáms do not differ from Luhárs or Suthárs. One saying would rank the Hajám as the first of craftsmen, without whose skill the finest clothes and the costliest ornaments are useless. In towns they live in small one-storied houses with brick walls and tiled roofs, and in villages in houses with mud walls and thatched roofs. Except the Masuriás of south Gujarát who eat goat's flesh and drink liquor, Hajáms live on the ordinary food-grains. Some of them take opium and in north Gujarát opium-water or *kasumba*. As a class barbers are fond of pleasure and dissipation. They are also proverbially talkative, boastful, and pretentious. With all their self-importance and in spite of the

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[1] The barber is known by several names: *Hajám* from the Arabic *hajám* to cup; *Váland* from his cutting the hair or *val*; *Ghánjo* from his healing wounds or *gha*; and *Matko* from an earthen pot *matku* on which barber boys are taught to shave. Of the origin of another name *Vávdi-chaski* or well-movers, the story is that a company of barbers held a picnic outside of their town. They stopped near a well or *vávdi* and after the picnic they found that the water made such excellent *bhang* or hemp-liquor that they determined to carry off the well, and binding one of their turbans round the parapet pulled at it till the fumes of the liquor passed away.

saying quoted above people have a poor opinion of their skill; a fool or an unlettered man is commonly called Hajám, and a clumsy barber is known as a *bhes mudo* or buffalo-shaver or a Kumbhár.

Though the Hajám is also the village torch-bearer, shaving and nail-paring are a barber's chief employment. In most large Káthiáváda towns nearly every caste has its own barber; even in Zanzibar and Arabia the Káthiáváda merchants are careful to provide themselves with barbers from their native country. In other parts of the province the barber has generally fixed customers of different castes. Except in Cambay where they are called *párekhs* or shopmen few barbers have regular shops though some shave in their houses or in some public place in the village. The barber generally attends his better class customers at their houses and if Bráhmans and Vániás go to the barber's house they take water with them so that the barber's water may not touch their skin. When a barber comes to a house he shaves his customer, both of them sitting on a mat spread on the floor.

The barber's appliances are a leather-bag *kothli*, a brass or copper cup *vádki*, a heavy looking-glass *ársi*, three or four country razors *astarás*, a pair of scissors *káter*, an iron pincer *chipio*, an iron nail-parer *nareni*, a piece of Kapadvanj soap *sábu*, a leather strap *taptapi*, a comb *káski*, a piece of cloth about a yard square *lungi-rumál*, and a whet-stone *pahari*. In villages the barber's tools are of the roughest, but in large towns and cities some have begun to use European brushes razors soaps and looking-glasses. A village barber's tools are worth about Rs. 2 and a town barber's about Rs. 5. The barber begins by opening the leather bag, placing the brass or copper cup near his right foot, spreading his cloth on the ground, and sharpening his razor. The person to be shaved sits opposite holding the looking-glass, and when he is seated the cloth is spread over his lap. His face is first shaved and then his head and arm-pits, and his hair and moustache are trimmed. The rich sometimes have the head rubbed with scented oil and lemon juice and get the barber to shampoo the body.

Among high castes who do not allow widow marriage all elderly widows have their heads shaved either immediately after the dead body of the husband is taken to the burning ground or on the tenth day after his death. The widow is led by another widow into a closed room, and the barber is brought, and, in the presence of the other widow, breaks the woman's ivory bracelets or glass bangles, shears off her hair with the scissors, and shaves her head. The broken bracelets or bangles and the hair are taken by the women of the family and thrown into a river. After being once shaven some castes allow the widow to let her hair grow; but most widows have their head shaved three or four times a month. Between being shaved and bathing high caste Hindus consider themselves impure. They touch no person and no article in the house, and if possible are bathed by servants or members of the family so that they may not touch the bathing vessels. The hour for shaving is generally between six and eleven in the morning though some get shaved in the afternoon. In large towns the barber's busiest day is Sunday when most Government servants are shaved. Men who have no male children get shaved on Mondays;

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but men who have sons avoid that day. Tuesday is also unlucky as it is sacred to the Mothers or *Mátás*. Debtors get shaved on Wednesday as they believe this helps to free them from debt. Wednesday is on this account called *Bandhiván no dahádo* or Bondsman's Day. It is unlucky to be shaved on Saturday, on the no-moon or fullmoon of every Hindu month, on the yearly or monthly death-day of a member of the family, and, among some Bráhmans, during July-August or *Shrávan*. In a house where a child is ill of small-pox the nearest relations do not get themselves shaved until after the goddess of small-pox is worshipped, nor do the nearest relations of a man or woman get shaved till ten days after a death. Well-to-do townsmen get themselves shaved twice or thrice a week and the middle classes once a week. Villagers are shaved twice or thrice a month. The ordinary fee of a town barber is $\frac{1}{4}$ anna a visit in the case of a boy or widow and $\frac{1}{2}$ anna in the case of a man. Sometimes the barber is paid weekly sometimes yearly. In villages the barber is paid in grain. When a man is on his death-bed, as a preliminary to making death-gifts, his head except the topknot chin and upper lip are shaved. When a man becomes an ascetic his whole head and his face except the eyebrows are shaved. On the tenth day after a death the men and the widows of the deceased's family stock are shaved. The widows shave the head, the men older than the deceased the head except the topknot and the face except the eyebrows and the chin, and the younger men the head except the topknot and the face except the eyebrows the chin and the upper lip. Among high caste Hindus men who have broken caste rules by eating what is forbidden, or eating with forbidden castes, or by doing forbidden acts, are re-admitted into caste after they have paid the necessary fine and after they have shaved the head, except the topknot the chin and the upper lip. Shaving the hair is the highest penalty the caste can inflict, and the castepeople are stricter in enforcing this punishment than they are in enforcing the fine. Cases occur in which men become outcastes rather than submit to the disgrace of being shaved and some commute this part of the punishment by paying an additional fine. On two occasions, when a child's hair is first cut and before a boy is girt with the Bráhmanic thread, the barber receives presents in clothes and food and from Rs. 2 to Rs. 5 in cash. At marriages it is the barber's duty to rub the bride and bridegroom with turmeric and for this he receives presents of clothes and cash. In marriage processions the barber holds a large red umbrella or a flyflapper *chauri* over the heads of the bride and the bridegroom. Among Rajputs and Kanbis he is the go-between in marriage arrangements, and among most Hindus he carries to the father the news of the birth of a male child. Among central Gujarát Pátidárs the burden of the arrangements both at weddings and at funerals falls on the Haján. Among Musalmáns of the Bohora community he invites the guests to public feasts. He is also a torch-bearer, and, in well-to do families, often serves as a house servant, sweeping the house, preparing the beds, cleaning and lighting lamps, escorting the men and women of the family, and shampooing his master. Some are also employed as *pharás* or lamplighters in the courts of native chiefs and in British courts of justice. The Dholis or

drum-beaters who at marriages beat drums from three to eight days at the houses of the bride and bridegroom, who walk before the bridegroom in the marriage procession, and who by the sound of their drums proclaim the joining of the hands of the bride and bridegroom, are barbers of the Mataka class. In Kaira the Dholis are Rávaliás by caste and in the Rewa Kántha Dhánkás or Bhils.

In towns and in some villages the barber is able to bleed, and in a few cases knows how to set bones. Formerly barbers held rent-free lands as village servants a privilege which has been continued to them on paying one-fourth part of the ordinary rental. Except some women of the Masuria Hajáms in Surat and the Panch Maháls who shave widows and young boys, Hajám women do not help their husbands in shaving. Some work as female servants in Kanbi and Rajput families where they act as go-betweens in love intrigues, and some grind or winnow corn. Most of them are midwives. The yearly income from all sources ranges between Rs. 30 and Rs. 150.

Socially Hajáms hold a low position, though they do not shave people of the unclean classes. The same degree of impurity which attaches to a person after being shaved does not attach to the barber himself. Though among high caste Hindus the barber is allowed to move about in the house, prepare beds, and shampoo the body, he is generally not allowed to touch drinking pots and as far as possible his touch is avoided. Among Kanbis and low caste Hindus the barber touches the drinking pots and cleans the cooking pots and vessels. To see a barber in the act of shaving is unlucky before leaving the house on any important business. Hajáms eat food cooked by high caste Hindus and by Kanbis; but except the Matakis they do not eat food cooked by Kolis or others below them in rank. Neither Limbachia nor Bhátia Hajáms eat food cooked by Kachh Bhátiás because Bhátiás formerly ate fish. On the other hand some of the unclean classes do not eat food cooked even by Limbachiás. The Hajám's priests belong to many divisions of Bráhmans, Audich Borsadia Modh Ráyakvál and Shrigaud, who though they officiate at their ceremonies think it somewhat disgraceful to be called barber's priests or Hajámgors. By religion Hajáms are Bijpanthis, Kabirpanthis, Rámánandis, Shaivs, Vallabhácháris, and in the Panch Maháls some are followers of Kuberdás. Some of them worship in their houses the images of Ganpati, Hanumán, Krishna, Mahádev, and Rám, and visit the Hindu temples in the town or village where they live. They believe in witchcraft sorcery the evil eye and ordinary omens. They keep the usual Hindu fasts and feasts. In the Panch Maháls besides observing the regular Hindu holidays they fast on the second of every Hindu month and do not eat till they have worshipped the new-moon. They go to the ordinary places of Hindu pilgrimage. The Limbáchiás are careful to visit the shrine of their goddess Limach in Patan. Three barber saints have risen to fame, Achaldás and Kevaldás of Pálanpur and Sáin of Márwár.

Barbers perform no ceremonies on the day of a birth On the sixth day the goddess Chhatti is worshipped, and among the Surat Masuriás along with rice and redpowder a razor is laid before the

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goddess. After childbirth the mother is impure from fifteen to forty days. On the twelfth day after birth the child is named by the father's sister. When the child is from five to seven months old the first giving of cooked food takes place. In the family of a Pálanpur Limbachia when four or five girls are to be married, the marriage day is fixed after consulting the horoscope of the oldest girl, and the other girls are married on the day found lucky in her case. With this exception the marriage customs of Hajáms do not differ from those of Kanbis. Marriages are not allowed among members of the same family stock, and, on the mother's side, marriages are not allowed among the nearest relations, though sometimes a boy marries the daughter of his mother's brother. Among Hajáms divorce and widow marriage are allowed. The widow of a man sometimes marries his younger brother. During the seventh month of a woman's first pregnancy the lap-filling ceremony is performed. Hajáms burn their dead. In some parts of Káthiáváḍ while taking the dead body to the burning ground five men bathe and put on the Bráhmanic thread. Of the five four carry the dead body and the fifth the earthen vessel with live coal. In other parts of the province the mode of carrying the dead body is the same as among Kanbis. Some Hajáms, on the twelfth day after a death, near the house of the deceased raise a pile of six or twelve earthen jars and wrap a cotton thread round them. The potter is called and unrolls the thread, cuts it in pieces, and takes away the jars. Among other Hajáms on the night of the twelfth day the chief mourner worships the stars by throwing into the sky flowers dipped in sandal dust. With this difference the death ceremonies are the same as those of Kanbis. Caste disputes are settled sometimes by a headman in consultation with the castepeople and sometimes by a few respectable men of the caste. They seldom send their boys to school, and as a class are in middling circumstances.

Khava's.

Khava's or personal attendants, called Hajuris or of The Presence in Rewa Kántha, Vajirs or ministers in Pálanpur, and elsewhere Golás or Lundás that is household slaves, have a strength of 27,096. They are found in most parts of the province in the houses of Rajput chiefs and Rajput landholders or Garásiás. All who are the personal servants of a Rajput chief or of a Garásia are called Khavás whether they are Rajputs Kolis Musalmáns or Dhánkás. These Khavás do not dine together or intermarry, but eat and marry with their castepeople. In Kachh and Káthiáváḍ the Khavás form a distinct community recruited from people of all castes. Both Khavás and Golás are so far bondsmen that it is customary to sell or pass them from house to house. Formerly no Garásia of any position was without at least a few Khavás as they could be bought for a few *mans* of grain. The Khavás and Golás are said to have originally been on the same footing, but the necessity of men of position having around them a trusty set of servants led to the gradual elevation of the Khavás over the Golás, a superiority which their descendants retain. A Gola may rise to the rank of a Khavás while a Kavás may sink to the condition of a Gola. A Khavás who when hopelessly indebted binds himself to serve a chief as his servant becomes a Gola. By their intelligence and bold-

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ness the Khavás have so far improved their condition that in rare cases even a Garásia is willing to take one of their daughters in marriage if she is well dowered. In Kachh some of the Khavás are the descendants of Rajputs who have lost their lands. But as their wives have to appear in public and work in the fields, the better class of Rajputs will not give them their daughters in marriage.

Corresponding to the male servants are female Khavásans and Golis. The domestic position and work of these two classes is the same, but the Khavásan is the more respectable as she does no work except waiting on her mistress. The Khavásans, who are known among the higher Rajput families as Vadhárans or Chokris, that is maidservants or female attendants, are the daughters of Khavás. They have an independence which is denied to the Golis. They or their parents have the right to decide where they will take service and whether or not they will accompany their young mistresses into other families. The Golis are girls either of the province or of outside districts. Those of the province are the daughters of destitute parents who have been thrown for maintenance on the charity of the Garásiás and perform service in return for their food and clothes. In the Rajputána famine of A.D. 1869 many girls were received into the houses of Káthiáváḍ Garásiás. Till A.D. 1878 Bháts and Chárans made a regular trade of bringing girls from Márwár into Kachh. The girls were either kidnapped or lured from their homes by promises. Sometimes they were sold in payment of debts by their parents and guardians direct to the Bháts and Chárans who brought them to Kachh for sale, and sometimes their parents and guardians sold them to their creditors who re-sold them to Bháts and Chárans. After they were brought to Kachh the Bháts and Chárans used to take the girls from village to village and sell them to some landholder. The price was mutually settled and a deed of sale was drawn out. These girls were in much demand among all classes of Rajputs, especially among Jádejás, as their custom is to give one or more male and female servants as part of the dowry of a daughter. In A.D. 1865 by Notification the people of Káthiáváḍ were warned against importing African slaves, and in A.D. 1869 against kidnapping and selling girls. Though in Rajput households the Golis like the Khavásans are fed clothed and well treated, unlike Khavásans their wishes are seldom consulted when sent with their young mistress as a portion of the dowry. An implied proprietary right still exists over them and in former times claims for their restitution used occasionally to be made to political officers.[1] The Golis are of easy virtue and are seldom married. If they are married it is with a member of their own caste and the marriage tie is by no means strong. Should the chief dismiss a Gola he is not allowed to take his wife with him. She and her family remain at the chief's and are handed over to another Gola. The practice may be said to be

[1] In A.D. 1869 a slave vessel or *dhaw* was captured by a British war-ship and the negro slaves were distributed among respectable people willing to receive them as domestic servants. The chief of Gondal took two of the negresses and brought them to Gondal. One of them died, the other is still (A.D. 1897) alive and is married in Gondal.

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almost promiscuous cohabitation controlled either by the authority of the chief or by a sense of propriety. An intrigue with a Goli is considered disgraceful to a member of another class. When a Goli is found with child by a man of another class, her mistress forces her to declare the name of the father, who, if a wealthy person, is compelled to pay a fine. No fault is imputed to the woman. The children swell the ranks of Golás and Golis, who in process of time rise to the position of Khavás and Khavásans.

In appearance the Khavás are like well-to-do Rajputs and Garásiás and in some cases they are remarkably handsome. Their women are like Rajput women and are sometimes as beautiful as the wives of a Rajput chief. They speak Gujaráti and in Kachh Kachhi. They live in brick houses of one or two stories and with tiled roofs. Except in Ahmedábád, besides ordinary grains they eat flesh and fish. They eat the goat, sheep, boar, antelope, spotted deer, and hare, and among birds fowls partridges and quails. Flesh and fish are eaten by the well-to-do for their every-day food and by the poor on holidays. In Káthiáwád fish is not eaten in the evening. They drink liquor and take opium. Both men and women dress like Rajputs. The men wear the beard and moustache and some cut the hair of their temples. They are personal attendants on Rajput chiefs and Garásiás, cultivators, and day-labourers. As personal servants they are employed in indoor service in taking care of the chief's and his relatives' clothes, filling their pipe, making their beds, arranging the furniture, and helping them to bathe and dress. In former times the inferior servants or Golás used sometimes to accompany the corpse of their chief to the funeral pile and burn themselves with it. When their widowed mistress breaks her bracelets the maids break theirs but afterwards get fresh ones. They receive food lodging and clothes, and, if their position in the family entitles them to it, ornaments also but no money. As their duties are light and as all their wants are supplied by their masters, who defray the expenses connected with their births marriages and deaths, they are well off. Some of them become personal favourites and with a weak chief acquire considerable power, amassing wealth, building fine houses, and wearing rich clothes. Meru Mavji and Rághav in Navánagar, Laddho Kachro and Gujju in Gondal, and Mádhu in Bhávnagar are men of this class who rose to much power.

SECTION IX.—KOLIS.

Strength.

Kolis have a total strength of 2,276,633 or 23·02 per cent of the Hindu population of Gujarát and Káthiáwád. They are most numerous in the north and in Káthiáwád and become gradually fewer towards the south of the province. The details are :

HINDU KOLIS, 1891.

CLASS.	Ahmedábád.	Kaira.	Panch-Maháls.	Broach.	Surat.	Native States.	Baroda.	Total.
Chunváliyás ...	2448	19	...	9	19	25,323	5857	33,675
Khánts ...	809	5317	221	12	2	15,922	...	22,283
Pátanvádiyás	557	19,958	265	158	179	8201	20,848	45,166
Tálabdás ...	108,892	260,137	58,231	1381	67,173	88,576	146,286	730,676
Unspecified ...	127,493	34,373	28,921	23,489	35,066	878,354	317,137	1,444,833
Total ...	240,199	319,804	87,638	25,049	102,439	1,011,376	490,128	2,276,633

N.B.—The census details are incomplete. The head 'Unspecified' seems to include most of the Chunváliyás and Pátanvádiyás whose number is very large in central Gujarát.

The Name.

The name Koli[1] meaning clansman, clubman, or boatman which is applied to the middle classes of the military or predatory Hindus of Gujarát, includes tribes that differ widely from each other. Some writers speak of them as aboriginals of the plain or civilised Bhils, others find them so little unlike Rajputs as to lead to the conclusion that Kolis and Rajputs are in the main of the same stock. This difference in the character and condition of the Kolis would seem to be chiefly a difference of locality, the Bhils and Kolis of eastern Gujarát being almost as hard to distinguish as are the Kolis and Rajputs of western Gujarát and Káthiáwád.[2] The explanation of this difference seems to be that the Mihiras or Gujars, coming into Gujarát from the

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[1] Dr. J. Wilson (Aboriginal Tribes) translated Koli clansman. Mr. Taylor prefers clubman quoting in support of this view that other of the military classes are called Dhárála or swordsmen, from *dhára* or sword and that the Kolis, when on watch, wear a heavy bábulwood club about four feet long called *dáng*. Of the many meanings of Koli the one that best suits the bulk of the Kolis of Gujarát is Kola with the sense of bastard or half-caste. Kola is used as half caste in Elliot's History, II. 200. This agrees with the sense of degradation which according to Tod attaches to Koli in Rajputána. Annals, II. 318. Koli is applied in a similar sense to the Kanets of the Himalayas (Kangra Gaz. II. 34, 35) where also Koli is used with Dági and Chanál to describe the lower class menials of the highest hills. This sense of half caste seems to be the only sensible explanation of the application of the word Koli to classes who are known to be of Mhed or Mihira and of Rajput or of Gujar descent.

[2] Of the eastern Kolis, Bishop Heber (A.D. 1826) wrote: They are only civilised Bhils (Narrative, II. 142); Mr. Willoughby (A.D. 1826) talks of the original dynasty at Bária being Bhil, or what might be considered the same thing Koli (Gov. Sel. XXIII. 150); and Mr. Melvill (A.D. 1827) speaks of the wilder population of eastern Ahmedábád equally under the name of Bhil and Koli (Bom. Gov. Sel. X. 10). On the other hand, in western Kaira, the Rev. Mr. Taylor, and in Káthiávad Major J. W. Watson find it very difficult to draw any line between the Koli and the Rajput. The story with which the Parántij Kolis account for their own origin is general in eastern Gujarát, namely that their progenitor was a Rajput who lost caste by taking water from the hand of a Bhil woman. Mr. F. S. P. Lely, I.C.S.

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Their Origin.

west north-west and north-east found the plain country held by Bhils. In central parts the newcomers so dominated the earlier race that the result is a Koli hardly to be known from a Rajput. In the eastern parts, on the other hand, the new-come element was small and the intermixture produced a Koli or half blood who can hardly be known from a Bhil. Similarly the Kolis in the south have a later element so weak as to have but little affected the Dubla, Dhundia, and other stock with whom it mixed. Again in the north and west when the struggles with the Musalmáns set in newcomers, classed under the general head of Rajputs, joining with the earlier settlements of Kolis, were in some cases absorbed by them, and in others succeeded in raising the Kolis to their own level. Traces of a later connection with some one of the Rajput tribes are found among the Kolis of almost every part of the province. Among the northern and western Kolis the connection with the Mihiras or Mairs is more clearly established than in the east and south. According to their own legends, the Kolis and Mairs were originally one and came into Gujarát from Sindh. Their leader Sonang Mair had twelve sons, each of whom became the head of a clan. These Mairs are almost certainly the same as the Meyds or Mihiras who entered India in the fifth century after Christ as one of the leading branches of the great White Huṇa horde. During the sixth century the Mers seem to have driven out the Jats and in the eighth century they were a serious obstacle to the Arab invaders of Western India, in the Panjáb, in Sindh, and in Káthiáváḍ. The connection between the Mairs and the Meyds and the Káthiáváḍ Koli belief that they entered Gujarát from Sindh are supported by the fact that the Mers brought with them from beyond the Indus the worship of Hingláj Devi, and that in her honour they set up a temple in the Nal between Káthiáváḍ and the mainland.[1]

Again, since the settlement of the Mairs in Gujarát, reverses of fortune, especially the depression of the Rajputs under the yoke of the Musalmáns in the fourteenth century, did much to draw closer the bond between the middle and higher grades of the warrior class. Then many Rajputs sought shelter among the Kolis and married with them, leaving descendants who still claim a Rajput origin and bear the names of Rajput families.[2] Apart from this, and probably the result of

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[1] Rás Mála, I. 103; Elliot's History, I. 521; Cunningham, I. 290. That the Mairs represent the Meyds, and are comparatively late settlers in Gujarát is doubtful. Colonel Tod (Western India, 584, 587) wrote in A.D. 1822 that the Rajputána Mairs as a branch of the Cheetas, a division of the Mina or Maina, are aboriginal tribes. In Rajputána they have many ceremonies according to the Hindu ritual and use Bráhman priests. The Káthiáváḍ Mairs found in Porbandar on the south coast are scarcely considered within the pale of the Bráhmanical religion, but pretend to be Hindus. Hamilton's Description of Hindustán, I. 666.

[2] Gov. Sel. XII. 17. The following is a list of the Rajput-Koli Thákordás or lordlings of northern Gujarát: The Solankis of Bhankoda, Chaniár, Dekáváda, and Kukváv in the Chunvál; the Makvánás of Katosan, Janjuvára, and Punar; the Ráthods of Ghánti and Vághpur on the banks of the Sábarmati; the Dábhis of Ghodásar in the Charotar; the Choháns of Amliára in the Mahi Kántha; and the Vághelás of Kánkrej. Of late years, by carefully marrying only among Rajputs, some families of half Koli descent, such as the Thákors of Thara-Jonpur in the Kankrej have been received back into the Rajput clan.

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an original sameness of race, in some parts of Gujarát and Káthiáwád intermarriage goes on between the daughters of Talabda Kolis and the sons of Rajputs.[1] In this respect the relations between Kolis and Rajputs are closer than those between Kolis and Kanbis or between Rajputs and Kanbis. And it would appear that at least in a considerable section of the class the distinction between Rajput and Koli is one rather of order and rank than of race or tribe.

Divisions.

The name Koli includes four main divisions, the Chunváliyás found mostly in the Ahmedábád district and in Káthiáwád; the Khánts found mostly in north-eastern Gujarát and Káthiáwád; the Pátanvádiyás or Anhilpur Kolis found mostly in central Gujarát; and the Talabdás or local, also called Dhárálás or Sword-Kolis distributed all over Gujarát but found in greatest strength in Ahmedábád Kaira and Káthiáwád. Except in the Panch Maháls where the Pátanvádiyás and Talabdás eat together and intermarry, these classes are distinct and do not as a rule intermarry. Each class is again parcelled into a number of subdivisions or families.[2] The gradations and differences between the Káthiáwád Kolis and the Káthiáwád Mayás, Mers, and Rávaliyás are almost infinitesimal.

Chunva'liya's

Chunva'liya's, also called **Jaha'ngria's**, take their name from Chunvál, a tract of country in the north-east of the Viramgám sub-division of the Ahmedábád district, so called from its originally containing forty-four or *chumális* villages. Chunváliyás are mostly found in Ahmedábád and Káthiáwád. They are a wild untractable race who at one time were the terror of north Gujarát. The Chunváliya Thákordás or landholders, who belong to the Mákvána tribe of Kolis and claim to be Jhála Rajputs having married into good families are good-looking and fair like the Talabdás. But the bulk of the Chunváliyás have more of the features and characteristics of the Bhil, than whom they are only a little higher in position and intelligence. They have twenty-one principal subdivisions,[3] and intermarry among their own class alone, but not among members of the same subdivision.

Under the Maráthás the Chunváliyás of Ahmedábád, except in the centre of the district where they would seem to have been orderly cultivators, were in a chronic state of revolt. Treated as outcastes, and known by the reproachful name of *Mehvás* or Faithless, they lived in separate bands or settlements with the manners and habits of a distinct people.[4] The Chunváliya Kolis were a body of organised plunderers. Led by chiefs[5] or *thákordás* of part Rajput descent, they

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[1] A Koli girl married into a Rajput family is expected to take her meals apart from her Koli relations when she happens to visit them.

[2] In the Rewa Kántha there are twenty-one subdivisions, namely Bámaniya, Báriya, Bhetam, Budel, Chohán, Daffal, Dakana, Dáman, Damor, Dáyara, Gadál, Gamor, Katáriya, Kiva, Kutar, Patel, Rája, Ráthva, Senvai, Solanki, and Támis.

[3] The twenty-one subdivisions are: Absania, Adingáma, Baroga, Basukia, Dábhi, Dhámedia, Dhandhukia, Gohel, Jandaria, Jhinjuvadia, Kanaja, Lilapura, Makvána, Palegia, Parmár, Piplia, Bábria, Sádria, Solanki, Vadhlakhia, and Vaghela.

[4] Bom. Gov. Sel. XXXIX. 29.

[5] The Chunváliya chiefs rode and the Kolis went on foot. To avoid the risk of their steeds neighing the chiefs always rode mares, sometimes worth Rs. 2000 to Rs. 3000. In

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lived in villages protected by almost impassable thorn fences and levied contributions from the districts round, planning, if refused, regular night attacks and dividing the booty according to recognized rules.[1] As they had been almost entirely uncontrolled by the Maráthás, at the beginning of British rule the Chunváliya Kolis more than once, in A.D. 1819 and 1825, rose in revolt. On their second rising their hedges and other fortifications were removed and their power as an organised body of plunderers was crushed. Among them are still (A.D. 1897) men of unruly and criminal habits, but as a class they have for years settled as cultivators and labourers.

Khants or Borderers.

Khants[2] or Borderers are found mostly in Káthiávád and Rewa Kántha. As their name implies, they are a wild tribe, in appearance and condition little, if at all, different from Bhils. Their chiefs who are known by the title of Mer claim to be descended from a Bhati Rajput.[3] One of their early leaders Dhándh Khánt was the son of Sonang Mer and is said to have conquered Dhandhuka, and to have founded Dhandhalpur in the Panchál in Káthiávád. Another leader Pátal Khánt is said to have conquered Petlád. Their most famous leader was Jesa or Jesing, by whose help the emperor Muhammad Toghlak (A.D. 1330) took Junágadh from Rakhengár.[4] In return for their help the emperor is said to have bestowed on the Khánts the hill of Girnár and the twenty-four villages of Bilkha Chovisi. A hundred

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attacking a village the chief leader guarded the passes and his lieutenant led the men against the town. Their attacks were always at night and by surprise. The Kolis' arms were the matchlock sword and spear. They did not practise with the bow and arrow and were less skilled in throwing the curved stick or *katár* than the Bhils of Rájpipla. The *katár* was in shape like a very crooked handless sabre. It was made of the hardest and heaviest wood. Though not skilful as the Rájpipla Bhils, whose children could knock over hares and birds, the Chunvál Kolis could stop and lame a man from thirty to forty yards off. Before great fights some of the best warriors were chosen and dressed in a full suit of chain armour. Those thus chosen never turned their back on the enemy or if they did were for ever disgraced. The armour was made of small rings linked together with scales of iron or brass for the back breast and sides. It was in three pieces, the first for the legs fastened to the waist, the second sheltering the body, the third the head and face, leaving a small vent for the mouth and eyes. Under the armour was a very thick quilted cotton tunic. The horse was always covered with a defence of hide or bamboo that covered every part of the animal hanging down like the flaps of a table cover nearly to the ground, so that the rider could not touch the horse's sides and managed him only by the bit. The armour was a sure defence against spear sword or arrow, but was useless against shot. It was too heavy to be worn except at the time of fighting. At other times it was generally carried on camel-back. Bom. Gov. Sel. X. 78.

1 The live-stock taken belonged to the chief; coin all but a little belonged to the chief, and other articles as cloth and grain belonged to the captors.

2 The Khánt Kolis of Girnár, who are of part Sindhi extraction, may have taken their name from Kant the old name, as in Ptolemy's (A.D. 160) Kanthi, for the shore of Kachh. Compare Rás Mála, II. 268.

3 Pátoji Bháti has the following verse on the marriage of a Khánt maiden with a Khatri: *Jag kahe Jesalmer, atalibal utát parno Bhil Padamani; Khatri Pátal, Khánt;* The world-famous Jesalmer, of exceeding great strength, married the Bhil Padmani; Khatri Patal (married) the Khánt. Colonel J. W. Watson.

4 The following verse commemorates these achievements: *Dhande Dhandhuko liyo, Pátale lidho Pelad; Jasine Gadh juno lyyo, Maheri Mehar Rán;* Dhándh took Dhandhuka; Pátal took Pelád; Jasiye took the ancient fortress; Mer Rána took Maheri. Pelad is Petlád; Káthis Mers and others almost always omit the *t*; Junágadh is also called in poetry the ancient fortress Gadh Juno instead of Junagadh. Maheri is Mahiári, a village under Junágadh. Colonel J. W. Watson.

and fifty years later when Mahmud Begada conquered Junágaḍh (A.D. 1472), he found the Khánts dwelling in Girnár.[1] The Khánts are numerous in Sorath, but are also found in all parts of Káthiávád. Their Mers or leaders are goodlooking men, and so are the mixed races of Gohel, Jhála, Khásiya, Sarvaya, and Vála Khánts, sprung from the union of Khánts with those tribes. The lower orders are worse-looking than the generality of the Talabdás and are much given to thieving. Except the cow they eat all animals including the pig. They marry in the tribe, a widow marrying her husband's younger brother.

Pa'tanva'diya's.

Pa'tanva'diya's or people from Pátan, called Kohodás[2] or Axes, are found chiefly in central Gujarát. They are high-spirited and daring. Pátanvádiyás partake freely of animal food, and are said to be the only branch of Gujarát Kolis that do not scruple to eat the flesh of the buffalo. They are lower in the social scale and more resemble the Vághris and Bhils than the Talabdás. Most of them have Rajput surnames such as Chávda, Dábhi, Makvána, and Vághela. No Talabda or other Koli would intrude on a Pátanvádiya's land or beat. But a Pátanvádiya would not hesitate to commit depredations on the property of other Kolis. They are strong active and hardy; their houses are generally small single-roomed huts with sides of wattle and daub and high-peaked roofs of thatch; their farm stock sometimes includes a cow or a pair of bullocks, but almost never either goats sheep or hens; their tools are a hoe and a plough and sometimes a cart; their furniture includes a bedstead a grindstone and a set of pots chiefly of earth; and their clothes are for men two rough cloths, and for women a coarse shoulder-robe a bodice and a petticoat. Including at all times[3] daring and successful soldiers and robbers by land and sea, they, during the disorders of the eighteenth century,

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[1] The author of the Mirat-i-Sikandari thus describes this incident: Its valley is twelve *kos* (twenty-four miles) in extent, and this valley is a dense forest of interlaced trees, so that a horse cannot pass through it, and there are no men there nor aught save wild animals and birds except a tribe of Káfirs whom they call Khánts, whose customs resemble those of wild beasts, and they dwell on the slopes of that mountain, and if any army marches against them they flee and hide in the caves and in the forests. Colonel J. W. Watson.

[2] Pátanvádiyás are compared with an axe probably in the sense of rudeness and roughness. They are said to be the descendants of a Solanki Rajput chief who married the daughter of a Bhil chief at Pátan.

[3] Of Koli successes by land there are the pillage near Cambay of the emperor Humayun's (A.D. 1535) baggage and books (Elphinstone's History, 443). And the capture and plunder of Baroda (A.D. 1705). Watson, 88. By sea the Kolis may, perhaps, trace their victories as far back as the expeditions in the early years of the eighth century of the Meds of Surashtra to the coasts of the Persian Gulf (Elliot's History, I. 521). From that time some at least of the pirates who, till about a hundred years ago, never ceased to harass the trade of the Gulf of Cambay, were Kolis. In the eighteenth century so much harm did they do that the English twice, in 1734 and 1771, fitted out expeditions against them. The last of these ended in the capture of their strongholds at Sultánpur and Tulája on the east coast of Káthiávád. Bom. Quar. Rev. IV. 98; Aitchison's Treaties, VI. 263. During all this time their reputation as skilled and daring seamen was not less than their powers as pirates. The Hindu sailors of Gogha, the descendants of the navigators fostered by the kings of Anahilaváḍa, to whom an entire square of that city was assigned, still maintain their ancient reputation, and form the best and most trusted portion of every Indian crew that sails the sea under the British flag. Compare Rás Mála, I. 318.

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almost entirely gave up peaceful callings and supported themselves as mercenaries and freebooters. The early writers of the present century describe the Kolis, especially those of the Ran and of the Mahi, that is for the most part the Pátanvádiya Kolis, as most 'bloody and untameable plunderers,' taught to despise every approach to civilization, excelling in filthiness.[1] In A.D. 1812, though already less addicted to crime, the Kaira Kolis were still conspicuous for gang robberies,[2] and so great a name had they for skill in thieving, that they were hired by people in Surat to commit burglaries.[3] At their worst, the Kolis would seem not to have been without their good points: they neither mutilated tortured nor burned, and, when in places of trust as village watchmen or in charge of Government treasure, they showed the sturdiest good faith and honesty.[4]

In A.D. 1825 Bishop Heber found the Kolis one of the most turbulent and predatory tribes in India. At that time their usual dress was a petticoat round the waist, like that of the Bhils, and a cotton cloth wrapped round their heads and shoulders, gathered up, when they wished to be smart, into a large white turban. In cold weather, or when dressed, they added a quilted cotton kirtle or *lebada*, over which they wore a shirt of mail, with vaunt braces and gauntlets, and never considered themselves fit to go abroad without a sword buckler and bow and arrows, to which their horsemen added a long spear and battle-axe. The cotton kirtle was generally stained with iron mould by the mail shirt; and, as might be expected, these marks being tokens of their martial occupation, were reckoned honourable insomuch that their young warriors often counterfeited them with oil and soot, and did their best to get rid, as soon as possible, of the burgher-like whiteness of a new dress. In other respects they were fond of finery. Their shields were often very handsome, with silver bosses, and composed of rhinoceros' hide; their battle-axes were richly inlaid, and their spears were surrounded with successive rings of silver. Their bows were like those of the Bhils, but stronger and in better order, and their arrows were carried in a quiver of red and embroidered leather. In their marauding expeditions they often used great secrecy, collecting in the night at the will of some popular chieftain, communicated generally by the circulation of a certain token, known only to those concerned.[5] Regular troops and even the European cavalry had continually to be called out against them. In no other part of India were the roads so insecure; in none

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[1] Hamilton's Hindustán, I. 609. [2] Hamilton's Hindustán, I. 692.

[3] The Mahi Ka'ntha Kolis are particularly ingenious housebreakers. They were formerly much encouraged by a custom prevalent under native governments, and practised by persons in the higher ranks of life, who actually sent to the banks of the Mahi for a party of these alert miscreants for the express purpose of robbing the house of some neighbour friend or relation, in which, from their intimacy with the family they knew that money ornaments or costly goods were stored. On the arrival near Surat of the detachment of Mahi thieves they were detained without, brought over the walls at night, and secreted in cellars until the favourable opportunity offered. When this arrived, they were furnished with the necessary implements, and set to perpetrate the act, after the accomplishment of which they received a small share of the plunder as a reward. Hamilton's Hindustán, I. 721, 722.

[4] Most carriers or *ángriás* of treasure on their persons were Kolis. Hamilton's Hindustán, II. 611. [5] Heber's Narrative, II. 141 - 143.

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were gang robberies and organised plundering excursions more frequent or a greater portion of the gentry and landed proprietors addicted to acts of violence and bloodshed. In A.D. 1832 bands of Kolis, from fifty to two hundred strong, and bent on plunder, infested the Kaira high-roads.[1] Three years later (A.D. 1835), the Collector, almost in despair, writes: "Some special regulations should be made about the Kolis. No means of ordinary severity seem to have any effect. We never hear of a reformed Koli or of one whose mode of life places him beyond suspicion. All seem alike rich and poor; those whose necessities afford them an excuse for crime, and those whose condition places them out of the reach of distress, are alike ready, on the first opportunity, of plunder." This time of uneasiness passed over, and after ten years of quiet (A.D. 1844), the Kolis were reported to be peaceable and greatly subdued. They remained at rest till, in A.D. 1857, some of them showed signs of an inclination to revolt. Prompt measures were taken to punish the unruly, and the country was saved from any widespread outbreak. The general disarming at the close of the mutinies is said to have had the most marked effect on the bearing and character of these Kolis. Of late years even robberies are comparatively rare, and the Kolis have settled into peaceful husbandmen. Still, though some of them have prospered, the greater number are thriftless, lazy, and fond of strong drink and opium. They grow only the cheaper grains, and many of them are sunk in debt.

Talabda's.

Talabda's[2] or Locals, also called Dhárálás[3] or Swordsmen, hold the highest place among Kolis and are found all over Gujarát. They are generally strong and well made, thrifty, and well-to-do. Among them a distinction is made between those of high and of low family. They consider themselves superior to other Kolis and do not dine with them. Marriage between Rajputs and Talabda Kolis is not uncommon. They intermarry among themselves, observing the Rajput rule against marriages between members of the same subdivision. They have twenty-two principal divisions[4] of which Chudásáma Jádav

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[1] Letters from the Collector of Kaira Mr. Mills to Government.

[2] According to the Kolis *Talabda* is a corruption of *talpati* that is landlord.

[3] Talabdás are generally known by the respectful term Dhárálás. They do not like to be called Kolis. The Dhárálás claim descent from a Parmár Rajput of Dháránagri in Málwa who married the daughter of a Bhil chief in Gujarát to secure his help and support. Another derivation is from *dhára* a sword. A *Dhárála* is also called *Dodi* in allusion to his poverty *dodi* Hoya viridiflora being the fruit of a creeper that he lives on in times of scarcity. The Dhárálás also say they were once Rajputs. The Musalmán kings (A.D. 1403 - 1413) attempted to convert them when they sought the protection of Ásа Bhil. King Ahmedsháh asked Ásа to give up the refugees, but Ásа refused saying they were his followers and castepeople. They had to partake of the Bhil's food and thus became Kolis. Ásа is said to have been a resident of Ásarva or Asával, the old site of Ahmedábád. He had a beautiful daughter named Teja. The charms of this damsel attracted the notice of Ahmedsháh, who used to visit her coming on horse-back all the way from his capital Pátan unattended except by his dog. One day when he was near the site of the present city of Ahmedábád, his dog sighted a hare and pursued it, but the hare turned against and put the king's dog to flight. Ahmedsháh observed this and thinking it a soil which would rear brave men erected a city called Ahmedábád after himself (A.D. 1413).

[4] The names are Bária, Chávda, Chohán, Chudásama, Dábhi, Gohel, Jádav, Jethva, Jhála, Kachola, Kámalia, Katasra, Kháisa, Makvána, Mangukia, Mer, Parmár, Ráthod,

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and Sarvaya are the most esteemed. Both the Dábhi and Makván tribes are of great antiquity and enjoy a high degree of consideration. Talabdás have always borne a good name for peaceful habits. The Talabda Kolis were in A.D. 1820 as at present (A.D. 1898) quiet and easily managed, willing to till to the best of their knowledge and means.[1] In A.D. 1820 Colonel Williams found them obedient subjects as well as able husbandmen, and some of the finest villages in the Broach district were at that time held by Koli sharers and peopled and cultivated chiefly by men of that caste.[2] Along the eastern frontier in disturbed times they were useful as a guard against the wilder mountain Kolis and Bhils.[3] At present some of them are village-watchmen trackers and labourers, but most are husbandmen, well-to-do and little inferior in skill to Kanbis. Some of the Talabda Kolis of Surat are to be found among the *hális* or hereditary servants of Anávala Bráhmans.

Besides the main classes certain BÁRIÁS, DALVÁDIS, GEDIYÁS, SHIÁLS, and VALAKIYÁS deserve mention.

Baria's.

Ba'ria Kolis who are somewhat smaller and darker than Pátanvádiyás are remarkable for their wonderful eyesight. They are found chiefly along the Narbada in the Bária state in Rewa Kántha and at Dehej in western Broach. Their own accounts make Bária the original seat of the tribe, and they say that towards the close of the fifteenth century they were expelled by the Chohán Rajputs, who in turn had been driven out of Champánir by the Muhammadans under Máhmud Begada (A.D. 1484). Part of the Bária emigrants are said to have settled at Gogha, where, they say, they were accompanied by the Máta or goddess from Pávágad.

Dalva'dis.

Dalva'dis, chiefly in Kaira, are supposed to be properly *Talváris*, that is cutters, because they dig ponds and make bricks. They call themselves Rajputs, and have no communion with Kolis. They are fairer, quieter, and more delicate than other Kolis, and look like respectable Kanbis.

Gediya's.

Gediya's found in Káthiávád are supposed to take their name from the town of Gedi in Kachh. They are said to have accompanied the Jethvás when they invaded Káthiávád. They resemble the Mers of Barda in manners and dress. They are more respectable than other Kolis, live chiefly by tillage, and have given up their predatory habits. They are a good-looking race and live in houses, not in *kubás* or huts like most Kolis. They eat no flesh, but live on fish

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Solanki, Sarvaya, Shiál, and Vághela. These Rajput tribal surnames are not known to the generality of the Kolis. They are at present divided into six main classes in central Gujarát, namely Bária, Dábhi, Jália or Bária, Khánt, Kotvál, and Pagi. Báriás Dábhis and Khánts are considered *Kulins* that is of high family, they receiving *gunjás* or pocket-money for giving their sons in marriage and likewise giving dowries to their daughters, and are proud of their high birth. The Jáliás who are said to be descended from Báriás are inferior to the three *Kulin* classes. Kotváls and Pagis who served under former governments as guards and village-trackers are inferior to the first four classes. A Dhárála of the present day may have three surnames, an old Rajput tribal name as Vághela, the existing Dhárála surname Bária, and the local surname Chaklásia that is belonging to the village of Chaklási.

[1] Bom. Gov. Sel. X. 96. [2] Bom. Rev. Sel. III. 663. [3] Bom. Gov. Sel. X. 121.

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vegetables millet and fruit. Their women invariably wear a coin or two as ornaments; they are considered the highest tribe of Kolis and marry only in their own class.

Shia'ls.

Shia'ls, formerly noted pirates but now settled to a quiet life, are called after the island of Shiál on the south coast of Káthiávád.

Valakiya's.

Valakiya's, who take their name from the Káthiávád district of Valak, inhabit the south-east of Káthiávád and have a stronger strain of Bhil blood even than the Chunváliyás.[1] Formerly they were noted pirates; now they live almost entirely by labour. They marry solely in their own class.

Appearance.

Owing to their connection with Rajputs and the variety of life they lead the different tribes of Kolis vary greatly in appearance. Both in Gujarát proper and in Káthiávád the Talabdás differ in features and manners from the aboriginal tribes and resemble Kanbis. In Mahi Kántha, where they have not yet completely abandoned their irregular ways they retain an expression of wildness and cunning. The Chunváliya Thákordás having married into good families are well-looking and fair like the Talabdás, but most of the Chunváliyás have more of the features and characteristics of the Bhils, than whom they are only a little higher in social position and intelligence. The Koli chiefs are with few exceptions descendants of Rajput men and Koli women and often show Rajput features. They are generally well built and active. Formerly they were known for their activity and hardiness and were as remarkable for sagacity as for secrecy and celerity in their predatory operations. The women are generally slender and well-formed with a pleasing expression of features and some are pretty. The good looks of Koli girls are often the result of the care taken by Koli mothers. The men generally shave the head except the top-knot and wear the moustache. Some wear whiskers and a few the beard. The Bhuvás or exorcists allow their hair to grow long. Women tie the hair in a knot at the back of the head. They speak a corrupt Gujaráti.

House.

The rich and well-to-do live in brick and tiled houses and the poor in huts made by themselves with wattle and daub walls and thatched roofs.

Dress.

The Koli dress varies from a *langoti* or loincloth with a rag for the head among hill Kolis to turban coat trousers and shouldercloth among Koli chieftains. The usual dress of an ordinary Talabda Koli includes a turban or a waistcloth used as a headscarf, a jacket *badan*, and a waistcloth. The woman's dress consists of a petticoat with a backless bodice and a robe. In south Gujarát the petticoat is not worn, but the robe is wound tightly round the waist and thighs and

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[1] Valakiyás are no doubt the offspring of the Bhils who together with Kolis frequented the southern and south-western coasts when piracy was almost universal. There and in the history of the Vaja chieftains of Kejalkot, Jhanjhmer, and Uncha Kotda, a race which openly practised piracy in ancient times, special mention is made of their Bhil allies. Colonel J. W. Watson.

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the upper end drawn over the shoulder. The robe hardly reaches the knee, but allows extreme freedom for work in the rice field. The general ornament with men is a *távij* or amulet case with or without a charm, bound by a silk cord round the right arm just above the elbow or round the neck. Well-to-do Koli women wear gold nose rings and studs, ivory bracelets and glass bangles, and silver *váks* or armlets. Poor women wear wooden bracelets.

Food.

Among well-to-do Kolis *juvár* Sorghum vulgare in the south and *bájro* Pinnesetum toiphoideum in the north are the staple food grains. The *juvár* or *bájro* bread is occasionally changed for *khichadi* or rice and split pulse boiled together with condiments. Dishes of split pulse and vegetables are eaten with bread. Among forest and hill Kolis the ordinary food varies with the different seasons of the year. In the cold months November to March it consists of bread *rotla* made of Indian corn or other coarse grain such as *banti* Panicum spicatum, with split pulse of *adad* Phaseolus mungo. Sometimes they eat *khichadi*, a mixture of coarse rice and split pulse of *adad* or *mag* Phaseolus radiatus boiled together with condiments. In the hot season (April to June) when they are short of grain, they eat *mahuda* Bassia latifolia flowers boiled alone or with a little Indian corn flour, and acidulated with green or dry mango or dried jujube berries. In this season is also eaten a porridge of Indian corn flour and buttermilk. In the rainy season they live on wild fruit and roots, eked out with *sámo*, a wild self-sown grain that comes up after the first few showers of rain. To these are added a few vegetables, chiefly onions and chillies grown in plots near their huts. All Kolis eat fish and flesh, the Pátanvádiyás being very fond of flesh not even objecting to buffalo. A Pátanvádiya steals a buffalo not to sell it like other Kolis, but to kill it for its flesh. Whenever a buffalo is missing near a Pátanvádiya settlement, the owner suspects foul play at the hands of some Pátanvádiya and expects to find the bones of his lost buffalo in some unfrequented corner. For this habit the Pátanvádiyás rank last among the Kolis. Kolis drink spirituous liquors, eat opium, and smoke tobacco often to excess. In Surat they have a bad name for hard drinking and in the Panch Mahâls and other parts of north Gujarát their love of opium often gives the moneylender the benefit of most of their labour.

Occupation.

Except the Talabdás, who have long settled as cultivators and labourers, Kolis used to live as robbers. Though they have now unwillingly taken to husbandry and other callings, in most the old love of thieving has by no means disappeared. In the Rewa Kántha they are still inveterate thieves and lay their plans with method boldness and cunning. They lie in the most unblushing manner, and when found out, they take their punishment with the greatest coolness and good temper. In Pálanpur they are daring thieves and highway robbers, and are much given to cattle-stealing. Still especially in the British districts steady improvement continues. Land is brought under the plough, and their mode of tillage grows less slovenly. The least respectable among them is the Pátanvádiya branch who are still known to be bad characters. The Talabdás are for the most part husbandmen though many work as day

labourers or are employed as peons and watchmen. As husbandmen they are inferior only to Kanbis. In the Surat District they rank above the other Hindu labouring classes, and in intelligence manners and mode of living are in no way inferior to the members of the artisan classes. One Koli family in Surat has acquired wealth as moneylenders; and a Koli rose to the rank of a supervisor of public works on a salary of Rs. 200 a month. On the other hand in eastern and southern Surat many Kolis are in very poor circumstances, and some of them are to be found among the *hális* or hereditary servants of the Anávala Bráhmans. The Surat Kolis find ready employment as grooms and coachmen with rich Pársis and Gujarát Hindus in Bombay.

Religion.

They worship all Hindu gods and goddesses, but chiefly Indra and Hátmal, Hingláj among the Pátanvádiyás and Khodiár among the other divisions are their principal goddesses, their other goddesses being Kankudi, Meladi, and Verái. The Mahi Kántha Kolis worship the cow and the peacock: the river Mahi is their family goddess. Kolis do not work on the eleventh and thirtieth days of the month and fast on the days sacred to their family goddess. The Pálanpur Kolis have for their *guru* or religious teacher a disciple of Vakhátnáth, the *pir* or saint of Pátan. The disciples of Velo, who was a Chunváliya Koli, are called *sádhus* and beg from the Chunváliyás. Many Kolis are followers of the Bijapanth and some follow the sects of Sváminaráyan Kabir and Rámsanehi. The Sváminaráyan teachers are said at the beginning of the present century (A.D. 1800) to have reclaimed many Kolis from lives of violence and crime, and thus helped Government in settling these restless people in north Gujarát. Of late the respect shown by the leading teachers for distinctions of caste is said to have turned many of the Kolis and low class converts from the Sváminaráyan sect. Most of the Káthiáváḍ Kolis are Mohoti Márgis. They go on pilgrimage to Dwárka, Prabhás Patan, and Girnár all in Káthiáváḍ, to Dákor in Kaira, and to Náransar and Hingláj in Sindh. They respect Bráhmans and employ them to conduct their religious ceremonies. If they fall sick or if their cattle suffer they take vows to feed a certain number of Bráhmans. Bráhmans and cows are spoken of in the same breath as equally sacred and Koli robbers are known to have let go a Brahman traveller untouched and to have plundered the Bráhman's non-Bráhman companions. A Bráhman priest ties the *rákhadi* or guard round the Koli's wrist on *Balev* or the bright fifteenth of *Shrávan* (July-August) and receives small cash presents. Bráhmans are also given small presents of grain when they visit a Koli's threshing floor. Their priests mostly belong to the Shrimáli and Audich division of Bráhmans. Kolis are superstitious and have a firm belief in spirits and in spirit-possession. In cases of possession they employ *bhuvás* or spirit-scarers to exorcise the spirits.

Customs.

A Koli woman generally goes to her father's house for her first delivery. Except the well-to-do Koli women continue to work till the day of her delivery, and instances are not rare of women giving birth to a child in the field and taking it home. As soon as the child is born, pills of raw sugar are given to it. If the child is a boy, a messenger is sent to his father with the news and the father rewards

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the messenger with some cash. Raw sugar is distributed to friends and relations. On the sixth day *Chhathi* or Mother Sixth is worshipped. A low wooden stool is set in the lying-in room and on the stool is placed an image of Brahma with a lighted lamp fed with clarified butter, an inkstand, a reed-pen and a piece of paper, *kanku* or vermilion, a betelnut, and a sword or knife. The writing materials are believed to be used by Chhathi in recording the future of the child. The child is bathed dressed and made to bow before the low stool and *juvár* Sorghum vulgare grain mixed with raw sugar are distributed to children. The child is also named on this day. The father's sister names the child, the name being chosen either by a Bráhman priest or by some elderly person of the house. She puts the child in a *jholi* or cloth cradle which is rocked by boys if the child is a boy and by girls if a girl. The mother bathes on the eleventh day and begins to work in the house if she is physically fit. Among well-to-do families she keeps to her room and her touch is considered impure for a month and a quarter.

Marriage.

The Kolis have four forms of marriage, marriage between a bachelor and a virgin, *nátra* or marriage between a widow and a widower, marriage with a *sovásan* or woman whose husband is living, and *diarvatu* or marriage with an elder brother's widow. Of these the first form of marriage is the commonest. In this form boys and girls are married after their twelfth year. It is not necessary that the bride should be younger than the bridegroom. The offer of marriage comes from the boy's father. If the offer is accepted by the girl's father, the boy's father presents a rupee and a cocoanut to the girl and distributes raw sugar and coriander seed among friends and relations to complete the betrothal. Among the Rewa Kántha Kolis, although the marriage may have been arranged long before, the father of the boy generally goes through the form of starting off to find a bride. On leaving his house he must see a small bird called *devi* on his right hand. Till he sees a *devi* he will not start even though he is kept waiting for weeks or even for months. After he has chosen a bride and made all the preliminary arrangements, he is asked to dine with her father. During the dinner the women of the bride's family strew grains of corn on the threshold, and as the boy's father is leaving the house, they rush at him as if to beat him, and he making for the door, slips on the grain and falls. This is all done intentionally that the boy's father may fall on the threshold of the girl's house an omen so important that without it no marriage could prosper. When the marriage is settled the bride's father sends half a pint of oil to the bridegroom, and keeps the same quantity at his own house to be rubbed daily on the bodies of the couple until the marriage is over. The marriage day is fixed by the girl's priest and the girl's father sends the *lagan patti* or marriage invitation to the bridegroom's father, but if the girl's father goes to the boy's house for the *tilak* ceremony the day is fixed at the boy's house. In the *tilak* ceremony the girl's father marks the forehead of the boy with vermilion and presents him with a turban. He also presents a rupee to the boy's priest and barber. The guests are feasted by the boy's father. At the bride's house a booth is erected and in the centre a smaller booth called *máyara* is formed with four

tapering piles of earthen vessels kept in position by bamboos. Then the top of the smaller booth is covered with green leaves and twigs. On the marriage day the bridegroom starts in procession to the bride's village with friends relations and music. At the village boundary the bride's father receives him with friends and relations, and the whole procession goes to the bride's house. The bridegroom does not enter the booth, but stands under the leaf *toran* or arch suspended from the booth, and the village carpenter gives him a stool to stand upon and receives a rupee for his trouble. While the bridegroom is standing on the stool, the bride's maternal aunt and an elder sister come to receive him, the aunt with a cocoanut and a pot of clarified butter and the sister with two water-jars placed on her head. They are presented with two rupees. The bride's mother then comes with female friends and relations singing songs and waves about his face a small plough, an arrow, a wooden pestle, and a churning stick. The village *máli* or flower-seller puts a *khup* or flower coronet on the bridegroom's head and receives in return some cash present. The bridegroom's father gives such presents to the village community as may have been fixed. If the bridegroom is young, the bride's mother carries him on her side to the *máyara* or inner booth formed with the four piles of earthen vessels. If he is old he walks. In the *máyara* he sits facing east and the bride's brother sprinkles water over his head and receives a rupee as a present. The bride is brought with an arrow in her hand and the *varmál* or bridegroom's garland is put round the bride and bridegroom's necks and the ends of their clothes are tied together. The sacred fire is kindled in the centre of the *máyara* and the couple is made to go round it. The day's ceremonies end with a feast to the assembled guests. Sometimes the guests are feasted before the ceremonies are completed; but the Kolis are a quarrelsome people and often wake up old grudges at a marriage feast. To avoid this risk the bride's father generally puts off the feast to the end of the ceremonies. On the next day the bridegroom returns with the bride to his house. At the door they are stopped by the bridegroom's priest who exhorts them to lead a good and virtuous life. After six or seven days the bride is sent to her father's with friends and relations. The guests remain at the bride's house for a day and-a-half and then return to the bridegroom's. The married girl goes to live with her husband at the age of fourteen or fifteen. Koli Thákors generally imitate the Rajput custom of sending a *khánda* or sword to the bride's house as the bridegroom's representative, with whom the bride is married with all the rites. In a well-to-do Koli family the marriage expenses amount to Rs. 500.

In *nátra* or widow-marriage the bridegroom must be a widower. The marriage of a bachelor with a widow will reduce the pair to destitution as the proverb says *Dhán páni male nahi* Neither food nor water will they get. No respectable Koli will contract such a marriage, for the married parties are put out of caste and are admitted only after a fine or caste feast is exacted. Even after admission into the caste the couple does not regain its former social position. The *nátra* ceremony is a simple one. The widow goes to her father's house. Her father or in his absence some other relation invites to his house her would-be husband who goes there with his friends and relations. The widow and

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the widower are made to sit near each other and the Bráhman priest joins their hands with *náda* or red and white cotton thread and asks them one after the other to look at a lamp placed in an earthen vessel. This completes the *nátra* ceremony.

Marriage with a *sovásan* or woman whose husband is alive is practised, but it is held neither respectable nor safe. The *sovásan's* husband has to be satisfied. Money would satisfy a Pátanvádiya husband; but nothing would satisfy a Dhárála husband. He looks upon such a marriage as an abetment to adultery on the part of his wife, and he would sooner kill his wife and her would-be husband than receive money satisfaction at his hands. When the woman has been cast off by her husband, the marriage is not attended with much risk. The compensation to be paid to the wronged husband is settled by the *ágeváns* or leaders of the caste formed into a *panch* or committee. The wronged husband receives the sum of money settled by the *panch* and passes a *fárgati* or divorce deed waiving his conjugal rights in favour of his rival, who pays the money and who is looked upon as the lawful husband. After the settlement, the *sovásan* goes to her future house with two *lotás* or copper pots filled with water placed one over the other on her head. Her would-be husband comes forward and relieves her of her easy burden at the doorstep. Both then enter the house as husband and wife.

Diyarvatu or marriage with an elder brother's widow is prevalent to a small extent. The custom is not looked upon with favour or respect because an elder brother's wife is regarded as the mother of her husband's younger brothers. In cases where it may be obviously improper to contract *diyarvatu*, or where it has to be performed contrary to the wishes of friends and relations the parties leave their houses and go to some place where they do not expect opposition and molestation and return home when scandal and opposition have subsided. If a widow has young children who are likely to be neglected if she were to remarry outside the family, it is considered advisable for her to remarry her *diyar*, provided he is grown up and is a widower. A widow generally goes out of the family to remarry and a widower prefers an outside wife to his brother's widow. In Rewa Kántha when a man dies leaving a widow, it is usual for his younger brother to marry her; and if she wishes to marry some one else, her future husband has to pay the younger brother the deceased husband's marriage expenses.

Kolis do not marry within the seventh generation and among those who claim Rajput descent the Rajput practice of marrying out of the clan is closely followed. A Koli can divorce his wife without making any amends except passing a formal declaration to that effect in writing. A Koli woman can also abandon her husband; but she has to return the *palla* or dowry settled on her at the time of marriage. The children by the divorced wife belong to the father. Polygamy is allowed and practised.

On a lucky day in the fifth or seventh month of her first pregnancy a Koli woman is bathed and dressed in new clothes received from her parents. Her lap is then filled with rice and a cocoanut and friends and relations are feasted.

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As a rule Kolis burn their dead, but children under eighteen months are buried. When a Koli is on the point of death, he is laid on the ground plastered fresh with cowdung, and a piece of gold or silver with curds and a sweet basil leaf are laid in his mouth. If the dead person is a man, the body is dressed in a *chorna* or trousers jacket and *phália* or headscarf, laid on his back on a quilt on a bamboo bier and is covered with a white cotton sheet. In the case of a dead woman the body is dressed in a petticoat and bodice and is covered with a red cotton cloth. Among Thákors and rich persons the body is covered with a shawl. The body is then carried to the burning ground. With the body are taken a dish of sugar balls and a metal vessel filled with water. When the body is placed on the funeral pyre, the sugar balls are thrown in different directions as food for ants, and the metal vessel is given to a Bhangia or sweeper. The son of the deceased puts fire into the mouth of the dead body and the pyre is lighted. After the body is burnt, the mourners bathe and with the son go crying to the house of the deceased, and then return to their houses. The son places on the roof of his house an earthen vessel filled with milk and water and allows it to remain there for several days. On the third day the ashes of the dead are gathered into a heap and an earthen pot filled with water is placed on the top of the heap. On the eleventh day the mourners, together with friends and relations meet at some river or pond and have their moustaches shaved. They take a stone, and pouring water on it believe that the soul of the deceased has entered the stone. On the tenth eleventh and twelfth days mind-rites are performed by the son of the deceased. On all these days castepeople are required to be feasted. If the chief mourner cannot afford these feasts, he comes out of his house and rubs his hands. The assembled guests leave the place in silence. In Surat on the thirteenth day the son washes a cow's tail and drops a silver coin in the earthen vessel containing the water used in washing the tail. The castewomen attending the ceremony put copper coins into the water. The Bráhman priest officiating at the ceremony receives the money. The eldest woman in the deceased's family with the end of her robe drawn over her face cries for about five or ten minutes every morning and evening during the first year.

Social Position.

All questions relating to marriage and religion are settled by a *panch* or committee of the *ágeváns* or leaders of the caste. Kolis are steadily improving in prospects especially in central and southern Gujarát. Of the whole Hindu population of Gujarát Kolis are perhaps the class whose character and position have improved most under British rule.

SECTION X.—KA'THIS.

Section X.

Ka'this.

THE **Ka'this,** 28,500 strong, form one of the most curious and interesting races in Káthiáwár. Like many Rajput tribes they entered Káthiáwár from Kachh, but whence they came is uncertain.[1] The cradle of their race is unknown, but there is no doubt that they came from more remote regions than the Rajputs, and it is probable that they were wanderers in Central Asia, and were driven down to the delta of the Indus by the tide of Muhammadan invasion. They do not appear to have had any fixed habitation in Sindh, though Colonel Walker relates that they established themselves in the desert between Sindh and Cutch. It is probable that their only occupation was that of graziers, for it is said that they first entered Káthiáwár about A.D. 1400 in company with a band of Chárans on the occasion of a famine. A party of them, under the leadership of Umro Pátkar, penetrated to Dhánk, then, as now, ruled by a Vála Rajput. Umro had a beautiful daughter named Umrábái with whom the Dhánk chieftain, Dhan Vála, fell in love. When Dhan asked her in marriage, Umro agreed on condition that they should eat together. To this Dhan submitted, and his brethren, considering him degraded, drove him out. He became the leader of the Káthis

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[1] Káthiáwár Gazetteer, VIII. pages 122 - 132. The Káthis themselves date their origin from the times of the Mahábhárat which relates how the Pándavs or five royal brothers fought for their hereditary dominion of Hastinápur which had been usurped by their cousin Duryodhan and his ninety-nine brethren. The Pándavs had gambled with Duryodhan, and lost their wager, and the penalty was that they should remain in concealment for twelve years. After seven years of wandering they came to Gujarát and took refuge in the town of Virát now called Dholka. Duryodhan heard rumours of this, and leaving Hastinápur marched upon Virát attended by a large army. He was unable to obtain admittance, or even to discover if the Pándavs were within the walls. In this dilemma his minister Karan suggested that they should drive off the cattle of Virát which would have the effect of calling forth all the braves of the town to the rescue. It was however considered disgraceful for a Rajput to stoop to cattle-lifting, so Karan struck his staff on the ground and produced a newly created man who was called Khát (the vernacular for wood), and who, in return for his carrying off the cattle, was to be granted immunity to commit theft, especially of cattle in all future time. Khát carried out the wishes of Karan, and his descendants, the Káthis, give this legend as a proof of their right to commit robbery. In Forbes' Rás Mála (I. 295) it is stated that the Káthis were vassals of the Sumri king of Sindh and lived in Pávar land. Once on a time a female dancer ridiculed the king as she performed before him, upon which she was condemned to banishment. The Káthi chiefs called the actress to their quarters, and amused themselves by causing her to sing the song which had offended the king. The chief being informed of this behaviour issued sentence of expulsion against the Káthis. At that time a rája of the Válo race ruled at Dhánk near Dhoráji in Sorath. The Káthis flying from Sindh took refuge in his dominions and became his followers. The Shákháyats invariably marry the daughters of Avárthiás or Ahirs or Bábriás, and the Avarthiás, including the Ahirs and Bábriás, marry the daughters of Shákháyats.

and by Umrábái had three sons, Vála, Khumán, and Khâchar whose descendants bear their names and are considered the three noble tribes of Káthis. They are called Shákháyáts while the descendants of the original Káthis are called Avartiás or inferior.

Dhan Valo's Káthis seem to have returned to Kachh, and afterwards the whole tribe quarrelled with the ruler of Kachh and murdered him for dishonouring one of their women. They fled from his successor, who pursued them to Thán, but was defeated in a pitched battle. Probably because they could no longer hope to be allowed to go back to Kachh, the Káthis seized Thán and Chotila from the Sodha Parmárs. Thán they made their head-quarters and built a temple to the Sun. They grazed large herds of cattle in the wide plains round Thán, and issued thence to plunder the neighbouring rájás. The three sons of Vála, Khumán Khâchar and Harsur Vála, settled at Chotila, Mithiali, and Jetpur. For many generations the Káthis thought more of making their living by plunder than by the acquisition of territory. They despised husbandry, all they cared for was a fastness to which they could retreat when hard pressed, and in which they could keep their spoil. Hence, though their name was a terror to the country, they were not large landowners during the first 150 years of their residence in Káthiáwár. Only when the Muhammadan power began to show signs of breaking did their earth-hunger begin. Then they spread themselves through the heart of the peninsula, taking Jasdan and other districts from the Jádejás, and A'lag Dhánáni from the Junágaḍh chief. They penetrated to the neighbourhood of Amreli, and settled at Kundla and other places on the borders of Bábriávád. The Sarvaiás ceded Chital to them, any many other Rajputs followed their example.

When settled, by slow degrees they became more respectable, but their reformation was gradual and partial. In A.D. 1808, Col. Walker wrote: The Káthis are distinguished only for rapacious habits and robbery. To this mode of life they attach neither disgrace nor reproach. On the contrary they boast of their devastations and rapine, and, without seeking to cloak the matter, call themselves plainly thieves. Without property, and frequently without a fixed place of residence, the Káthis despise and brave the resentment of states who are much more powerful than themselves. They pursue their licentious habits without restraint. The disorder and misery that arise from this state of perpetual hostility is easily traced throughout this country.

In marked contrast to this state of things Colonel Walker describes the establishment of order in the now flourishing district of Jetpur-Chital under the sway of the Válás. These he designates reformed Káthis. They acquired Chital from the Sarvaiás about A.D. 1735. Soon after, a wealthy merchant of Amreli annoyed by the exactions and oppression of the officers of the Junágaḍh Nawáb sought refuge at Chital. He offered the Káthis half of whatever portion of his property they could recover for him. The Káthis

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made a raid on Amreli and recovered the merchant's property, and then resolved to put him to death and keep it all for themselves. They were dissuaded from this by one of their women, and not only gave the merchant back all his goods, but refused to take the share which he had promised them. They had their reward, for not only did the merchant settle at Chital, but others, attracted by the report of such generosity, established themselves there also. The neighbouring proprietors put themselves under the protection of the Káthis, and in A.D. 1760 the Nawáb of Junágaḍh ceded to them the important districts of Mendarda, Bhilka, and Jetpur. The Káthis, finding that honesty was the best policy, gave up plunder and soon gained a name for good government.

The Káthi chief of Jasdan was not long in following the example of his brethren of Jetpur-Chital. About the middle of the last century Jetsur Khâchar, the chief of Jasdan, was a notorious freebooter. By his skill and daring he had assumed the leadership of his family, and had led them in many a foray, and established a claim to black-mail in Limbdi, Dhandhuka, and Ránpur. He met his death during one of his raids, and was succeeded by his nephew Vadsar, who managed to put together a compact estate of thirty-two villages, and, ceasing from his predatory habits, set up as a model landlord.

Some of the most daring and troublesome of the Káthis established themselves in the Gir hills, and, sallying from their fastnesses, became the terror of the whole country. In the end of the last century the districts of Visávadar and Chhelna were in the hands of some Vála Káthis. These districts covered a large area, but were thick with forest and almost devoid of inhabitants, and, as the Káthi proprietors were unable to guard their possessions, in A.D. 1782 they wrote over one-half of the revenue to the Nawáb, reserving the other half as a maintenance to themselves. In A.D. 1794 the Nawáb bestowed his share as a marriage gift on the chief of Bántva. The latter soon began to harry and oppress the Káthi proprietors, who fled into the Gir and became outlaws. The Bántva chief subsequently handed over the half share of the district of Visávadar to one of the Káthis, Vála Ráning, who was at feud with the rightful owner Vála Mátra. The latter was the friend and companion of the rebel Gáikwár Malhárráv, who was betrayed by Vála Ráning. Vála Matra immediately laid waste Visavadár, and, in spite of his friendship with the Gáikwár authorities of Amreli, drove Vála Ráning from Dhári. Vála Ráning was reinstated, and Vála Mátra died soon after in outlawry, leaving an infant son named Hársur Vála. Colonel Walker called upon Vála Ráning to surrender his hereditary estate to Hársur, upon which Ráning also became an outlaw, and died leaving a son called Báva Vála.

This Báva Vála became a renowned freebooter, and his name is still celebrated, in consequence of his having in A.D. 1820 seized a Captain Grant of the Indian Navy and kept him in confinement in the Gir for four months. The unfortunate gentleman commanded the Gáikwár's navy, and having been summoned to Amreli on business, was travelling through the Gir, when he was caught by Báva Vála.

He went through great hardships, of which some account is given in a footnote.[1] Báva Vála was killed in A.D. 1824, and the whole of the ancestral possessions of the tribe, except a bare maintenance to the surviving members, passed into the hands of the

[1] 'I was forced' writes Captain Grant 'to remount my horse and gallop off with the gang who took me into a large forest called the Gir, where I was kept prisoner on the top of a mountain for two months and fifteen days. During the whole of this time two armed men with drawn swords kept guard over me. I laid amongst the rocks, drenched with rain night and day, with the exception of two nights when the gang forced me to accompany them, and we stopped in a friendly village. In this expedition I was occasionally allowed to ride, but always surrounded by a strong band that made all attempt to escape impossible. In one village where the people favoured Báva Vála, the women took my part and upbraided him and his men for my cruel treatment. Towards unfriendly villages it was the custom of the band to ride up to the gates and chop off the heads of little boys at play, and then go off laughing and rejoicing at their cursed exploits. When they returned to the encampment after a day's murdering forage, the young Káthis used to boast how many men they had killed, and one day I heard the old fellows questioning them rather particularly, whether they were sure they had killed their victims. Yes, they said, they had seen their spears through them, and were certain they were dead. 'Ah' remarked an old Káthi 'a human being is worse to kill than any other animal; never be sure they are dead till you see the body on one side of the road and the head on the other.' At times the chief Báva Vála, in a state of stupor from opium, would come and sit by my side, and, holding his dagger over me, ask me how many stabs it would take to kill me. I said 'I thought one would do' and I hoped he would put me out of misery. 'I suppose you think' he would answer 'that I won't kill you; I have killed as many human beings as ever fisherman killed fish, and I should think nothing of putting an end to you. But I shall keep you a while yet, till I see if your Government will give me back my property; if so, I will let you off.' When not plundering, the gang slept most of the day. At night the halter of each horse was tied to his master's arm. When the animals heard voices they tugged, and the men were up in an instant. Occasionally they would inform me how many people they had killed, and the method they pursued when rich travellers refused to pay the sum demanded. This was to tie the poor wretches to a beam across a well by their legs, with their heads touching the water, and then to saw away at the rope until the tortured victims satisfied their demands; then the Káthis would haul them up, get from them a *hundi* or bill on some agent, and keep them prisoner till this was paid. Sometimes the men told me of their master's intention to murder me, which was not pleasant. He and his men had many disputes about me, as hopes or fears of the consequences of my imprisonment prevailed. I can never forget one stormy night when they were all sitting round a great fire. I lay behind them. Lions and wild beasts roared around us, but did not prevent my hearing a debate upon the subject of what should be done with me. The men complained that they had been two months in the woods on my account. Their families were in the villages very poorly off for food, and that they would stay no longer. Their chief replied 'Let us kill him and flee to some other part of the country.' To this they objected that the English would send troops and take their families prisoners and ill-use them. So in the end it was agreed to keep me for the present My release was effected at last through our Political Agent, Captain Ballantine, who prevailed on the Nawáb of Junágadh to use his influence to get another Káthi who had forcibly taken Báva Vala's district to restore it to him and Báva Vála thus having gained his object let me free. My sufferings during confinement were almost beyond endurance, and I used to pray in the evening that I might never see another morning. I had my boots on my feet for the first month, not being able to get them off from the constant wet until I was reduced by sickness. Severe fever with ague and inflammation of liver came on me, and with exposure to the open air drove me delirious, so that when I was let go I was found wandering in the fields at night, covered with vermin from head to foot. The fever and ague then contracted continued on me for five years, and the ill effects still remain, my head being at times greatly troubled with giddiness, and I have severe fits of ague. My memory is much affected, but I can never forget the foregoing incidents, though it is now upwards of fifty years since they occurred.' Low's Indian Navy, I. 281-283.

Section X.
Kathis.

Nawáb of Junágadh. A song composed in honour of Báva Vála is still sung by the Káthi women, a translation of which is given below.[1]

Towards the close of the last century the most warlike clan of Káthis in the south-east of the peninsula were the Khumáns. This tribe had appropriated to themselves the rich district of Kundla, and for a long series of years carried on their depredations in Bhávnagar and defied the power and authority of its chief. At length dissensions arose among them, and they were completely subdued by the genius of Vakhtsingji. In A.D. 1796 they gave up the district of Kundla to him, reserving portions for their maintenance. In like manner Vakhtsingji subdued the Kháchar Káthis of Botád and Gadhda. Under a settled government the power of the Káthis has entirely succumbed. Except the large estate of Jetpur-Chital and the small compact estate of Jasdan there are no Káthi possessions of any consequence. Those that are left with a show of independence, as Bagasra, Chotila, Bábra, and Paliád, are divided among a number of shareholders, and must in course of time be

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[1] Song in honour of Báva Vála:

Oh! Báva, son of Ráning, incarnate Rája and preserver of the country, thou sittest at Visávadar and Báva, Báogyo is thy village. Thy skill as a swordsman, O Báva Válo, has caused thy name to be remembered. Oh! son of Ráning.

Báva Válo had a brother called Mátro. They were indeed a noble pair. They went with the army of Dhan Kotila as chiefs of the force. Oh! son of Ráning.

When the troops of Bákar Sidhi sounded the drum, the people of Dedan became afraid; suddenly Báva, son of Ráning, appeared, and the Sidhi force fled. Oh! son of Ráning.

Báva Válo had twelve horsemen with him; he himself the swordsman was the thirteenth; may he perish who killed this brave warrior. Oh! son of Ráning.

The merchants cried that they had lost their wealth, they have closed their shops; when alive money was scattered from thy garments, and now that thou art dead, see the redpowder flying in cartloads. Oh! son of Ráning.

Mr. Grant and Alam Mia were going to Amreli; Bávo looked out and said 'Certain scribes are coming along the road.' Oh! son of Ráning.

He seized the hat-wearer, he took him to the hills, he kept him imprisoned for four months; the news went to England. Oh! Báva Válo, preserver of the country. Oh! son of Ráning.

You gave him food when he asked for it; you treated him with honour; you could not find fans so you gave him *khakhar* leaves. Oh! son of Raning.

The Nawáb of Junágadh called Báva Válo to appear before him. He said 'I will not trust thee except Kesarbái be given as a hostage.' Oh! son of Ráning.

Thy house grieves, thy mansion grieves for thee, thy friends mourn for thee, thy young mare laments thee, where art thou, Oh! rider. Oh! son of Ráning.

Thy bed laments thee, thy bedstead grieves for thee, thy furniture mourns for thee, thy gardens and thy flowers lament thee, tears flow from their eyes for thee. Oh! son of Ráning.

They hewed a stone seat for Báva Vála to repose on; they painted it with vermilion that the whole world might make a pilgrimage to it. Oh! son of Ráning.

A star came from the north to call the warrior Báva Válo. When they had offered thee incense, thy body was left by thy spirit. Oh! son of Ráning.

When Vithoba Diván at Baroda heard of thy death, he refused to eat; the universe was plunged into grief at thy death. Oh! son of Ráning.

No priest or merchant, no bard or poet, has sung thy praises; but Dhánáni Vedar has thus celebrated thy name for ever. Oh! son of Ráning, keeper of the country.

broken into fragments.[1] This is due in great measure to the law of equal inheritance which they strictly observe. The Káthi proprietors themselves perceive this, and there is reason to hope that before long they will adopt the system of primogeniture which prevails among the Rajputs. As a pastoral roving tribe, the Káthis were always fond of animals. They still have large droves of cattle and pride themselves on their breed of horses.

Religion.

The Káthis worship the sun, and use it as a symbol on all their deeds. The symbol has much resemblance to a spider, the rays forming the legs. But that there may be no mistake, underneath it is always written: "The witness of the holy sun." It is said that their first temple was at Thán, but they do not worship there any longer, and both temple and image have been appropriated by the Parmárs of Muli, who call the god Mandavr.[2] The Káthis adore the sun and invoke its protection and aid in all their undertakings. Their contact with Hindus has gradually instilled into them some respect for the ordinary Hindu gods and for Bráhmans. They are superstitious, and believe in omens, placing the greatest reliance on the call of a partridge to the left. At funeral ceremonies, instead of feeding crows they feed plovers and have a strong friendly feeling towards them. The Káthis are exceedingly hospitable, and are always sociable and friendly. They are illiterate and indolent, spending their time in gossip and social entertainments, and rarely troubling their heads about their affairs. They have adopted the Hindu feeling about the holiness of the cow, otherwise they are not particular as to their food or liquor.

Customs.

Their women are proverbially handsome, and bear a high character. They are on a social equality with their husbands and are treated as companions. Unmarried and married women like widows wear no wrist ornaments. Káthi women dress in black clothes and are neat and tidy. They keep their house clean and well furnished with quilts boxes swinging-cots and fans. A Káthi seldom marries more than one wife, though they are not limited in this respect. Widow-marriage is allowed, but it is seldom practised, except in the case of a husband dying and leaving a younger brother. In such cases the rule is peremptory that the younger brother must marry his brother's widow.

History.

The following historical sketch of the Káthis by Colonel J. W. Watson differs in some respects from the account usually received.

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[1] In A.D. 1807 Colonel Walker wrote: Their peculiar mode of inheritance and the perpetual subdivision of property are perhaps greater obstacles to the improvement of the Káthis than their licentious manners This custom forms a continual check to the accumulation of individual property and the augmentation of territorial possession; it perpetuates a great number of small and independent communities, which are without the means of protection against internal injuries, and contain the permanent seed of internal disorder.

[2] The Sanskrit inscription on the pedestal of the deity is nearly illegible, and would betoken an earlier period than that fixed for the immigration of the Káthis. Sir George LeGrand Jacob.

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Káthis.
History.

It is valuable as confirming the theory that the tribe came from some part of Central Asia.

There are two more or less plausible accounts of this famous tribe, which in modern times has given its name to the whole peninsula of Sauráshtra. According to one account the Káthis had their original seat in Kurdistán in Asia Minor, whence they were driven by Tigláth Pileser I. of Assyria, who, according to Rawlinson ascended the throne about B.C. 1130. In the Assyrian inscriptions they are described as Khatti, and in the Old Testament as Hittites. In the wars of this monarch distinct mention is made of the Cománi (Khumáns). Rawlinson mentions that at this time the chief city of the Khatti or Hittites was Carchemish, an important place, and he says that the Cománi could bring into the field an army of 20,000 men. At this period the Khatti or Hittites appear to have been remarkable for their fondness for horses and chariots, to have been incapable of settled government, and to have been ready to serve as mercenaries.

After the time of Tigláth Pileser the Khatti appear to have joined Benhadad king of Damascus in warring with Shalmáneser II. of Assyria, and to have finally been subdued by him. Sargon of Assyria is mentioned by Rawlinson as having warred in Kurdistán, but whether with any branch of the Káthis is not mentioned. But Rawlinson specially notices that Sargon in all his wars largely followed the custom of wholesale deportation of conquered nations. Whether in his time or afterwards, when the kingdoms of Media and Persia were paramount in Asia, the Káthis appear to have gradually travelled eastward until we find them opposing Alexander the Great at Sangála, three days march from the river Hydraotes. It is notable that Arrian, in his short description of the Káthis, describes them as roving tribes, not under the authority of any Indian sovereign, and speaks of them as associated with other free Indians. That they were recent invaders seems clear, for Arrian specially mentions that Porus and Abissares, both Indian kings, had united and called in the aid of many other Indian princes, but had been unable to effect anything against them. Though gallant and warlike they were defeated with great loss and driven from Sangála, and we may be sure that Porus and the other Indian kings took care that they never returned to their dominions.

After A.D. 1168, during the reign of Shálivahan of Jesalmír, according to the Bháti annals, the Káthis were dwelling as far south as between the city of Jálor and the Arávali mountains.[1] Their own annals are untrustworthy before the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, because they show traces of having been concocted by bards in comparatively modern times. But it seems probable that they lived in Málwa for some time and thence came to Kachh, whence they entered the peninsula of Káthiáwár. It is however possible that they came to Kachh direct from the neighbourhood of Jálor.

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[1] Tod's Rájásthán, II. 222.

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History.

It is difficult to say at what date the Káthis first entered the peninsula. On the whole it seems probable that the Válás were established before the arrival of the Kháchars, and that the Bábriás were probably earlier than the Válas. The Khumáns also are either earlier than, or coeval with, the Kháchars. Regarding the Avartiás or miscellaneous Káthis it is impossible to say anything certain, except that the Dhándhals, the most celebrated among them, took their rise about the time or just after the arrival of the Kháchars. Of the other tribes many doubtless are earlier than and many as early as the Kháchars, but except the Dhándhals none are later arrivals.

The arrival of the Kháchars can be calculated within a few years, and may roughly be fixed at A.D. 1400. Their first settlement was at Thán, and their next seat was Chotila where they are still found. From these two seats they spread all over the Panchál, and it was they who by their daring forays, in later times drew on themselves the vengeance of the imperial governors of Gujarát, and subsequently they proved no less troublesome to the Maráthás. The earliest known mention of a Káthi, occurs in the Mirât-i-Sikandari where Loma Khumán of Kherdi is spoken of as having sheltered Sultán Muzaffar of Gujarát in about A.D. 1583. The first mention of Káthiáwár as a sub-division of the peninsula of Sauráshtra is believed to occur in the Mirát-i-Ahmadi, which, in its notice of Ázam Khán (about A.D. 1635 - 1642), mentions that he marched to Káthiáwár and chastised the Káthis who were continually ravaging the Dhandhuka district. In another passage the same author notices that Ázam Khán made such excellent arrangements that travellers could pass safely through Jhálávádh, Káthiáwár, the country of the Jám of Navánagar, and Kachh. Another mention of the Káthis occurs in the same work in the notice of the viceroyalty of Kártalab Khán, who had been ennobled by the title of Shujáat Khán. This officer, about A.D. 1692, stormed Thán and dispersed the Káthi plunderers who had made that place their head-quarters. The Válás seem to have been settled in Káthiáwár before the Káthis as the Tárikh-i-Sorath speaks of a battle between Shams-ud-din Amir Khán the viceroy of Sultán Feroz Tughlak and Vála Chámpráj, whose capital was situated at Kileshvar in the Barda hills. This must have been between A.D. 1351 and A.D. 1387.

According to bardic tradition Verávalji, a Vála Rajput of the Dhánk house, married the daughter of Vishálo Patgar, an Avartia Káthi, and from her sprung the tribes of Vála, Khumán, and Khâchar Káthis, called from their high birth Shákháyat or those of the branch; other tribes are called Avartia, from *avar* other. Thus the modern Káthis divided themselves into two great clans, the Shákháyat or those of the branch who are offspring of Verávalji and the Avartia or other or miscellaneous clans.

This account is far from satisfactory for the following reasons. The Válás of Dhánk were a branch of the great Vála house of Vála Chamárdi, who reigned also at Talája Bhádrod, indeed over the whole sub-division of Gohilvád called Válák or Válákshetra.

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When Verávalji married the Káthiáni about A.D. 1350 at the earliest, there must have been at least 500 Vála Rajputs alive. Now we are asked to believe that the offspring of Verávalji alone has increased to a greater extent than the offspring of the 500 Vála Rajputs then in existence. At the present day there are at least ten Vála Káthis for one Vála Rajput in the province, and yet Valoji, after whom they profess to take their name, was only one of the sons of Verávalji. Another objection is that the name Khåchar is unknown as the name of a man, though it exists as the name of a tribe, yet if Khåchar was really the name of the founder of this sub-tribe many of his descendants would have been proud to bear it. The same objection applies in a less degree to Khumán. The name Khumánsing, though rare, is not unknown among Rajputs, but is never heard among Káthis.

The most probable explanation seems that tribes more or less akin to the Bábriás and Jethvás passed into the province in early times, and were followed by a tribe of Válás. Of these the Jethvás managed to get themselves recognized as Rajputs, as did the Válás of Vála Chamárdi. This singular fact remains that the annals of the Jethvás show that they formerly intermarried both with Bábriás who do not pretend to be Rajputs and with Válás, and that the Dhánk house of so called Vála Rajputs intermarries with them to this day. Strangely enough, though the Dhánk chieftain is supposed to be a Vála Rajput and not a Káthi, the Porbandar records show that the Dhánk lady is always styled the Káthiáni Bái or Káthiáni Ma, and their residence in Navánagar is called the palace of the Káthi lady. Though they are unable to give the reason, this fact clearly proves the Káthi origin of the Vála Rajputs. The truth probably is that the Jethvás and one or two branches of the Vála Káthis managed to get recognized as Rajputs, and that the rest of the tribe continued to be called Káthis. An excellent instance of the process of conversion from a lower caste into a Rajput occurs in the case of the Vághela chieftain of Thara Jámpur in Kánkrej in north Gujarát. This family was originally Koli, but by steadily marrying into Rajput families, it has, within the last hundred years, acquired the Rajput status, and, though their origin is known to their immediate neighbours, they are Vághela Rajputs to persons at a distance.

By the second account, the Káthis came from Nepál, the capital of which place is still called Káthmandu. Wherever the Káthis have come, they have had a Mándu; thus Mándu in Málwa is said to have originally been named after the Mándu in Nepál, and the Káthis are said to have made a long stay in Málwa. According to this theory a branch of them went to the Punjáb and settled at Thán or Multhán, the modern Multán. When they appear in Káthiáwár, they bring with them both Mándav and Thán. Thán being an old seat of theirs and the Mándav hills being close to the town; the districts of Málwa near the Rewa Kántha are still called Káti. It is difficult to say whether the Káthis originally entered Káthiáwár from Málwa or from Multán. On the whole it seems probable that while the

Vála Káthis, afterwards styled Rajputs, came from Málwa, the Khumáns and the Kháchar Káthis came from Multán by Jesalmir, Abu, and Kachh.

Subdivisions.

Each tribe of Káthis consists mainly of two separate classes, Shákháyats who do not intermarry either with clansmen of their own tribe or with Shákháyats of other tribes, and Avartiás who intermarry with Shákháyats and with whom Shákháyats intermarry, but who do not intermarry amongst themselves. The Shákháyats include five tribes, Válás, Khumáns, Khácbars, Hátis, and Jogia Khumáns. The original Káthis consist of seven tribes or, according to some, of eight, Mánjariás, Tohriás, Narads or Játvadás, Garibás, Guliás, Pádvás, Nátás, and Patgárs. The Avartiás include over 100 tribes. There is also a connecting link between Káthis and A'hirs, namely the Bábriás or Barbars who marry with Shákháyat Káthis and also with A'hirs. The three chief tribes of Bábriás are Kotilás, Dhánkdás, and Varus. These sub-tribes do not intermarry in the same tribe, but each with the other. Thus a Kotila cannot marry a Kotila nor a Dhánkda a Dhánkda, but a Kotila may marry a Dhánkda or a Varu, and a Varu a Kotila or a Dhánkda. But a Kotila, Varu, or Dhándka may marry either a Shákháyat Káthi or a common Bábria or an A'hir. In brief, Bábriás, with the exception noted above, can marry not only among themselves but with Shákháyat Káthis and A'hirs. It seems probable that the reason of their not marrying with the Avartia Káthis springs not so much from any objection on their part, but from scruples of the Avartiás who look on them also as Avartiás.

Then comes the cognate tribe of A'hirs. They have no objection to intermarriage among themselves or among Bábriás and Shákháyat Káthis, but they do not marry with Avartia Káthis, probably for the reasons which forbid the Bábriás allying themselves with these tribes.

The affinity of the Káthis and the A'hirs was noticed by Abul Fazl in his A'in-i-Akbari (A.D. 1590). Of the district of Sorath he wrote: 'In the seventh division are Vághelás. They have two hundred horse and the same number of foot. And there are many Káthis in this country whose caste is that of A'hir. These people rear and train horses. They have a force of 6000 horse and 6000 foot. Some persons consider the horses to be of Arabian blood. They are of knavish conduct, but hospitable, and they eat food cooked by any sect. They are very handsome. When a *Jágirdár* goes among any of these tribes, they first exact a promise from him not to levy fines from them on account of the unchastity of their men or women. There is a tribe of A'hirs dwelling near the Káthis, on the banks of the river Dhondi, who are called Borichás. They have 3000 horse and a like number of foot. These are constantly at war with the Jám.'

The Káthis, who, for distinction, have been called the ancient Válás, have no doubt been in the province for at least a thousand or twelve hundred years, as they are mentioned in the earliest records of

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Subdivisions.

both the Jethvás and the Chudásamás. But the modern Válás and Khumáns have not been in the province for more than twenty or twenty-two generations, say about 500 years. The Khácbars seem to be even later comers, and not to have crossed from Kachh before the middle or the end of the fifteenth century. Thus when Jám Rával entered the province about the middle of the sixteenth century, he warred with the Káthis and drove them as far south as the river Bhádar. The next historical mention is of Loma Khumán of Kherdi who sheltered Sultán Muzaffar about the close of the sixteenth century. Then follows Abul Fazl's account in the Ain-i-Akbari quoted above, and finally the mention of the storming of Thán and the expulsion of the Kháchars by Shujáat Khán in A.D. 1692, in the Mirat-i-Ahmadi. Lastly we have the excellent local history of Diwán Ranchodji, who too distinguishes between ancient and modern Káthis, that is between Kháchars and Khumáns. He says: 'The Káthis consist of thirty tribes or clans who came from Khorásán and some from Pávar which is one of the cities of Sindh. The Válás are of the stock of the Rajput Válás, the lords of Dhánk, through the marriage of one of them with a Káthi damsel. This chief was expelled from his caste owing to his marriage with an inferior tribe and entered that of the Káthis. From her sprung two sons named Khumán and Kháchar, to whom the ruler of Junágaḍh granted a small territory. When this region became populous it was called Káthiáwár. It is also related that Shams Khán[1] having slain the Vála chief in battle, conquered the town of Kileshvar which is in the Barda hills. Afterwards he conquered the district of Okha and overturned the temple of Jagat, and having turned it into a mosque, returned. At this time he heard that Chámpráj, the son of Ebhal the Káthi, had a beautiful daughter, and became enamoured of her from the description of her charms, though he had not himself seen her. He therefore demanded her in marriage. But Chámpráj refused to give her saying he could not ally his daughter to a chief of another religion. Shams Khán therefore led an army against him, and Chámpráj after putting his daughter to death, was slain together with 1800 gallant horsemen.' 'One Vera Vála with the permission of the Nawáb Bahádur Khán built the fort of Jetpur. The Káthis pay tribute to Junágaḍh, and the ruler of Junágaḍh also takes yearly a horse from them. These Káthis exist by freebooting. The beauty of their women is famous, for it was formerly the custom of the Khumán Káthis to carry off such handsome women among the lower classes as they could lay their hands on. But in these (A.D.1898) times the Káthi women are like ogres or demons. The Káthi race is brave gallant and hospitable, and there are in Káthiáwár the fortresses of Jetpur and Mandarda Bilkha, Bagasra, Kundla, Jasdan, Chital, Sudámra, Anandpur, Bhádla, Dhándhalpur, Páliád, and others, but some of these are not strongly fortified.'

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[1] This is Shams-ud-din Anwar Khán Viceroy of Sultán Firoz Tughlak (A.D. 1351-1388).

Mahia's.

The **Mahia's**, 2000, are chiefly found in the district of Sorath in Káthiáwár. Most of them claim a Káthi origin. They are a turbulent excitable tribe. In A.D. 1867 they were in revolt and established themselves in the Gir hills. Afterwards on being pardoned, certain lands were made over to them on service tenure. They were disarmed in A.D. 1873 and since then have quieted down. The tribe has no divisions and the members intermarry. They are poor husbandmen and are soldiers rather than labourers. The men are tall and strong with bronzed skins and follow Káthi and Rajput customs. They are very ignorant and set their faces against education and handicrafts.

SECTION XI.—HERDSMEN.

Section XI.
HERDSMEN.
Strength.

UNDER Herdsmen come four classes A'hirs, Bharváds, Mers, and Rabáris, with a strength of 478,176 or 4·83 per cent of the total Hindu population. The details are:

HINDU HERDSMEN, 1891.

CLASS.	Ahmedábád.	Kaira.	Panch Maháls.	Broach.	Surat.	Native States.	Baroda.	Total.
A'hirs ...	63	17	43	30	72	128,504	5214	133,943
Bharváds ...	22,479	5514	1536	1700	7287	79,556	10,402	128,474
Mers ...	...	52	8	...	...	35	...	95
Rabáris ...	14,025	7414	1294	1365	500	132,938	58,128	215,664
Total ...	36,567	12,997	2881	3095	7859	341,033	73,744	478,176

A'hirs.

A'hirs, the Abhirs or cowherds of ancient Hindu writings,[1] with a strength of 133,943, are found chiefly in Kachh and Káthiáwár. According to Manu, A'hirs are sprung from a Bráhman and an Ambastha or Vaid woman, according to the Brahma Purán from a Kshatriya father and a Vaisya mother, according to the Bhagvat Purán from Vaisya parents, and according to an old tradition from a Rajput slave girl and a Vaisya slave. They claim to be Vaisyas, but by Bráhmans are classed as Sudras. Besides in Kachh and Káthiáwár they are found in large numbers in Central India[2] and Rajputána, in many parts of the North-West Provinces,[3] and in east Bengal. Though now depressed and of little consequence they were once a powerful class. The name of A'sa, the A'hir ruler of Asirgadh,[4] connects them with the Shepherd kings or *Gávli Rájás* of Khándesh;[5] they ruled in Central India near Mirzápur and in Nepál;[6] they seem closely related to the great Buddhist dynasty of Pál;[7] and according to the Vishnu Purán they were universal sovereigns reigning between the Andhra and the Gardabha dynasties.[8] Traces of the A'hirs are thought to be preserved in the Abisares of Alexander's historians (325 B.C.), the ruler of the hills between Mari and the Márgala pass, a

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[1] Sanskrit writers use Abhir as a general term for the low caste population of the north-west of India. Vivien de St. Martin's Geog. Grec. et Latine de l'Indé, 230.

[2] In Central India is a large tract called after them A'hirváda. Tod's Western India, 358.

[3] In the south of Dehli from Marebrah to near Bibameyu and from Salempur in Gorakhpur to Singrauli in Mirzapur. Elliot's Races, I. 3.

[4] Farishtah quoted in Elliot's Races, I. 2.

[5] A connection has been traced between the A'hir and the *Nág* or Snake kings of Gujarát. The resemblance in sound between A'hir and Ahi snake is apparently the origin of this suggestion.

[6] Elliot's Races, I. 3; Tod's Western India, 358; Asiatic Researches, IX. 438. Inscription of Virasena the Abhira king in Cave VIII. at Násik, perhaps the third century A.D.

[7] Tod's Annals of Rájasthán, II. 409.

[8] Elphinstone's History, 157.

tract known by Hindu writers as Abhisára,[1] and in the Sabiria, Ibiria, or Abhiria in Upper Sindh mentioned by Ptolemy (A.D. 150), and in the Periplus (A.D. 246), and apparently identified with the Abhira of Hindu writers.[2]

Like the A'hirs of the North-West Provinces the Gujarát A'hirs claim Krishna's birthplace Mathura as their first seat. They say that from Mathura they came with Krishna to Girnár in Káthiáwár, and, from there going to Thar and Párkar, ended in Kachh. Some of their surnames are the same as Rajput tribe names.[3] The A'hirs are neither so handsome nor so robust as the Mers They also vary more in appearance. Many are middle-sized and commonplace. In some there is a notable strain tall to lankiness, with clear-cut features, the beaked nose and sharp chin recalling some of the faces on the coins of the Junágadh Sáh or Sinh dynasty (A.D. 124 - 376), apparently a trace of one of the northern conquering tribes, whose occupation as herdsmen or whose depressed condition on the decay of their power, led to their embodiment in some earlier tribe. The men shave the head except the topknot, and generally shave the cheek and chin, though a few wear long bushy whiskers. An A'hir woman is middle-sized and somewhat fairer and less coarse than a Bharvád woman. The men wear a black and white headdress like the Mers, and a short-puckered jacket and tight-ankled trousers of hand-woven cotton like the Bharváds. Some wear a blanket thrown over the shoulder. The women are easily known by their coarse free-hanging blanket shawls, pink cotton skirt, and smooth flattened anklet. The cloth or bodice does not differ from the Bharvád's bodice. A'hir girls are fond of spangled headscarves and bodices; their petticoat is generally red fringed with green. Their home tongue is a corrupt Gujaráti. They are poor, many of them sunk in debt, and generally living in small tiled houses with stone and mud walls, with a good store of cattle, but no furniture beyond

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[1] Vivien de St. Martin Geog. Grecque et Latine de l'Inde, 144; Cunningham's Arch. Rep. II. 23.

[2] Lassen says Ptolemy's Sabiria is the Abhira of Indian geographers. (Jour. Asiatic Soc. Beng. IX. 276). But according to the usual account the Abhira of the Puráns was the western coast of India from the Tápti to Devgad. Elliot's Races, I. 2; Bird's Mirát-i-Ahmedi, 8. On the Allahábád pillar (about B.C. 400) Abhira is mentioned next to Prardjuna in Upper Sindh. St. Martin (as above), 161.

General Cunningham (Arch. Rep. II. 23 - 33) would trace both Abhisára in the Panjáb and Abhiria in Sindh to the Abárs or Sus the great Indo-Skythian race that conquered the Panjáb and Sind in the second century B.C. According to Cunningham Alexander's Abhisára, an Indianised form of Abárisáda, was called after a colony of Skythians of the Abár horde transplanted from Hyrkania by Darius Hystaspes (B.C. 498). This branch of the Abárs, he holds, are represented by the modern Gakars. In his opinion the Abhiria of Ptolemy, the Periplus, and the Hindu geographers, took its name from the main body of the Abárs or Sus who, in the second century B.C., conquered the Panjáb and Sindh, and about a hundred years later were defeated by the Yuechi and their power confined to the lower Panjáb and Sindh. In his opinion these Abárs are represented by the Jats and Meds. In support of General Cunningham's view it may be noticed that the last reading suggested for the doubtful passage in the Periplus is Abaratike not Abiratike. McCrindle's Periplus and Cunningham's Arch. Rep. II. 49.

[3] Their surnames are A'balia, Baradia, Bhadarka, Bhádia, Bhenda, Bhibha, Bhoria, Bhuthar, Chavda, Chetaria, Chhuchar, Chudásame, Gagia, Gogham, Gohel, Goria, Jogal, Kachhot, Kámalia, Kanára, Khava, Khunti, Nandánia, Pidaria, Pithia, Rávaliya, Sanjva, Sindhav, Sisotia, Vádhia, Vasra, and Vijva.

Section XI.
HERDSMEN.
Ahirs.

bed-quilts cots and large earthen jars, the jars sometimes ornamented with figures and prettily arranged in rows. The Áhir's ordinary food is much like that of the Vánia and Kanbi, millet bread and pulse and millet with milk and vegetables. When he can afford it the Áhir drinks liquor in moderation and eats mutton, venison, and other game, but not beef. Thrifty, but not very hardworking, they are dirty in their ways and among themselves quarrelsome and spiteful. They have given up cattle-herding and except a few who are carpenters, they live as husbandmen. The women help by cleaning and spinning cotton.

Like the Bábriás they reverence Tulshishám (Lakshmi and Krishna) and a number of local goddesses. Children are betrothed at any age and married between twelve and fifteen. Like Rabáris, Áhirs celebrate their marriages every year on one fixed day. On the marriage day the women of the family with singing bring a wooden image of Ganpati and place it in the marriage canopy. As the bridegroom's party drives up in carts the bride's relations come out to welcome them with singing. The ceremony is performed by a Parajia Bráhman.[1] The details do not differ from those observed at other Hindu marriages. During the day to the sound of the drum *dhol*, the women dance in a circle, and the men go through a stick dance *dándiya rás*, moving in a circle and striking at each other with sticks. Two feasts are given by the bride's party and on the third day the bridegroom leaves taking his wife with him. Among them it is usual for a younger brother to marry his elder brother's widow. Some of the Áhir women are more independent than among the stricter Hindus, not covering their faces in presence of their elders and speaking freely with their husbands. Their births and marriages are registered by Rávals a kind of degraded Bháts. The caste has a headman who with a committee of the caste settles all disputes. Breach of caste rules is punished by fine and eating with forbidden persons by excommunication.

Babria's.

Closely allied to the Áhirs are the **Ba'bria's** who inhabit a small district in south Káthiáwár. In spite of their scanty numbers, the Bábria clan has no fewer than seventy-two divisions. They marry their daughters to Káthis, and take in marriage the daughters of Áhirs. They are not restricted as to the number of wives, marrying as many as they are able to maintain. The Babriás and the Áhirs gradually drove out the Vala Rajputs from the district now known as Bábriávád; they levied blackmail on any traffic that passed through their limits as they happened to be settled in a little frequented part of the country in a border-land open to the feuds and rivalries of the Muhammadans of Junágadh and the Rajputs of Gohilváḍ; they gave free asylum to outlaws, and they lived for some time before and after Colonel Walker's settlement (A.D. 1803-1805) almost entirely by plunder. They have now fallen to the rank of peasant proprietors, and own only thirty villages.[2]

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[1] These Bráhmans dine with Áhirs. They are said to have saved the Áhirs at the time of Parshurám's persecution by saying the Áhirs were not Kshatriyas but the sons-in-law of Bráhmans.

[2] Details given in Káthiáwár Gazetteer, VIII. 132-144.

Section XI. HERDSMEN. Bharva'ds.

Bharva'ds or Shepherds with a strength of 128,474 are found all over Gujarát. According to one story they are of the same caste as the Mehers to whom Krishna's foster-father Nand Meher belonged. According to another story they are the descendants of a Vaishya father and a Sudra mother. Their original home is said to be Gokul Vrindávan near Mathura. From Gokul they are said to have moved to Meywár and from Meywár to have spread into Gujarát Káthiáwár and Kachh. They are closely related to the Rabáris with whom they eat but do not intermarry. They have a large number of surnames of which forty-six are known.[1]

Appearance.

The men are heavily built and of middle size. Except where it is tanned red or brown, the skin though rough and coarse is somewhat fair. The face is square and the features irregular. The eyes are brown, seldom black, occasionally light brown. The expression is sturdy tending to heaviness, the head and face hair is black sometimes brown, the chest is hairy. The women are middle-sized square-shouldered and strong, with a flowing stride in walking. The skin is coarse and dusky but sometimes fair tanning a bright brown. The eyes are brown or black not unfrequently nearly closed by heavy drooping eyelids. Sometimes a clear-cut face with a soft refined expression redeems a group; but as a rule the features are irregular, the expression hard, the voice strong and tending to harshness. Few Bharvád women are neat or clean. They are not fond of bathing, their heavy woollen clothes make washing troublesome and their coarse crisp hair is seldom oiled or smoothed.

Dress.

The true Bharvád dress for men is three blankets of undyed wool one wound in broad bands round the head, a second tied round the waist reaching the knee, and a third thrown across the shoulder. A woman's dress consists of a petticoat, a brown woollen headscarf hanging loose from the head with yellow or red spots, and a bodice open behind, loose-fitting in front, and carried down within an inch or two of the waist of the skirt. Unmarried girls wear a headscarf and a petticoat of cotton generally bright in colour. Some Bharvád men, especially young men, wear in the upper left ear, occasionally in both ears, a gold button called *bhungri*, through a hole in the centre of which is passed a gold ring called *ver*. Some men wear a necklace of coins or of coin-like circles and a handsome bracelet of heavy filagree work called *randir*, with a flower and very small box-like cylinders welded on to it. Some men also wear silver finger rings. In the upper left ear, sometimes in both upper ears, young women wear a hanging ring with a silver cylinder or *akota* set at right angles to the ring. Old women wear from the upper ear hanging silver ornaments called *loriyu* and in the lower ear hollow silver hangers called *nangli*. The chief necklaces are the silver called *sánkli*, and the *kánthilo*, a garland of rupee-like silver circles falling below the breast in a heart or

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[1] Bharváds have a large number of surnames among which are Bábaria, Bajuva, Bámbhava, Bosaria, Botaria, Budia, Chuchra, Dámka, Dámker, Dhanga, Dhángia, Dupda, Fángalia, Fátaria, Galia, Gamária, Hádkarda, Jadab, Jhápda, Juthál, Karir, Kátodia, Khănt, Kharagia, Khoda, Lámbaria, Lámpka, Mánga, Mánkuda, Mátiad, Meváda, Mudhava, Munjva, Ráeka, Ranva, Rátadia, Regia, Savasia, Shiár, Sindhat, Susra, Taria, Thuga, Varn, Verai, and Veshra.

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tongue shaped pendant called *jibro*. The bracelets are either a double ring of white or red ivory called *chindi*, or a heavy silver ring called *kanchio*, the inner half flat, the outer half cut in deep cog-wheel sections. On the left little finger they wear a ring called *keida* and on the left ring finger a plain ring. The anklet is a round ring of silver drooping at each side called *kami-kadla*. On the great toe a silver guard called *ananata* is worn, and on the second and little toe a silver ring called *vinchhia*. Some boys wear a silver necklace and a bracelet or *khán*, a plain heavy ring on whose end are stamped the petals of a flower. Their home tongue is Gujaráti, though in the Panch Mahàls some speak Málvi. In their dress and houses they are much like Rabáris.

Food.

They live chiefly on milk and millet cakes, though a few in Kachh and Surat eat the flesh of sheep and goats. Except in Surat they do not drink liquor. A few of them are husbandmen and labourers but the bulk are shepherds or cattle-keepers. Their flocks of sheep and goats are kept in the outskirts of villages and are driven into the grass and bushlands by day and brought back at night. Between November and June they move about the country in search of pasture. They sell goat and ewe's milk and weave and sell woollen blankets. They are also paid in grain or in cash for penning their flocks in empty fields as the manure is highly valued. Instead of sheep and goats many Bharváds keep cattle both cows and buffaloes and make their living chiefly by selling clarified butter.

Almost all classes of villagers talk of Bharváds as Bhúts, that is evil spirits. The Bharváds do not quarrel with the name. We are Bhúts they say. If a villager is asked why are Bharváds Bhuts, he answers They are so stupid. Their wildness, their sudden and weird appearance among their sheep, a small heap of blankets rising into a huge figure give point to the nickname. Their fitfulness is also uncanny, suddenly bursting from stolid dulness to frantic rushings and the oddest shouts yells and calls. Moreover, they are unclean, seldom bathing, seldom washing their blanket clothes. Finally, they are sin-laden or *pápi*, selling their sheep to be slain. The Bharváds admit their sinfulness. So evil are we our Bráhmans cannot support the burden of our guilt. Of our Audich Bráhmans, all are gone except one, and she is a childless widow. Their greetings are hearty. Male acquaintances at meeting shout a cheery Rám! Ram! or they clasp right hands and touch the chest and shoulders. Relations, both men and women, who live in distant villages, when they meet, fall on each other's necks, the elderly women taking to themselves the younger's ill-luck either by waving *valva* their hands in front of the person saluted, or by *baláilena*, that is evil-taking, by touching the temples of the saluted with their finger-tips and then pressing the knuckles of their hands against their own temples till the joints crack.

Religion.

Except a few who are Rámánandis, the Bharváds are followers of Mothers or *Mátás* who are figured on silver and copper plates. In Rewa Kántha they call themselves the followers of Jhálábápji and Baladev whom they describe as two holy Rajputs. The names suggest a connection between the Bharváds and the two tribes of Jhálás and Balas or Valas. Jhálábápji is their special object of worship to whom

they offer vows when their animals sicken. In parts of south Gujarát the owners of sheep and goats worship on Tuesdays or Sundays and on *Káli Chaudas* in October any she-goat or ewe which keeps aloof from the males and is barren. The festival held most sacred by the Bharváds is the *Navrátri* or Nine Nights in September-October. All fast on the bright eighth of *A'so* in October and a few fast during the first nine days of that month. *Akatrij* in April-May is their sheep-shearing day. Most of them believe in and many are supposed to practise sorcery and witchcraft. They have three famous holy men or *bhagats*, Ambo Bhulo and Rághav.

Customs.

As Bharvád children are often born when their parents are moving from place to place no ceremonies are performed on the birth, on the sixth day after a birth, or on giving the child cooked food for the first time. The marriage customs of the Bharváds of north Gujarát Káthiáwár and Kachh are peculiar. Like Kadva Kanbis Bharváds celebrate their marriages only once in twelve fifteen or twenty-five years on a day in *Vaishákh* (May) and all the Bharváds of the neighbourhood hold their marriages in the same place. The marriages are held in open ground on the skirts of the village. The richest Bharvád among those who wish to get their daughters married buys the ground where the marriages are to be celebrated. This is necessary because the ground cannot be used a second time for marriages but is kept as pasture, and an ornamental wooden post, called the marriage pillar, is set up and preserved to show that the ground has been used for marriages. The ground is first surrounded with a fence of bamboo poles and a booth is built. A branch is cut off a *sami* or *khijda* Prosopis spicigera tree and taken in a cart to a carpenter who forms it into a square post with the image of Bhaváni set on its top. The post is then taken to the booth and planted in the ground. While it is being planted the women drink large quantities of milk and butter, which so excites them that they become frantic, singing lucky songs, breaking down hedges and spoiling the crops. In the centre of the booth a square or *chori* is railed off with bamboo posts and coloured earthen jars are piled at the four corners. Shortly before the marriage hour the several brides with their relations and one Bráhman priest meet in the booth. At the hour fixed for the marriage all the bridegrooms come to the booth one after the other and are received by the wife of the man who bought the ground and paid for the booth. In receiving each bridegroom the hostess shows him a miniature plough, arrow, and churning-stick. The bridegrooms pass into the booth, and each sits besides his bride. The several pairs of brides and bridegrooms then go to the part of the booth where the *khijda* post is planted. The hands of the several pairs are joined by the Bráhman priest and each pair walks round the post, bows to it, and offers it a cocoa-kernel. They are next taken to the central square or *chori*, where the hems of their clothes are tied together, and they walk round a fire which is lighted in the middle. This completes the marriage ceremony. The man at whose cost the booth was built feasts the assembled Bharváds for three days. He partly repays himself by levying a tax of Rs. 12½ from the father of each bridegroom.

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The following is an account[1] of the Bharvád Jang or Shepherd Wedding, which, after an interval of twenty-four years, was held on 28th April 1895 at Khedsara, a village of the Navánagar State in Káthiáwár, attended by about 12,000 people of whom 8000 were Bharváds. Before the festival (28th April–3rd May 1895) was over 775 Bharvád couples were married.

Wedding.

In a year which the astrologer declares favourable for a gathering, and if also the stock of grass is sufficient and the season has been good, the council of the Bharváds, accompanied by a Bráhman and a carpenter, go to their guide's lodge at Kharáváda and ask the Báva to fix a good day. The men of the tribe are called to the Báva's lodge and present him with a *kori* [2] and a sheep from each herd. The Báva feeds the council, the Bráhman, and the carpenter on milk and rice, a ceremony which is called *Dudh-pino* or Milk-drinking. Then the council go round the different settlements of Bharváds, and are feasted by them. After this the council fix on one of their number to be Leader. The Leader must be a well-to-do man of high position in the tribe. In the recent arrangements, Dosa Kána of Khedsara was chosen, partly because he was respected and well-to-do, partly because he was anxious to gain merit, in the hope that merit might help his second wife to bring him a son. Some time after, on a day chosen as lucky by the astrologer, two or three months before the day fixed for the gathering, the Leader and other members of the council with their wives, taking *khir*, that is rice and milk, the Bráhman astrologer, and a Khedsara carpenter of the Vais Suthár caste, go in carts to the village of Bhárthar about four miles north of Khedsara. At Bhárthar, with drums pipes and singing, they pass in procession to an old *khijaro* or *samri* Prosopis spicigera tree, which, on the five last occasions, has supplied timber for the marriage pillar, and ask permission to cut timber paying the owner about 300 *koris*. The astrologer makes the Leader perform a *hom* or fire-sacrifice. Then under the astrologer's direction the women mark the stem of the tree with vermilion stick grains of boiled rice and tie a string soaked in *kanku*, and a piece of red cloth to certain branches of the tree, which, along with some feet of the stem are to be spared. On some occasions the astrologer tells the Leader to cut his little right finger and with the blood to mark the stem of the tree. If, as happened on the present occasion, he finds the time unsuited to human blood, the astrologer calls for a black sheep, slits its right ear, and with the blood marks the stem. Blood is required to be rubbed on the tree to please the maternal uncle or *mámo* who lives in the *khijaro*,[3] and who, if not appeased, will be enraged if his

[1] The Bharvád Jang in the Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, IV. Number 1 pages 40-74.

[2] A *kori* is worth about five annas.

[3] The *khijaro* tree is dreaded, not because it has a tree-spirit, but because in the tree lives a *mámo* or maternal uncle. That the dread spirit is the maternal uncle is in agreement with the traces of polyandry among the Bharváds. In the early polyandrous arrangement as the next of kin among ancestral males the *mámo* holds the place of the *pitri* and *bapdev* or father of the later one-husband institution. In Western India the Bráhman is the representative of the later one-husband system. In Ratnágiri the ordinary term of address to a lower class stranger is *máma*. To call a Bráhman

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house is destroyed. After the blood-rubbing the astrologer hands the Leader an axe and orders him to cut certain branches of the tree. From dread of *mámo* the Leader trembles so convulsively that five men have to hold him by the waist. With these men to back him the Leader makes two or three strokes at the branches. Before the branches fall the Leader is ordered to run without looking back. As soon as the Leader is gone, the Khedsara carpenters complete the cutting of the stem and the lopping of the branches. The timber is loaded on carts and carried in procession with music and singing to the carpenter's house in Khedsara. Before he begins to dress the stem the carpenter performs the *Vishva Karma* or worship of the great World-Builder. He lays a piece of green-cloth and some pink-powder and rice on his yard-measure and worships it, offering sweet-balls to Bráhmans. When the worship is over the work of shaping the stem into a *Manikstambha* or Ruby Pillar begins.[1] The stem is about twelve feet long and nine inches in diameter. The top is carved into a traylike square. Into a hole in the middle of this square the carpenter fastens a three-feet high image of Bhaváni, which he has carved out of a portion of the tree. He also picks out from the cut timber four blocks about three feet long four inches broad and three inches thick, and fixes them as arms into the pillar about eight inches below the top, carving a seated monkey or Hanumán guardian at the end of each arm. He further chooses from the timber four blocks about four feet long and six inches square. Each of these blocks he carves into a chain of six links, each link about six inches long. At the foot of each chain he fastens two cross-boards about a foot long and four inches broad leaving a space at the end of each cross-board on which to rest an oil saucer. The topmost link of each of the chains is fastened into the end of one of the arm-pillars. The pillar is cut square. Each face is divided into seven panels, leaving the two feet at the bottom plain to be buried in the ground when the pillar is set up in front of the Leader's dwelling. In the eastern face the lowest panel is Ganesh; above Ganesh is *Nishkalanki ghoda* the spotless steed, the winged three-footed horse, the tenth incarnation of Vishnu; above the horse is Indráni Pari, Indra's angel; above Indra's angel are two female Mayaris or milk-churners; above the churners is the Sakti or Influence of the first *dis* or quarter of the sky; above the region Influence is Narsinghdás Báva, who, according to a local story, lived at Khedsara and converted the Bharváds; above Narsinghdás is Parsharám Báva, another Bharvád saint. The south panels are, at the foot Kán-Gopi, that is Krishna and Gopi, then Shirvan carrying in baskets his blind father and mother, then Hanumán the monkey-god, then Krishna, then the Sakti of the second region, then Hanumándás Báva, a local saint, then Premdás Báva, another local saint. The west panels are, beginning from the foot, Valamdás

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máma is sure to stir his anger. Similarly in south-west Káthiáwár crops are guarded from the evil eye and other blights by planting on the border of the field a stone reddened and called *mámo*. A Bráhman's field has no such stone. When a Bráhman cultivator in a village near Khedsara was asked Where is your *mámo*? he replied Who ever heard of a *mámo* troubling a Bráhman.

[1] The name ruby suggests that the marriage-pillar once gleamed with blood.

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Báva, the chief Bharvád saint, with a trident in his right hand and a small hour-glass drum or *damaru* in his left. Above Valamdás are Ráma and Sita, then Náradáji, chief of the heavenly minstrels, then Ranchodrái of Dvárka, then the Influence of the third quarter, then Gopáldás a Bharvád guide, then Mavdár a disciple of Gopáldás. On the north face the lowest panel is Kán-Gopi, then Narsinh, then Garuda with a snake in his hand, then Parasurám with a battle-axe in his right hand, then the Influence of the fourth quarter, then Vejanand Bhasariyo a Cháran saint, then Hanumándás a Bharvád guide. The image of Bhaváni, which is to be set on the top of the pillar, faces east. On her head is a pad called *indoni* or *chumli*, on the pad is a large pot, and on the large pot wrapped in green is a small pot in the mouth of which is set a cocoanut. Bhaváni is dressed like an unmarried Bharvád girl in a cotton print headscarf or *chimari*, a striped cotton *kápdo* or bodice, and a red cotton petticoat. Her ornaments are a *chándlo* or browmark, a golden nosering, an *akota* or large round earring, a silver necklace and chain, wooden wristlets on her right wrist, the marriage fruit *midhal* or *gela* Randia dumetorum on her left wrist, and on her ankles silver chains. She holds her hands open and hollow in front of her breast, and in her hands lies a cocoanut resting on mango leaves. About halfway up the east face of the pillar, a bracket about a foot square, draped with a green cloth, hides a black-stone image about four inches high of Khoriyád Thákur, the lame Krishna.[1] Above Khoriyád two miniature silver umbrellas guard a small tiara or *mugat*, and on the green cloth rests a small brass bell.

When the pillar and image are ready, the carpenter asks the Bráhman to fix the day when the pillar should be set up in front of the Leader's dwelling. On the day fixed, which is generally three days before the beginning of the gathering, a band of Bharváds carry the pillar in their arms and lay it on one side in front of the Leader's house. A space about fifteen feet square is marked off, and in the centre a hole is dug. Near the hole the Leader performs a *hom* or fire-sacrifice. In the hole are dropped a betelnut, a dried date, a handful of rice, a current copper coin, and a mango leaf. The pillar is rubbed with vermilion *sindur* and redpowder *kanku*, a pinch of boiled rice is dropped on the vermilion and the pillar, and the pillar is planted in the hole about two feet deep, care being taken that the image of Bhaváni faces east. When the pillar is set the Bráhman dips a mango-leaf into a water-pot and sprinkles the pillar, a cocoanut is broken, and a lighted *ghi* lamp is set at its foot. The four saucer-lamps on each of the crosses at the ends of the chains are then lighted and kept carefully alight till after

[1] The reason for the lame Krishna on the bracket is that at the first Jang, when the pillar was carved Krishna appeared to the Leader and said: You have carved gods and *gurus* on your pillars. Me you have not carved. Without my presence no meeting can be held. The Leader in fear promised a bracket and prayed Krishna to come. Krishna said: Carve a small image of me in black stone. If the image is perfect the whole tribe will come; if the image is not complete, some Bharváds will not attend. In carving the image one leg was broken. The broken image was set up. A party from Lálpur, twelve miles north-east of Jámnagar, did not come. As they were starting for the fair a cart was upset and some of the people killed. The rest stayed at home.

the Pot-filling or offering to the Pavaiyás or Hermaphrodites. On the same day a red stone called Rámdevpir, the founder of the school of ascetics to whom Valamdás the Bharvád guide belongs, is placed near the pavilion on a wooden board strewn with grains of wheat and a burning lamp is set in front of it. Next day, round the pillar, a pavilion of rough bamboos, about fifteen feet high and ending in a peak supported by two branches of the *palas* tree Butea frondosa, resting on two of the pillar's arms, is set up, enclosing a square of about fifteen feet. The bamboos are covered with coarse white cloth, and, about halfway up, the pavilion is hung round with a garland or *toran* of mango-leaves and cocoanuts.

For the recent Jang the pillar was set up and the pavilion completed on Saturday the 27th April 1895. Next day (Sunday 28th) the Bharváds began to assemble. Each party, as they arrive, come to worship the pillar, breaking a cocoanut, giving half of the kernel to the Leader and distributing the rest. The Leader, who, since the cutting of the *kijaro* tree, is in a somewhat dazed state, sits in the west of the pavilion and receives the gifts. Strictly he ought to remain in the pavilion without speaking or moving, but the burden of preparing the feasts, one of which has to be given on this and the two others on the two following days, forces him to be up and doing.

While the pillar is carving the Leader and council are making arrangements for the three great feasts. A letter is sent with a fee of 150 *koris*, inviting the Jám Sáheb to be present at the gathering. Leave to cut grass is asked, and the Darbár is reminded of the usual present of a turban and shouldercloth to the Leader. From the Darbár are borrowed seven great circular flat-bottomed pans, about six feet across and eighteen inches deep called *kadaias*, for boiling rice and heating *ghi*, and three *pakháls* or water-carriers. Other necessary vessels are hired. The Leader enters into contract with Lohána traders to supply *ghi*, molasses, rice, and *mung* pulse. In addition to the food supplies, in some of the fenced enclosures near his house, the Leader stores large quantities of hay and of firewood. For the recent gathering the amounts laid in were 250 *mans* of *ghi* worth Ks. 5000,[1] 150 *mans* of molasses worth Ks. 275, 200 *mans* of rice worth Ks. 500, and 525 *mans* of *khichdi* worth Ks. 800. In addition there were 200 *khandis* of fuel worth Ks. 300, 400,000 bundles of grass worth Ks. 1000, earthen pots worth Ks. 300, and miscellaneous articles worth Ks. 200, or a total outlay of 8375 *koris*. To this is to be added the outlay on *kárkuns* and other miscellaneous charges amounting to about 6000 *koris*. Against this is to be set marriage receipts at Ks. 16 a couple (an additional *kori* 1 is paid to the Jám), *koris* 12,271, leaving the Leader about 2100 or Ks. 700 out of pocket. The supply of each of the main articles, the *ghi* molasses rice and *khichdi*, fills a separate room.

The supply arrangements are completed with little difficulty. The most troublesome point is to settle who are to be the leading bride and bridegroom. The honour of being leading bride and bridegroom or king

1 That is *koris*. The *kori* is worth about 5 annas.

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and queen of the gathering is, in the case of the bridegroom, believed to carry with it the penalty of death within six months. It follows that it is seldom an easy matter to find a family willing to spare a son to fill a position of such shortlived honour. The bridegroom is generally an orphan and badly off. He is tempted to accept the post by a subscription, which, in the present case, amounted to 900 *koris*; by his freedom from marriage charges; and by the honour which attaches to the position of leading bridegroom. The bride is generally an orphan. But in the case of the bride the objection is less strong as the supposed penalty is widowhood, not death, and Bharvád widows easily remarry.

In the present case the chosen bridegroom was a man of thirty-eight, both of whose parents were dead, and who was in needy circumstances. The bride was a baby of four months, whose mother is a widow, a relation of the Leader. The bride's father is uncertain: he is believed to be a Rabári. Except through the channel of this sacrificial wedding the girl could not be admitted a member of the Bharvád community.

In the evening of Sunday (28th April), about five o'clock, the first of the three feasts, consisting of *khichdi*, that is pulse and rice, is given to all who have arrived. After the feast the people in their different encampments spend the greater part of the night in singing and dancing to the music of drums. Numbers continue to arrive during the night. By noon on Monday the 29th, Khedsara is already the centre of a large encampment. The entire western upland is covered with the camps of parties, the bulk of whom have come forty to fifty miles. Many of these camps are fenced with a circle of carts. Inside of the ring of carts the space is crowded with men women and children, cattle, brass and clay water pots, bundles of clothes, and supplies of food hay and fuel. As a shelter from the sun and the chill sea-breeze, over the carts or out from their sides or fastened to the ends of poles stuck in the ground, long white cloths are stretched in numbers large enough to give to the encampment the appearance of a crowd of small tents. During the festival the plain is full of life. Strings of crowded carts come from a distance and parties on foot arrive from the villages round. Lines of women in their streaming dark or maroon woollen headscarves and skirts pass with water pots to and from the pools in the Sorath river. Groups move from one part of the encampment to another visiting friends or paying their respects to the wedding-pillar, or carrying a cocoanut to offer at Machu's shrine. Among the camp in open spaces, apart from the rest, squat small parties of the Dheda drummers, whose music forces the Bharvads to dance. A sprinkling of camels, numbers of horses and ponies raced here and there by boys, and lines of handsome Káthiáwár and north Gujarát cattle complete the gathering.

On Monday, shortly before noon, a band of two or three hundred Bharváds, in spite of the efforts of the police and the entreaties of the Leader, burst into a hay enclosure and carry off armfulls to their camps. In the afternoon, when the hottest hours are over, the stream of arrivals again sets in. Of the arrivals, besides Bharváds, a large number of Mers and Áhirs come on foot from the neighbouring villages, while others, almost all of whom are Bharváds, arrive in carts

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or on horseback from distances of forty or fifty miles. These strangers come in strings of carts drawn by excellent bullocks, either the sturdy and hardy local or the larger and more showy Vadiár or north Gujarát animal. The carts are filled with women and children. The parties who bring a bride or bridegroom are led by drummers. If they bring a bridegroom he is in red; if a bride she wears a white bodice. Though they are not finally married till the gathering is over, these brides and bridegrooms are more than betrothed, as before leaving their houses the *Lagái* or formal giving in marriage has been performed at the bride's father's house. The men are dressed in hand-woven loosely rolled white and red headcloths, short cotton jackets close pleated at the shoulders and tied down the left side, and loose trousers tight below the knee. The women have the dark of their woollen over-robe and skirt relieved by red patterns and spots of white or yellow knot work. Their gay apron-bodice called *kápdo* or cloth is of pale-blue yellow or red silk, the petticoat or skirt is maroon or ruddy-brown relieved by sewn, printed, stamped, or knotted patterns. The girls are gay with bright bodice and red green-edged petticoat. All arrive in great good temper. Some tired and thirsty rest at the river to drink and wash their face hand and feet. Then they move on, and in the wide and stony plain that rises westwards from the Leader's house they establish a camp known by the name of their village and guarded by a ring of their carts. As soon as the camp is chosen, the party hurry to the pavilion to make their reverence to the Máta. Then the men arrange the carts and cattle and the young women take brass or earthen pots and make for the river. The elder women stay by the carts, arranging the kit and preparing for cooking. It is the end of April, but the day is not hot. The strong sea-breeze, though it has passed over twenty miles of heated plain, is cool, almost chill. Its steady force drives clouds of dust before it, and sudden devils rush past whirling heavy fawn-coloured dust-robes.

Meanwhile the men of the camps who have been settled overnight or since early morning, after breakfast and a sleep are set agoing by the beating of drums. They form into groups and dance the stick or circle dance. Many of them, especially the Mer visitors, who are treated with the deference which their good looks breeding and skill in the dance deserve, perform with admirable activity vigour and grace. The stick dance is varied by the sword dance in which the chief performers are Mers and Sindhis. The Meghvál or Dheda musicians earn applause by an inspired movement in which they leap and dance, drumming all the time with astonishing vigour and speed. Groups of women start separate dances, circling with strange graceful movements of the wrist and hand. The merrymaking, which has only begun, is stopped by the sudden news that the ruler of the State, His Highness the Jám of Navánagar, is dead. The music is silenced and the dance ceases.

About half-past four the second of the three regulation feasts begins. Close to the south of the pavilion hundreds, probably over a thousand, of men are seated in an enclosure fenced with dry thorns. During the whole afternoon rice and pulse have been cooking in the huge flat-bottomed iron pans. As soon as they are cooked the contents of each panfull are shovelled into sack-like cloths with the upper side open,

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and the ends held by two men, who, when the sack is full, rush it into the house and pile the contents in a heap. In other pans *ghi* has been melted, strained through a cloth, and poured into an iron cask. From the cask large brass pots are filled and carried round by helpers who empty the *ghi* into spouted earthen vessels from which the contents are poured over the share of *khichadi* in the platter of each of the guests. The guests are seated in parties of ten to fifteen. Most of the groups are Bharváds. But places of honour are set apart for the Mers, and when the first company has been feasted, spaces are left for Rabáris, Bávás, Kolis, and other less honoured visitors. The bearers of the open-sided sacks crowd in pairs into the house where is the *khichadi* heap. As each sack is filled the two bearers rush it off at a run into the dining enclosure, and, stopping at one of the seated groups, scoop a share of rice and pulse into the earthen platter which is set in front of each guest. The flight of *khichadi* servers is followed by distributors of *ghi* from spouted earthen pots. The guests are patient: the service is vigorous. After the *ghi* is distributed, from large copper and iron pots set upon carts, water is poured into clay pots and served. If one of the leading Bharváds is complimented on the orderliness of the feast, he looks reverently upwards and with a quaver in his voice replies 'Any success is by the favour of Máta.' This religious fervour accounts for the feverish energy of the food-servers. It accounts also for the odd manner of the leading Bharváds who look and speak as if they were intoxicated, a result due partly to *ghi* indigestion partly to feeling. After a certain number of the men guests have withdrawn, their places are taken by women, Bharváds in the main, but also groups of Mers, Rabáris, A'hirs, Bávas, and Kolis. They are patient and well-cared for: the Mer women refined and handsome, the Bávás frolicsome, the Kolis somewhat ill at ease. That a feast can be given to thousands without waste without quarrelling and without heart-burning, is doubtless, in great measure, due to the feeling that the whole ceremony is under the special guidance of an easily-angered Máta. This explanation finds support in the strange dazed air of the Leader and his elder wife, an air of solemn of almost tearful responsibility, the anxiety and strain of the preparations acting on their minds with a result which both themselves and their friends take to be possession by Máta. In the case of the other leading Bharváds their unsteadiness of gait and thickness of speech are perhaps due less to Máta than to over-draughts of *ghi* helped in some cases by friendly nips of opium.

Whether potations of *ghi*, however copious, can of themselves intoxicate, seems doubtful. Still in certain cases, joined to the enthusiasm of the Gathering, *ghi* seems to develope strong excitement. A Bharvád woman stands in her cart, dividing among beggars her private store of *ghi*. Her appearance and manners show she is under strong excitement. Her party let her alone: Máta has entered her. A band of young Bharvád women dash back from the feast to their encampment, laughing, also it would seem under the influence of the Mother. Of the whole population who attend the gathering perhaps nine-tenths are Bharváds. Of the castes who come as guests to the great gathering, the chief are Mers, A'hirs, and Rabáris. The handsome grace-

ful Mers are held in most respect. Of the different classes present at the fair, next to the Bharváds, those most interested in the proceedings are perhaps the Dheda drummers and fifers. Some of these come escorting a party of Bharváds from their village. Others gather to the fair in the hope of employment. They squat in groups in the open with little shelter and few belongings, generally in a bare space between two encampments. The groups vary much in appearance, some rough and hairy, others fair smooth-skinned and goodlooking. Both men and women dress like Mers, only that their clothes are scantier and not so clean. Another class, who, as their moneylenders, take interest in the Bharvád gathering, and come to look on at the pavilion, are the Lohánás. A special class, whose huge ungainly forms attract notice in the crowd, are the Pavaiyás or hermaphrodites. They are devotees of Máta, and live by begging. Their head lodge or *math* is at Bahucheráji or Becharáji about thirty miles south of Pátan in north Gujarát.[1] They have branch lodges at Navánagar in north Káthiáwár and at Mándvi in Kachh. They are of all classes, parents dedicating to Bahucheráji any child who is born a hermaphrodite. Many of these Pavaiyás are of unusual height and size, strongvoiced and harsh-featured, peculiarities which are made the more notable by their practice of always dressing in women's clothes, a dark headscarf or *odni* sometimes of wool, a long-sleeved bodice of dark striped cotton, and a long dark cotton petticoat. A few of them wear anklets and other ornaments of silver. As devotees and carriers or homes of Máta, the Pavaiyás have special claims on the Máta-worshipping Bharváds at their great wedding season. Besides the large gifts of *ghi* described below under the head of Pot Filling or *Kalas Bharana,* the Pavaiyás claim from each bridegroom one *kori* in cash, a quarter of a pound of *ghi* and molasses, and a *bájri* cake. They live by begging, and are held in awe by Bharváds and others, invoking destitution on any house whose inmates fail to supply them with food.

Monday night (April 29th) passed quietly. The news of H. H. the Jám's death prevented merriment, even singing. By Tuesday morning (April 30th) many more visitors had arrived. The camp was kept lively by bands of men and women from the families of the different brides, taking presents of six cakes of wheat flour and one of *bájri,* one pound of molasse sand one pound of heated *ghi* as *khalva* or breakfast to the bridegroom. At the bridegroom's the women and men of the bride's party greet the members of the bridegroom's family, falling on each other's necks. They hand over the cakes and the *ghi,* and each party sprinkles the other with pink powder and yellow powder made from the *palas* tree. Redpowder is also mixed with *ghi* and rubbed on the chest and back of the men's jackets. The women of both parties sing coarse songs, abusing each other and charging each other's families with poverty and bad conduct. This abuse, which is called *phatána,*

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1 The special connection between Pavaiyás and Becharáji Máta may be that the Pavaiyás, though dressed like women, have no breasts. Becharáji was also breastless, since she cut off her breasts to bring blood-guiltiness on those who would not respect her safeguard.

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is considered lucky, partly because it is coarse and coarseness is lucky, partly because it makes out the abused to be poor and untrustworthy, and therefore untempting lodgings for house-seeking spirits. Praise is risky : abuse and blame are safe.[1]

In the afternoon when the midday rest is over, the Bharvád men begin to move about in bands. As music is still forbidden, there can be no dancing, and in their idleness they gather into a band and raid a hay-stack. Some of them further wish to seize the Leader's store of firewood, but are dissuaded, admitting that the loss of the Leader's firewood would spoil the feast. They then amuse themselves with jumps, foot-races, and the Vágher's favourite game of prisoner's base.[2]

About half-past four the feast begins. There are many more diners even than on the previous evening. The whole village is invited, and many fresh parties of Bharváds have arrived. In spite of this increased strain there is the same inspired service, the same patience, the same orderliness. The fare is different from that on the two previous nights, rice *ghi* and molasses instead of pulse rice and *ghi*. The feasting goes on, relay of guests following relay, till about two in the morning.

While Tuesday's feast is in progress, and during the whole of Wednesday (May 1st) bands of men and women keep passing from one encampment to another. The women are singing but without the usual drumming. They carry and escort the *Mámeri*, that is the present from the mother's side to the bride and bridegroom, women's clothes headscarf bodice and skirt, with, in some cases, a few silver ornaments. These gifts are carried either by the maternal aunt *Mámi*, or by the maternal uncle *Mámo*, over whom a blanket canopy is stretched on two stick ends. The night of Tuesday passes quietly. In many of the camps bands of women keep singing, and there is some dancing and story-telling by Báhrots. The want of drumming prevents excitement or merrymaking.

The Leader and council retire from the Tuesday feast at midnight (30th April). Their reason for withdrawing is to be ready in the pavilion whenever the Pavaiyás may declare themselves prepared for

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[1] Compare (Herodotus, II. 60; Wilkinson's Egyptians, 2nd Series, I. 279, II. 230) the Egyptian women floating in boats down the Nile to the fair of the goddess at Bubastis in passing a town, drew near, sang, beat cymbals, cried out, lifted up their clothes, and loaded the townspeople with abuse. All of these actions were apparently done to scare evil influences from the town. Munro (Cartullus, 76) shows how the coarse Fescennine songs of early Italy averted the evil eye or the envy of the gods on great occasions of good fortune, such as marriages and triumphs. Quoted in Smith's Greek and Roman Antiquities, I. 839. Compare the strangely coarse abuse and jokes at many Athenian festivals, specially at women festivals, to Demeter (Smith's Greek and Roman Antiquities, II. 831). Also the songs with the coarsest ribaldry against the general sung by the soldiers at a Roman triumph. Ditto, II. 897.

[2] *Hurtu* or *Hargai vadi* is played with four or six aside. A line is drawn across the middle of an open space. Each side in turn sends out a scout. If the scout touches or throws an enemy within the enemy's line the player touched or thrown stands out of the fight till he is redeemed by the success of a scout of his own party. If the scout, instead of touching or throwing, is touched or thrown within the enemy's country, he is a prisoner till relieved by some success of his own side. The game is played with great craft, dash, good nature, and fair play, two seniors being seated at the ends of the line to say in whose favour is the touch or throw.

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the Pot Filling or *Kalas Bharna*. Soon after the council reach the pavilion, word comes from the Pavaiyás' lodge, 'No one is inspired. Be ready at two.' At three a message comes, 'We are not ready. As soon as we are ready, we will come.' About half-past four two Pavaiyás come to the pavilion and tell the Leader to make ready a stool, four drawn swords, and abundance of *ghi* and molasses. They ask what direction the procession from the pavilion to the Pavaiyás' lodge is to take and go back to explain to the Pavaiyás. Presently, the tallest and strongest of the Pavaiyás, who has bathed and into whom Mátáji has entered, comes escorted by the head of the lodge and eight or nine members. Some of the escort, under the influence of Máta, are shaking, tossing their long hair, waving their hands, and shouting Hu! Hu! The tall Pavaiya has a dazed strained look as if under the influence of some overmastering power. He is led to the north of the pavilion and seated on a low stool. The Leader's younger wife, who, it is hoped, will bear him a child, dressed in new clothes, all red, head-dress bodice and skirt, brings vermilion *kanku* and boiled rice. She dips her right second and third fingers into the vermilion, touches the stool on which the Pavaiya sits with the tip of her third finger and on the *kanku* drops grains of rice. Then, as if worshipping Máta, she draws her *kanku*-covered second and third finger across the Pavaiyá's brow and in the *kanku* sticks grains of rice. She next waves crossed hands in front of the Pavaiya's face, gathering to herself any hovering evils. The Pavaiya maintains unmoved his strained fixed gaze. The Leader and the young wife with a knotted *cherácheri* or kerchief joining their shoulders, stand close to the seated Pavaiya. Into a large earthen pot, brought by the Pavaiyás, the Leader stows three *mans* of solid *ghi*. A second smaller pot, holding about one *man*, is next filled. Then the head Pavaiya sets a thick pad or *indoni* on the seated Pavaiya's head over his headscarf or *odni* and, on the pad, first the large pot and then the small pot is carefully placed. In the mouth of the upper pot, resting on the solid *ghi*, the Leader sets a cocoanut. Then thick molasses are brought in a basket and handed to the head Pavaiya, who stuffs about one *man* weight into the lap of the seated Pavaiya's robe. A second *man* of molasses is stuffed into a cloth and tied round the Pavaiya's waist. The Leader and his wife bow to the Pavaiya and four men hold drawn swords over his head. The head Pavaiya shouts *Khamma* It is finished, a cry which but for the State-mourning would be received with a crash of drums. Will the goddess show her favour and enable the Pavaiya to rise in spite of his burden of six *mans*! The Pavaiyás grow fiercely excited, dashing their heads backwards and forwards, tossing their long hair, gasping Hu! Hu! and waving their hands round the seated figure. The seated Pavaiya tries to rise but fails. The Leader is called, he touches the heavy-laden Pavaiya and he begins to rise. The excitement is keen. The Bharváds joining the Pavaiyás shout in triumph. The laden Pavaiya who has been facing east, turns to the west and encircled by a ring of his brotherhood, shouting and tossing their heads, he passes slowly southward to the gateway of the headman's enclosure. Immediately behind the *ghi*-laden Pavaiya, follows the head of the

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lodge, waving his hands, tossing his hair, and shouting. Close by walks the Leader's young wife and a man of the family: the police and others follow. At the gateway the Leader, who is standing on the top of the low wall, pours from above a large potfull of liquid *ghi* over the cocoanut and the *ghi* pots, down the face and clothes of the laden Pavaiya streaming to the ground. When the stream is over, the Pavaiyás wipe the face of the inspired carrier who moves slowly on through the market-place among dense crowds, who shout with delight, since the superhuman strength of the *ghi*-bearer proves that the gathering enjoys the favour of Máta. The procession stops under a *pipal* tree at the market-cross. One of the Pavaiyás takes wheat flour, kneads it, and throws four handfulls backwards over his head to the east the south the west and the north. These handfulls are *balidána* or offerings to the evil spirits who haunt the crossings of roads. The procession moves on past verandas walls and roofs alive with sightseers, pressed by crowds of excited Bharváds who are hardly kept from jostling the *ghi*-bearer by the joint efforts of the police and of the ring of Pavaiyás who unweariedly shout, toss their heads and wave their hands. At last the door of the Pavaiya's lodge is reached. The possessed *ghi*-bearer stops. A Pavaiya brings from inside a pot of vermilion and some *bájri* flour. He makes a red mark on the *ghi*-bearer's brow and throws backwards in each of the four directions a handful or *mutthi* of kneaded flour. He waves his hands round the *ghi*-bearer's face and takes his evil influences. The pots of *ghi* are lifted down, the molasses are carried away, and the dazed *ghi*-bearer is guided to a seat. Round him the Pavaiyás still circle, tossing dancing gasping. Suddenly the head Pavaiya shouts *Khamma* It is finished. The dancing shouting Pavaiyás are at once still. The *ghi*-bearer bursts into tears and his strange fixed look passes away. The Pot-filling is over and the Leader and his wife and the other members of the family return to their homes.

About an hour later the Leader sits in the pavilion and the *kámdár* or State agent for the village presents him with a turban and shoulder-cloth from His Highness the Jám. Other friendly well-to-do villagers make presents of turbans. Each turban, as it is presented, is rolled over the last, so that the Leader wears the whole of his gifts at the same time.

After the present-giving is over the council consider the proper time for holding the wedding of the senior bride and bridegroom. To settle the time is often a matter of difficulty. In the present case the senior bridegroom has begged to be excused. He says he will gladly pay his share, but he has no wish to be senior bridegroom. A new bridegroom is found willing to accept the office, but he is old and blind, and the girl's mother objects. Search is made for a fresh couple but without success. Towards evening the wedding difficulty is got over by the original bridegroom agreeing to abide by his promise. The blood-red bridegroom's clothes have still to be made, so that the wedding cannot take place before the next morning at the earliest. To secure a senior bridegroom is often most difficult. On some occasions the gathering has to wait a fortnight or even three weeks. The senior bridegroom spends Wednesday night in the Leader's house

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where the work of preparing his clothes is pushed on with all speed. Some of the Bharváds who are gathered there and who come to see him, so mock the bridegroom, taunting him with the certainty of speedy death, that it is believed he may try to escape. Some say he was locked in a room and guarded. But, according to the members of the council, these attentions are paid him not from fear that he may try to escape, but out of respect to his position. On Thursday morning, May 2nd, the bridegroom's spirits are better. "Never mind," he says to his persecutors, "I may die soon, I may die late. I can take my sheep far off and Máta may forget me. Anyhow I shall be married for nothing. I have had to pay no share of the gathering expenses. I have 900 *koris*, and shall get many cocoanuts and other gifts."

About seven in the morning, the senior bridegroom, in his new red turban and woman's headscarf drawn over his shouldercloth and with his face reddened with pink powder and vermilion, with a blanket tied to two pole ends and stretched over him as a canopy and a second blanket waved in front of him as a fly-flapper, is escorted by a noisy laughing crowd of men and boys to Machu Máta's shrine near the crest of the western ridge. After breaking a cocoanut and distributing the kernel and praying to the Máta, the senior bridegroom is escorted to each camp or group of carts where is a bridegroom. As he draws near, each bridegroom comes out, bows to him, and presents him with a cocoanut, and if well-to-do with a *kori* or half a *kori*, while the women of the bride's party mark the senior bridegroom's brow with vermilion and rice, drop a betelnut into his hands, and waving their hands round his head, take his ill-luck. While the senior bridegroom is making the circuit of the encampment, at each of two openings, one in the west and one in the south of the sun-dried brick wall of the pavilion yard, two bamboos are set up, and from one pole to the other a garland of mango-leaves is tied. While these preparations are in progress, every now and again a bag of cocoanuts, the gifts of the other bridegrooms, is brought into the pavilion. These gifts bear out the view that the senior bridegroom is a victim, a sin or ill-luck bearer, and that the ill-luck in the other bridegrooms passes with their gifts of cocoanuts betelnuts and money into the senior gift-receiver.

At last about ten the bridegroom has gone the rounds of all the camps. As his procession draws near the west gate of the pavilion enclosure, a rush of men and boys with loud hubbub forces its way through the west gate. The bridegroom is stopped at the enclosure gate until the *sásu* or bride's mother comes out to welcome him. While the bridegroom waits Pavaiyás crowd in front of him, threatening to stop his entrance if he does not pay each of them a quarter of a *kori*. In the fierce sunlight, crowded and jostled by boys, men and Pavaiyás, Aja Bhawán the senior bridegroom remains motionless seated on his horse, his blanket canopy stretched over him, his blanket-fan waved in front of him, wearing his rich blood-red turban and his woman's headscarf drawn round his neck and falling in front. His round-backed narrow-chested figure leans forward, clasping a cocoanut in his joined hands. His wizened face peers out half-hid by the heavy turban. His cheek is flushed with pink powder, and from his brow

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oily vermilion oozes like drops of blood. Viewed askance by the women, bantered by a scoffing crew of men and boys, the royal bridegroom, the king of the fair, is a man of sorrows, on whose bowed back settle all the sins of all the bridegrooms, the victim over whom steals the shadow of death, the mean half-maniac risking life to secure the sudden spending of 900 *koris.*

Presently, clad all in red, bearing on her head a thick pad on which rest two clay water-pots, the mouth of the upper pot stopped by a cocoanut, the younger wife of the Leader, who plays the part of *sásu* or bride's mother, advances to meet the bridegroom. The bridegroom dismounts. The mother marks his brow with vermilion, and on the vermilion sticks grains of rice, and passing her hands in front of the bridegroom's face, takes his ill-luck, cracking her knuckles against her temples. The Bráhman priest recites verses, and the mother waves and throws to the four sides salt, mustard-seed, and ash-balls. She takes two *samputs,* that is earthen cups full of milk curds and betelnut tied mouth to mouth by cotton thread, waves them thrice round the bridegroom's head, and lays them before him to be crushed under his feet. She next passes in front of his face a small yoke, a long needle, and a churning stick, tied together, and waves round his head a brass bowl full of water. A sigh of relief, mixed with a shudder, passes over some of the people. "*Enu have thai ráhiyu,*" "Now he is done for," they say "he is a sacrifice to the pillar. He will die."

The bridegroom walks to the crowded pavilion and bows to the pillar. He is led to the west side and is seated on cushions, which take the place of the *máyara* or decorated wedding-room at high caste weddings. He faces east to where, in the house veranda, the women and girls of the family sing his praises, admiring his horse, and admiring his clothes. In this praise the Pavaiyás, who are seated at the north side of the pavilion, join. The bridegroom waits sitting on a cushion. The bride does not come. Her mother is struggling for better terms. If the bridegroom dies, what will happen to the bride. The council must give a written agreement that in the event of the bridegroom dying the caste will feed the girl and her mother.

After much discussion the council agree to pay the bride's mother a sum of about Rs. 33 (100 *koris*). This the mother accepts, and the babe bride is carried into the pavilion, followed by the wives of some of the council singing songs and by her mother. One of the council takes the babe in his arms and covers her head with a white-spotted red handkerchief. The bridegroom remains seated and the bride's guardian seats himself on the bridegroom's right. Among general laughter the Bráhman drops the marriage-garland round the necks of the bride and bridegroom. The guardian holds the babe's right hand, and the hand is joined with the right hand of the bridegroom. A handkerchief is tied to the end of the bride's headscarf. Then the bride and bridegroom go to the square in the centre of the pavilion where a Bráhman has lighted a sacred fire, and offer the *hom* or fire sacrifice. When the fire sacrifice is over, the bridegroom and the bride carried by the guardian, walk four times round the sacred fire. After each round they sit, the guardian holding the bride on the

husband's right. At the last round the bridegroom tries to be first seated, but the bride's guardian outwits him and gains the first seat for the girl. Whichever of the couple is first seated at the end of the fourth round has the mastery in after-life. 'How can a babe control a grown man' the people ask. The answer is ready: 'Because when she is a woman he will be a dotard, if indeed he does not, as he ought to, die before that.' During the four turns, two of the council hold a couple of empty clay cups bound rim to rim by cotton thread. So soon as the fourth round is finished, the cup-holders dash the cups to pieces on the ground.

Four women come out of the Leader's house, and touching the babe's brow take to themselves any hovering evils and bless the bridegroom. Four Pavaiyás follow, taking to themselves the bridegroom's ill-luck, since the Pavaiyás and the bridegroom are now of one family, children and vessels of Máta. A Bharvád asks a Bráhman 'How is it you call blessings on the bridegroom and say May the bride never be without her bridegroom when you know the bridegroom must soon die.' 'The blessing will not be in vain' replies the Bráhman; 'among your people so soon as this bridegroom dies the bride can get another husband.'

After the four rounds should follow the branding by the Leader of the bridegroom's brow with a red-hot coin in token that he is dedicated to Máta. The bridegroom refuses to be branded. 'If I am to die so soon what gain is there in the branding.' This part of the ceremony is accordingly foregone. After the four turns comes the eating of *kansár* or wheat flour mixed with sweetmeats and *ghi*. When the *kansár*-eating is over, comes the interchange of presents between the families of the bride and bridegroom known as *perámani*. Then two of the women, representing the mothers of the bride and bridegroom, smear their hands with redlead and oil, and mark the people of the opposite party on their breasts and backs. When the lucky hand-marking is over, they retire to the bridegroom's camp or lodging.

When the senior marriage is over, the other bridegrooms come one by one into the enclosure, lay their subscription of 51 *koris* on the threshold, and are met by the Leader's younger wife who waves the pestle, the yoke, the long needle, and the churning stick in front of their faces. In the pavilion each bridegroom bows to the Máta and passes on returning to the bride's camps where the clasping of hands, the square making, the walking round the sacred fire, the eating together, and the mastery trials are performed. For their dinner on the evening of their marriage each couple receives from the Leader 1½ *sers* of melted *ghi*.

Sickness and other difficulties prevent the whole of the remaining 774 marriages being completed for more than a fortnight. When all the weddings are over and the gathering has scattered, the Leader and the council and their wives together with the Bráhman and the *Gujar* carpenter will meet at the pavilion. At this meeting, near the pillar a *hom* or sacred fire is kindled. After offerings have been made to the *hom*, the Leader and the Bráhman touch the pillar and wound it slightly with a hatchet. Then the carpenter cuts over the pillar level with the ground, and with drumming and singing the pillar is set on a cart.

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The Leader gives a feast to the Bráhman, the carpenter, the council, and their wives. After the feast, with drumming and singing, the pillar-laden cart is driven about three miles east of Khedsara to the village of Káráváda, where it is left at the lodge of the Bharvád's religious guide, the representative of their patron Báva Valamdás. The leaving of the pillar at the Báva's lodge is called its *nirvána* or absorption. When the river Venu is in flood the Bávás carry the pillar to the river bank and push it into the stream, leaving it to be swept where the flood wills. Where the flood throws up the pillar, there it is left to decay. If the flood throws the pillar on the right bank, the next gathering will be at Khedsara; if the pillar is stranded on the left bank, some village in that quarter is chosen for the gathering. This treatment of the pillar is in agreement with the rule that images, whose functions are discharged and whose godhead has departed, should, like the soul-forsaken human corpse be separated from the living by water. The patels say that this pillar-launching has a special sanction in a tale which tells how the Pándavs floated their wedding pillar down a river. The shepherds found it stranded and copied its beautiful ornament on their own marriage post.

Every new-moon on the spot where the under-ground stump of the pillar is left, a honey or *ghi* fire is kindled, incense is offered, and redpowder and grains of rice are thrown on the fire. This monthly worship lasts for years. The spot where the A.D. 1871 pillar stood is still (A.D. 1895) worshipped, and the space which the pavilion covered still lies unused.

Decreased isolation and years of growing orderliness may have lessened the Bharvád's inclination to riot. But the chief cause of the quietness of their recent gathering and the absence of excitement was probably the enforced stoppage of music and merry-making on account of the State mourning. This unavoidable dullness defeated the attempt to ascertain the cause and the extent of the Bharvád's excitement and inspiration during their great marriage festival. At the same time several of the details furnish valuable traces of wild early practices. The marking of the tree with the Leader's blood points to a former human sacrifice to pacify the tree spirit who, in agreement with Hindu ideas, is considered not as the life of the tree but as a human lodger in the tree, an ancestral spirit, the maternal uncle or polyandrous father, at heart a fiend, at best a jealous and easily-angered guardian. Of still greater interest is the reverence shown to the wedding-pillar and the half unwilling admission that the pillar requires a victim; that in fact the pillar is the earlier post to which the wedding victim was tied. The share the Pavaiyás play as vessels or carriers of Máta, or as Máta homes, in taking to themselves, that is to Máta in them, the offerings of *ghi*, to a large extent appeases the Máta's craving for brides and bridegrooms. With the mother thus partially appeased the sacrifice of a human bride and bridegroom at the beginning of the gathering has ceased to be urgent. Sufficient practical safety is secured by centring ill-luck on one couple and by branding one bridegroom on the brow, devoting him to Máta, leaving it to the mother to choose her own time and place to claim her victim.

The fear of *Mámo*, the mother's brother, has been noticed as in

Section XI. HERDSMEN. Bharvа́ds. *Wedding.*

agreement with the polyandrous system of the Bharváds, a system which to some extent still secretly prevails. The fear of Máta and the worship of Máta to the exclusion of the worship of almost any other influence seem to find their explanation in the overruling importance of woman under a system of polyandry. In support of the view that exclusive Máta worship is an index of polyandry, it may be noted that a Bráhman takes offence if accosted as *Máma*, and refuses to set in his field a red stone as a dwelling for *Mámo*, because no *Mámo* can harm a Bráhman. Similarly, though to some extent all Bráhmans worship mothers, since under any system of marriage their impulsiveness and their devotedness make women worshipful, a Bráhman will refer to the exclusive Máta worship of the Bharváds and other un-Bráhmanic castes as part of a system alien to his own.

On the 25th of May the senior bridegroom sickened, and, after a few hours of delirium and high fever, died on the 26th. He refused to be branded, that is, to bear on his brow the mark that he was set apart for Máta. For this reason, the Bharváds say, the slighted mother hastened to claim her own. The 900 *koris* he had gathered as senior bridegroom lapsed to the council. The bulk of it was spent on his funeral. The Pavaiyás, like the victim, filled with the spirit of Máta, would have been the chief mourners, but they were absent profiting by the funeral services in honour of His Highness the Jám of Navánagar.

Among the Bharváds of central and south Gujarát marriages are performed with little or no ceremony. The usual practice is for the bridegroom to dress in a yellow coat and with sword in hand to go to the bride's house and seat himself near the bride. A Bráhman or a Darji, or in their absence one of the members of the bride's family, officiates at the marriage. In south Gujarát liquor is freely drunk at marriage feasts. Polygamy and widow-marriage are allowed, the younger brother of the deceased husband having the first claim. Except in some parts of north Gujarát divorce is easy. Few Bharváds perform the lap-filling ceremony on the occasion of a woman's first pregnancy. In some parts of the province the mother is not held impure after childbirth, and does all her household work from the day after the child is born; in other places the mother remains impure for fifteen days. Bharváds burn the dead. The chief mourner performs the *shráddha* ceremony on the eleventh day after death with the help of a Káyatia Bráhman. Castepeople are feasted on the eleventh and twelfth days. The Kachh Bharváds have a headman called *mir* who settles caste disputes at meetings of the adult tribesmen. Elopement is punished by excommunication and other breaches of caste rules by fine. They do not send their boys to school, and as a class are badly off.

Mers.

Mers or Mhers, returned in 1881 at 23,850,[1] are found chiefly in Káthiáwár. They call themselves Rajputs, claiming descent from one Randhirji, a Jethva, who held twenty-four villages in the Barda

[1] The census of A.D. 1891 shows only ninety-five Mers. They seem to have been included under Áhirs or Jethvás.

Section XI.
HERDSMEN.
Mers.

district. They are divided into five clans, Adidrás, Gohils, Modbvadiyás, Keshvalás, and Rájsukhás. They intermarry and allow widow marriage, but in other respects conform to Rajput customs. Among the men the skin is smooth and fine and of the colour of wheat, the cheek being occasionally pink. The eye is full and shapely, the pupil generally brown, sometimes gray, rarely black. The cheek is well turned, the face generally thin, the lips rounded but not thick, the chin pointed. Some men shave the head except the topknot, but most wear the hair long, shaving only the rim along the temples in Sindhi fashion. Boys wear a knot or lock over both ears. The whisker is worn full but not long, except by a few who have adopted the Rajput practice. The ends of the moustache are generally twisted into a ring or curl. Of the higher village-owning families, the faces of some of the men are specially refined and pleasing. The heavy roped turban falls to the ears and eyebrows. The shapely face has finely cut nose lips and chin. From below overhanging brows, between long curved eyelids, look out light brown pupils, languid and gentle in expression. The whiskers are full, a few long hairs, both from the whiskers and the moustache, being drawn back till they pass round the top of the ear. A young Mer of middle class family has glowing brown eyes, small neat features, shaven cheeks, shapely chin, and a short curled moustache. Mer women are taller and more graceful than Bharvád women. Their skin is smoother and fairer; their face more shapely; their features more regular; their hair finer and glossier; their clothes are of better material, cleaner, and more carefully put on. The men wear a rolled headdress of white or of black and white, falling as low as the ears and eyebrows. Except that they never wear a blanket, their every-day dress is like the Bharváds; a short puckered jacket with maroon band across the skirt, and trousers loose above the knee and tight below, all of hand-woven cotton cloth. Among Mer women, the elders wear a dark hanging head-blanket with a white strip at each end called *dhábari*, and the younger women a dark cotton head-scarf, a long backless tight-fitting bodice either of silk or of cotton but always red, and a skirt of red cotton except among unmarried girls whose skirt is white. Of ornaments, some men wear rich silver necklaces wristlets and finger rings, women wear the handsome ring and cylinder earring like the Bharváds except that they are of gold, a silver chain necklace, rich silver wristlets anklets and toe-rings like the Bharváds. They are abstemious in their habits, seldom eating meat and living on millet bread and curds. They do not pay rent for their lands but a hearth tax, and, if they cultivate, they pay a small sum as plough tax. Their disputes are settled by a meeting of elders.

Raba'ris.

Raba'ris, with a strength of 215,664 are found all over Gujarát. One story of their origin is that Shiv while performing religious penance or *tap* created a five-footed camel and a man to graze it. This man had four daughters who married Rajputs of the Chohán, Ghambir, Parmár, and Solanki tribes. These and their offspring were all camel graziers. Other Rajputs joined them and they formed a separate caste. Another story is that they were Rajputs, who, instead of marrying Rajput women, married celestial damsels or *apsarás* that is perhaps

Cháran women, *devputris* or daughters of gods as they style themselves. According to this account because they did not marry Rajput wives they were called Rahábaháris, that is goers out of the path. Their original home is said to be the North-West Provinces from which they moved to Márwár and from Márwár to Gujarát Káthiáwár and Kachh. This story is supported by the fact that the chief seat of Sikotra, the tribal goddess of some Rabáris, is at Jodhpur. Some of their surnames are the same as Rajput tribe names.[1] Except in Káthiáwár the Rabáris have no divisions. In Káthiáwár there are six divisions, the Sorathiás, the Vadhiárás of the Bhadar bank, the Aligiás living near Kodinár, the Vinviás of the Venu river, the Gujarátis of Hálár, and the Honas of Porbandar whose goddess lives at Sangaváda in Junágadh. These six divisions eat together but do not intermarry. Both men and women are strong tall and well made with high features large eyes and oval faces.[2] Still the women are not considered good-looking as the use among high class Hindus of Rabáran as a taunting description of a lank clumsy woman shows. The men wear the moustache and flowing whiskers divided by a narrow parting down the chin. Some Rabári men, like Mers and Sindhis, wear all the hair, only shaving the temple rim; others shave the head except the topknot. The beard is, as a rule, worn thick and short though a few shave the cheek and chin. They live by themselves in small hamlets of huts with mud walls and tiled roofs. The home speech of almost all is Gujaráti, with in Kachh Márvádi inflections, and a few speak Brij, the language spoken in some parts of North India. Most of them take flesh and spirits and in Káthiáwár do not scruple to eat with Musalmáns. In Kachh they live for days almost solely on camel's milk. In south Gujarát except that the men's waistcloth is sometimes worn tucked through the legs and not wound round the hips and except that they have sometimes a black blanket over their shoulders or slung on a stick, the men's dress does not differ from that of poor Rajput cultivators. In central Gujarát the men wear a loose headcloth a jacket and a waistcloth. They never go out without a big staff. In south Gujarát a woman's dress consists of a petticoat, a longsleeved bodice reaching to the waist, and a piece of cloth or a black woollen blanket thrown over the head. In central Gujarát the bodice is short and shortsleeved, and no blanket is worn on the head. In Káthiáwár, except that they have black in the headdress, the clothes of Rabári men do not differ from those of the Bharváds. The women's *dhábari* or headdress hangs loose from the head, and is generally dark or maroon, with lighter spots and

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[1] Their surnames are Aga, Ajána, Al, Amla, Badh, Barád, Bhadka, Bhangla, Bhárin, Bhátcha, Bhuka, Bhubhalia, Bhungalia, Bhungar, Chadka, Charonata, Chávda, Chelána, Chohán, Daichal, Dámál, Dev, Dia, Dharbhutia, Dodia, Gángoda, Gohel, Gotana, Jhor, Jádav, Jihor, Kachila, Kond, Kalar, Kalotra, Kambhlia, Karchod, Karmata, Kataria, Khár, Kharod, Kodiatar, Langhar, Lavituka, Lodha, Luni, Makvána, Mangra, Mari, Markata, Moida, Muku, Nagal, Padhár, Pahuvála, Pankuta, Parmár, Parmáta, Patvádi, Puchhalia, Ráthod, Rojia, Samod, Sávdhar, Selana, Sheval, Un, Vangal, Varana, Varmâi, Varchar, Vasa, Vatma, and Vava.

[2] Perhaps from their high features they are, according to one account of Persian origin and in support of this their family name of Aga is quoted.

Section XI.
HERDSMEN.
Rabáris.

blotches caused by knotting. The bodice or *kápdo* is like the Bharvád bodice, either of silk or cotton. The skirt is tied in front a little to one side. It is generally of cotton, red or white in colour. Round the left ankle Rabári women wear a red and black worsted thread. The women's ornaments are silver or zinc anklets, ivory or wooden bracelets, a silver armlet worn near the elbow of the left arm, a silver necklace, silver or zinc earrings, and a pearl nosering. Both men and women are fond of tattooing their bodies, the men their arms and the women their cheeks, chin, lower lip, breast, and arms. In central Gujarát the Rabáris are a quarrelsome troublesome people, breaking fences, grazing on crops, and causing husbandmen serious loss and annoyance. The men are dull and stupid, but the women are shrewd and intelligent. In south Gujarát the women sell wool and clarified butter and manage all money matters and are much more trusted by the wool and butter merchants than their husbands. Rabáris rear cows buffaloes goats and sheep, and camels in Káthiáwár and Kachh. With their droves of cows and buffaloes they move about the country in search of pasture. In Káthiáwár they are particularly fond of camels which they tend in the large salt marshes which fringe a great part of the peninsula.[1] They make their living chiefly from the sale of clarified butter and the wool of sheep. A few among them work as husbandmen and messengers. In central Gujarát like the Bharváds they make money by penning their flocks in empty fields. In south-west Káthiáwár a class of Rabáris has attached itself from time immemorial to the Jethvás, and, like the Mers, can be called on for military service when required. In return they have to pay fewer taxes than other people and a gift of Rs. 100 is given to the heirs of any one who is killed in the chief's service.

The Rabáris are a religious class. They are generally worshippers of Mothers or *Mátás*, though a few among them belong to the Bijmárgi Rámánandi and Shaiv sects. In Kachh many of them serve as priests in Máta temples. The commonest forms under which Máta is worshipped are a peacock's feather and a conch shell. They worship the cobra on the *kálichaudas* or dark fourteenth in October-November and offer the cobra milk and cocoa-kernel. They keep the ordinary Hindu holidays, but among the Bījmárgis their great day is the second of every Hindu month especially the second of *Mágh* in January-February. On the second of every Hindu month they drink the whole day's supply of milk or give it to Bráhmans or other religious beggars. Few believe in sorcery or witchcraft but they trust to the ordinary Hindu omens. Only a few visit places of Hindu pilgrimage. Their priests are Audich and Sompara Bráhmans.

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1 Colonel Tod notices the cattlestealing habits of the desert Rabáris. He says the word Rabári is (A.D. 1820) used throughout Hindustán to denote persons employed in rearing and tending camels who are always Moslems. In Rajputána they are a distinct tribe employed entirely in rearing camels or in stealing them, in which they evince a peculiar dexterity competing with the Bháts in the practice. When they come upon a herd of camels the boldest and most experienced strikes his lance into the first he reaches, then dips a cloth in the blood which at the end of his lance he thrusts close to the nose of the next, and, wheeling about, sets off at speed followed by the whole herd lured by the scent of blood and the example of their leader. Annals of Rájasthán, II. 293.

No ceremonies are performed on the day of a birth. On the sixth day after a birth most of them worship the goddess Chhathi. After childbirth the mother remains impure for twelve to twenty-five days. Children are named on the fifteenth day after birth. Very few perform any ceremony on the first giving of cooked food to a child. Girls are married from fifteen months to twenty years old. Among Rabáris all marriages take place on the same day. The Rabáris of one village or of two or three villages who wish to have their daughters married meet in a temple. A Bráhman is called and he fixes the marriage day. Four days before the day fixed a booth is set up in front of each girl's house. On the evening of the marriage day the bridegrooms go to the brides' houses and seat themselves in the booth beside the bride. A Bráhman recites verses, the hands of the bride and bridegroom are joined, and they walk seven times round a fire which is lighted in the centre of the booth. The father of the bridegroom pays the bride's father Rs. 25 to Rs. 150, and also feasts the bridegroom's relations. Marriage among near relations is avoided. They practise polygamy Their widows generally remarry, except in Surat where the caste levy a prohibitory tax on widow marriage. In most cases the widow marries the younger brother of her deceased husband, and in Káthiáwár the younger brother of her deceased husband or other distant younger male relation of the family has the first choice. The rule about divorce varies in different parts of the province. In some places both husband and wife are free to break the marriage bond: in other places the wife cannot divorce the husband; and in others the husband cannot divorce his wife without the sanction of the head of the caste. Except among a few no lap-filling ceremony is performed during a woman's first pregnancy. The Rabáris burn their dead. The dead body is tied to a bamboo bier and is taken out of the house feet foremost. The corpse-bearers do not halt on the way, do not offer rice-balls, and do not change the position of the body. After reaching the burning ground the mourners raise a pile of wood and carry the corpse four times round the pile and lay the body upon it. The chief mourner with fire in his hand walks four times round the pile and sets it ablaze. After the body is burnt the mourners bathe and return to the house of the deceased. On the third day the chief mourner goes to the burning ground and there sets an earthen pot filled with water. On the eleventh day with the help of a Káyatia Bráhman they perform the *shráddha* ceremony. Castepeople are feasted on the eleventh and twelfth days. The Rabáris have a headman but he has little authority and most disputes are settled at meetings of the men of the caste. In south Gujarát those who take to callings other than cattle-breeding husbandry and domestic service are put out of caste. Rabáris do not send their boys to school. On the whole they are a falling class partly owing to the great spread of tillage at the expense of pasture.

SECTION XII.—EARLY TRIBES.

Section XII. Early Tribes. Strength.

UNDER the term early are included all tribes of whose coming to Gujarát no traditions remain, and who at one time holding the plain country were by the Kolis, cultivating Bráhmans, Kanbis, Rajputs, and other waves of northern settlers ousted from their towns and strongholds, and, except a few who were kept near villages as servants or bondsmen, were driven by their conquerors mainly into the country of hill and forest that borders Gujarát on the east. In A.D. 1891 the aboriginal tribes of the five districts of Gujarát had a total strength of 1,094,798 or 11·07 per cent of the whole Hindu population. With many minor clans and family divisions this section of the people includes five chief tribes: Bhils with about 511,982; Dublás with 120,265; Dhondiás with 102,479; Chodhras with 69,628; Náiks with 66,672; and Gámits with 52,019. The following distribution statement shows that these tribes are found along the whole length of the eastern frontier. In Ahmedábád there are but few. But in the Mahi Kántha and where the Panch Maháls stretch into the uplands of Málwa, Bhils and Náikḍás muster strong; and among the spurs of the Rájpipla hills, and in the south where the coast and the range of the Sahyádris draw closer together, Bhils, Chodhrás, Dhundiás, Dublás, Naikḍás, and Várlis, form, except near the sea, the bulk of the population.

HINDU EARLY TRIBES, 1891.

Name.	Ahmedábád.	Kaira.	Panch Maháls.	Broach.	Surat.	Native States.	Baroda.	Total.
Bhils ...	3489	129	97,017	53,695	4870	293,241	59,541	511,983
Ghodhrás ...	...	...	...	11	38,914	1207	29,496	69,628
Dhánkás ...	8	...	1,017	14	...	38,902	2799	...
Dhundiás ...	2356	386	282	485	52,849	30,210	15,961	102,479
Dublás ...	1	...	...	7	84,211	3861	32,185	120,265
Gámits ... / Gámtás ...	...	...	...	16	9387	1001	41,615	52,019
Káthodiás ...	...	...	...	...	143	71	284	498
Kolghás ...	...	...	...	...	95	67	...	162
Konknás ...	75	5	133	59	...	42,050	5613	49,855
Mangs ... / Mangelás ...	39	...	...	...	191	338	115	683
Náiks [1] ...	67	12	11,897	19	20,329	32,186	2162	66,672
Náikdás ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6454	6454
Várlis ...	...	...	...	...	127	41,897	4124	46,148
Vitholiás ...	...	...	...	...	...	13	...	13
otal ...	6035	532	110,296	54,306	213,036	485,044	225,549	1,094,798

Origin.

Of the origin of these tribes, though nothing certain is known, their names, their language, and their customs show that they have reached Gujarát, some from the north, others from the east, and a third section from the south. With most of them two influences have for ages been at work blotting out what was individual in their character

[1] In the Panch Maháls census Náiks and Náikḍás are both entered under the head Náiks.

and manners. The ever-growing pressure of stronger tribes driving them back to wilder and more unhealthy lands, kept lowering them to one level of poverty and ignorance, and the intermixture of higher class Hindus, especially of Rajputs, kept introducing better blood and bringing into use among them the rites and observances of their conquerors.

Language.

The dialects spoken by these tribes differ considerably from each other and from ordinary Gujaráti. In the north they are mixed with Hindi and in the south with Maráthi. In addition they use words strange to these languages and apparently akin to Telugu and other tongues of southern India.

Appearance.

Though showing considerable varieties of feature colour and size the aboriginals are, on the whole, smaller and darker than the rest of the Hindu population. Their dwellings are generally small one-roomed huts, the walls of reed and plaster, the roof conical or hive-shaped covered with grass. Their store of goods is of the scantiest. Of farm stock a few have ploughing cattle and a cow or she-buffalo, but most have only some goats and hens. Their field tools are a hoe a pick and an axe, and in the case of those who have cattle a plough; their furniture includes a mat or rough bedstead, a stone handmill, a pestle and mortar, and a small store of jars and cups, most of them of earth. Except in southern Gujarát, where the men of a few families wear short cotton trousers cotton jackets and a cap or turban, their dress is of the cheapest and scantiest. The men wear two coarse pieces of dirty white cloth wound the one round the head the other round the middle. The women wear the shortest robes tucked almost to the top of the leg and worn with or without a bodice. Of ornaments the men wear in their ears and on their fingers a few rings of tin or silver. The women besides the strings of shells and beads with which many of them are laden, wear broad plain bands of brass bone or wood, two or three at a time and sometimes rising in tiers on the legs from the ankle to near the knee, and, on the arm, from the wrist to the elbow.

Food.

The bulk of the aboriginal classes eat the coarsest grain boiled in water. Want of thrift and love of drink compel most of them, during several months in each year, to live on borrowed grain, on wild fruits berries and roots, on game, and on liquor. Though all eat animal food, most of them refuse the flesh of the cow or of any animal found dead. Only a few eat the ass the monkey or the rat. All have a passionate craving for strong drink, and for their draught of *tadi* palm beer or their glass of *mahuda* Bassia latifolia spirit will recklessly barter their whole stock of grain.

Occupation.

Except a few police messengers and village watchmen, the aboriginal tribes are peasants woodcutters basket-makers and labourers. In Broach some among the Dublás or Taláviás have shown themselves hardworking and successful farmers, and in parts of Surat the Chodhrás, and under the management of the Bháthela Bráhmans the Dublás and Dhundiás grow rich crops of rice and garden produce. But for the most part their tillage is slovenly; their fields

Section XII. Early Tribes.

yielding only a scanty harvest of the coarsest grains. Along the eastern frontier, especially in the southern forests, they are still unsettled, moving from place to place, burning brushwood and tree-loppings and sowing seed in the ashes.

Social Position.

Among Hindus their position is somewhat above the lowest. In spite of their wildness and poverty except those who feed on carrion they are not held to be unclean and the general belief in their powers of witchcraft and sorcery carries with it a certain consideration in the treatment of them by the upper classes. Almost all are truthful drunken and thriftless. But, as regards freedom from crime, they vary from the quarrelsome cattle-robbers of the north to the orderly farm-servants of the south.

Religion.

The aboriginal tribes worship many guardians or *devs*. Among these are some of the gods and goddesses who are reverenced by all followers of Bráhmanism. Thus the Dublás worship Mahádev and Hanumán; the Chodhrás and Mángelás honour Rám and Devi in her form of Durga, the destroyer; and Kákábalia the goddess of small-pox is feared and courted by all. Besides these Bráhmanic divinities, the aboriginal tribes worship two classes of beings, local or tribal deities and the spirits of their ancestors. Of the local or tribal divinities, Khatri Dev, a pillar of wood, is worshipped by most of the aboriginal tribes except by the Bhils and Gamtás; Simadia Dev, a red-coloured stone placed under a *samri* Prosopis spicigera tree and worshipped at marriage; Khetarpál, the god of boundaries, a stone carved with the figure of a horse; Baba Dev, a clay image of a horse and rider, worshipped chiefly by Bhils; Mavli and Bharam Dev, red stones set on hill-tops, worshipped chiefly by Konknás; Vaital Dev, a round stone about four feet high, also a hill god; Magaria and Vágh Dev, or the alligator and tiger deities, chiefly worshipped by Gámtás. Besides these divinities two, Shamla Dev and Haria Dev, hold among the Dhundiás a special position inspiring men and women with supernatural power. Well-to-do Konknás keep silver images of Khandoba, Bheroba, Ithoba, and Bhaváni. Among all the tribes the worship of their ancestors is the chief article of faith. As they are not allowed to enter the temples of the deities whom they worship in common with other Hindus, and as they have no built places of worship of their own, the aboriginal tribes generally set apart some spot near their village as a god-yard or *devstha'n*. Here are raised wooden pillars and seats, dome-shaped pots of clay and stones painted red, and here with offerings of small clay horses and cows, and with sacrifices of goats and fowls they court and humour the spirits of their forefathers. With all of them the fear of their guardians is most marked and strong. They never lightly use their names, and, if they swear by them, are most careful not to break the oath.

They believe that, while all men of their class possess power over spirits, special skill in this matter belongs to two sets of persons, unfriendly Dákins who stir spirits to work mischief, and kindly Bhagats who cast out evil spirits. The ill-natured Dákins, who are supposed to have spirits at their beck and to send them to trouble

Section XII. EARLY TRIBES. *Religion.*

those against whom they bear ill-will, are generally old and ugly women. The well-disposed Bhagats, who cast out evil spirits and heal the sick are, in some cases, the headmen of villages. But most of them are religious recluses who live on alms and spend their days in their huts, chanting *Rám Rám* as they tell their beads. They worship some one of the many local forms of the Mother or Devi, and in their huts have most of them an altar or *dheru* and on it an image of the goddess.[1] To make or keep a name as a *bhagat* or mediator between men and Devi, a man must now and again be possessed by the Mother. Then he will mutter and shake, foam at the mouth, eat raw flesh or drink blood, and while under the air of the Mother is a seer knowing both the past and the future. One who has a name as a medium is treated with great respect. He is asked to consecrate household gods, to perform ceremonies and offer sacrifices, to nod that the fields may yield good crops, that the sick may be healed, and that the schemes of ill-wishers may be thwarted. When a man falls in a fit or shows other signs of being possessed by a spirit, one of these Bhagats or exorcists is called. The wise man, placing some black gram[2] or grains of rice on a leaf, passes the leaf round the sick man's head. He then examines the grains of rice or if he has used beans, throws them into a jar of water, and, from their look, tells whether the patient is troubled by an evil spirit or by the spirit of one of his ancestors. If the cause of evil is one of his forefathers the sickness matters little, as by simply sacrificing or making an offering at his tomb, a cure will be obtained. Ancestral or family ghosts generally appear as men, but sometimes in the form of a bear or other wild beast. When their worship is neglected, they are believed to attack people by throwing stones and sticks at them, or by pinching them at night. If the patient is troubled by an evil spirit, the holy man repeats some incantations, strikes the patient gently with the bough of a tree, and continues this treatment sometimes for days, till either the patient has recovered or is dead. The exorcist knows by whose power the spirit has been sent. In former times he used to name her to the sick man's friends, who would rush out, seize the witch and torture her. This torture ended in many cases in the witch's death, and so many Bhils have suffered for their share in these murders, that, as a rule, the holy man now keeps to himself his knowledge of the witch's name.

Customs.

Among most of these classes the only occasions of ceremony are marriage and death. The detailed accounts given below show that, though except the Chodhrás they do not call in Bráhmans, the observances of most tribes are in many points like those of high class Bráhmanic Hindus.

Community.

Three sources of authority are held in respect: the chief of the tribe, the village headman, and the council of five. Among the

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[1] Many have altars or *dherus* in their houses sacred to Devi or Máta under one of her many forms. Persons at enmity frequently threaten to send their *dheru* to their enemies' house. Rás Mála, 402. [2] *Urid* Phaseolus mungo.

Section XII.
EARLY TRIBES.

Bhils of the Mahi Kántha and the Náikḍás of the Panch Mahâls the chief has still much power. At his summons all the men of the tribe would turn out if need be ready to fight for him. Among the more peaceful tribes the head of the village is treated with respect and in many disputes acts as referee. In breaches of caste rules the council of five hears the complaint and fixes the punishment.

Prospects.

Though the condition of most of them is still poor and wretched, during the last fifty years the aboriginals of Gujarát have made two steps in advance. They have ceased to fight with the ruling power or among themselves, and instead of wandering from place to place they have almost all settled to till fixed fields. They have made little progress in sobriety or in thrift, but efforts to spread education among them have of late years met with a response which gives good ground for hope for the future. The present (1898) number at school is 6910.

Bhils.

Bhils, numbering 511,982, are found in great number in the Máhi and Rewa Kántha territories and in the small states that lie along the eastern boundary of Surat. This tribe, supposed to be the same

History.

as Ptolemy's (A.D. 167) Phy or Phyllitæ, is believed to derive its name from *billu,* the Dravidian word for a bow.[1] According to local legends the Bhils of Gujarát are descended from Goho, son of Ajánbáhu, son of Kaioy, king of A'bu.[2] In Gujarát, as in Rajputána and Khándesh, records both legendary and historic show that almost the whole country was once in the hands of the Bhils. When the Pándavs took refuge with Vairát, rája of Matsyanagar or Vairátpur supposed to be Dholka, they found a queen of the Kaiyo or Bhil race.[3] At an early period Chámpáner was the seat of a Bhil dynasty.[4] Until the close of the eleventh century Ashával, the site of the city of Ahmedábád, was in the hands of a Bhil chief.[5] And it was not until (A.D. 1000 - 1400) the Musalmáns pressed the Rajputs south that the Rajputs drove the Bhils from I'dar, from Rájpipla, and from Mándvi Bánsda and Dharampur in southern Gujarát. In the history of the Rajput dynasties of Anahilaváḍa, the Bhils are commonly referred to as guards and plunderers, black as soot or *kájal.* Rája Karn (A.D. 1072- 1094) seems to have been the first to reduce to order the wild and unsettled parts of his kingdom, and under Sidh Rája (A.D. 1094 - 1143) Bhils appear at one time as allies,[6] 'in activity like the followers of Hanumán;' at another time as enemies, 'a force against whom no man could fight.' When the central rule was weak in the fourteenth century before Musalmán sway was

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[1] Rev. Dr. J. Wilson's Aboriginal Tribes, 3. In Dr. Wilson's opinion the Gujarát and Málwa Bhil represents a later wave of settlers than the tribes of Southern India.

[2] Rás Mála, I. 103. [3] Rás Mála, I. 103.

[4] According to one account (Asiatic Researches, IX. 167) Chámpa (A.D. 746), the founder of Chámpáner, was a Bhil, but the correct story would seem to make him a Vánia. Rás Mála, I. 243.

[5] Rás Mála, I. 104. It is worthy of note that apparently, while still (A.D. 1030) under its Bhil chief, Ashával was of sufficient importance to be mentioned by Albiruni. In the next century the town is described by Edrisi (A.D. 1153) as well peopled, commercial, rich, industrious, and producing useful things. Jaubert's Edrisi, 174.

[6] Rás Mála, I. 104, 113, 177.

established, in the sixteenth century under the last feeble princes of the Ahmedábád line, and in the eighteenth century in the decay of Moghal authority, the power of the Bhils burst forth like a half-quenched flame. Their harsh and crafty treatment by the Maráthás made them depressed and unruly when they passed under the British Government. But the strong and kindly policy then introduced was soon followed by general order, and this with few exceptions has since remained unbroken.

Section XII.
EARLY TRIBES.
Bhils.

Gujarát Bhils belong to two main divisions, one part-Rajput the other of pure Bhil descent. The names of many of the part-Rajput clans are the same as certain Rajput clan names Bária, Dángi, Ganáva, Katára, Makvána, Parmár, and Ráthod. Like Rajputs they mostly worship *Kalika Máta* and have their bards whom like Rajputs they honour and maintain. The part-Rajput Bhils are found in Parántij Modása and other districts of northern Gujarát. The pure Bhils, except a few in I'dar Rewa Kántha and the Panch Mahál who are part-Rajput, are found in eastern and southern Gujarát, but chiefly in Rewa Kántha and the Panch Maháls.[1] Again the Rewa Kántha and Panch Maháls Bhils belong to two classes, hill and plain Bhils who, except that they are more settled and better off, do not differ from hill Bhils in traditions and customs. Each class is again divided into numerous sub-clans or families. But as these all intermarry and differ in no way from each other, a list of their names seems of little value.[2]

As a rule the Gujarát Bhil is small light-limbed and active; some have handsome though irregular features. Among men, except the top-knot, the hair of the head is sometimes cut short, but as a rule it is worn long. All wear the moustache, some the whiskers, and a

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[1] Of the Modása Bhils Captain Melvill wrote in A.D. 1827: All the chiefs and principal men and many of the inferior order are degraded Rajputs still bearing the name of their Rajput tribe. The chiefs' title was the Rajput Thákor not the Bhil Tari or Náik. It is known that before the Musalmán conquest Rajputs formed the bulk of the population, and it is supposed that these Bhils were at first chiefly Rajput robbers and outlaws. (Bom. Gov. Sel. X. 10.) More than one case of Rajput chiefs marrying Bhils is mentioned by Forbes in the Rás Mála (I. 359 and II. 105), and Sir J. Malcolm (Trans. R. A. Soc. I. 81) states that the Ujvála or fair Bhils of Central India claim a Rajput descent and bear Rajput surnames. In Modása in 1827 the wild or *Vághar* Bhils were a distinct and much savager and more troublesome race. (Bom. Gov. Sel. X. 49.)

[2] Of the Bhil subdivisions Sir J. Malcolm wrote in A.D. 1824: In every province I found the names of tribes, or rather of families increase in the ratio the inquiry was pursued. The slightest circumstance, the name of an ancestor, a dispute in the tribe, a favourite spot of residence, gives rise to a name, and forms a tie of brotherhood. (Trans. R. As. Soc. I. 81.) Among Gujarát Bhils, Mr. Forbes (Rás Mála, I. 103) mentions ten tribes; Mr. Prescott gives twenty-seven subdivisions for the Panch Maháls; Mr. Nandshankar forty-two for the Rewa Kántha; Major LeGeyt one for the Mahi Kántha, and Mr. Fakirbhái twelve for southern Gujarát. Of the Panch Maháls tribes the large clan of Dhámor Bhils are said to have come during a famine from Dholka in Ahmedábád under a chief named Kilráj, the traditional father of the god Kachumber. They first settled at Dhár and thence came to the village of Chálakia in Jhálod. The Bhabhor Bhils who are a not less influential and numerous a clan than the Dhámors, are said to have come from Kadchi Barda in the Sátpuda hills in company with the Rána of Sunth-Rámpur in the Rewa Kántha. According to their account they were originally Rajputs, but during a great famine they ate cow flesh and lost caste. The Ninama Bhils are said to have come from Salumbar in south Udepur.

Section XII. Early Tribes. Bhils.

few the beard. Bhil women wear the hair in three ways: it is either drawn back and tied behind the ears, or it is gathered behind in a roll or knot, or it is plaited in three tresses. When the hair is plaited the side tresses are allowed to droop over the eyebrows and are then drawn behind the ear while the back tress hangs straight like a queue or pigtail with a hollow brass ball *jhábu* at the end.[1]

Houses.

The Bhils have no village site or collection of houses. Each man lives in his field. Coming towards a Bhil house there first meets the eye an eight or ten feet high fence of untrimmed bamboos woven in and out of uprights fixed in the gronnd at short intervals. This, except for a bamboo gate about six feet broad, goes round the hut enclosing a small yard. Opposite the entrance is generally a small covered stage for grass and earthen pots high enough to be used as a cattle-shed. Inside of the shed is the house, a hut sometimes with mud walls, but oftener of wattled bamboo or sticks smeared with cowdung and mud.[2] The roof is peaked and has deep overhanging eaves, it is either covered with large flat tiles or thatched with grass or with teak or palm leaves.[3]

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[1] This is Mr. Prescott's account of the Panch Mahál Bhils. Seventy years ago Bishop Heber found them with beard and hair not at all woolly, but thick and dishevelled, and their whole appearance dirty and ill-fed. Heber's Narrative, II. 83. Major LeGeyt (A.D. 1876) describes the Bhils of Mahi Kántha as dark, with lank hair, with scanty or no beards, irregular features, and, as a rule, ill-made.

[2] Of the making of a Bhil hut, Major G. Fulljames has (A.D. 1852) left the following details: The sides of their huts are generally made of the female or hollow bamboo, which is cut the length required with a hatchet; each joint of the bamboo is cut through longitudinally by numerous distinct cuts all round, one cut alone of which is carried from one end of the bamboo to the other, which enables them to be split and laid open on the ground as one broad flat riband, the numerous cuts at the joints permitting the bamboo to become flat. These bands or ribands are then interwoven, and form a very strong and neat fence; they are sometimes lined or smeared inside with mud and cowdung; but afford a poor protection from the heavy rains as well as from the malaria that must arise each night after the fall of the rains. The roofs of these huts are supported on forked uprights, generally of *khair* Acacia catechu, a very hard wood not liable to be destroyed by the white-ant. Three longitudinal pieces resting on the forked uprights support the rafters, which are sometimes made of the straight branches of the teak, or any other tree which may be at hand. They have an ingenious way of securing the rafters on the ridge-pole by boring holes through the upper end of the rafters and inserting small male bamboos through, generally, four rafters at a time; two of which go on one side of the roof and two on the other. Should bamboos be used for rafters, they select those which are long enough to form both sides; when, by cutting a piece from the centre of the bamboo on the under side, this rests on the ridge-pole, and the weight of the roof keeps the rafter in its proper place, assisted either by the long shoots of creeper plants or strips of the bark of many of the jungle trees tied to the cross-pieces. These huts have usually one opening or entrance which is protected by a bundle of interwoven bamboos. (Gov. Sel. XXIII. 99.) Of the enclosure gate, Mr. Prescott says: The gate like the fence is made of bamboos. The bottom of the frame is usually a heavy log. At its inner end the log is pierced and slipped on to a stake in the ground that serves as a hinge. If very heavy a wheel is fastened below the outer end.

[3] Seventy years ago (March 1825) Bishop Heber, writing of the Bhils of the Panch Maháls and Rewa Kántha, noticed that the practice, which still (A.D. 1898) remains, of building on a rising ground seemed universal. He describes two kinds of Bhil dwellings. The huts of the hill Bhils crowded together as if for mutual protection of the rudest description, the walls of sticks wattled with long grass, the roof of grass thatched and covered with boughs. The lowland Bhils were better housed. A fence of tall bamboo poles stuck about an inch apart connected with cross pieces of the same and with several plants of the everlasting pea trailing over it enclosed the house and a small plot

Furniture.

Of household goods the stock is small. Outside may be seen, if the family is well to-do, a pair of bullocks, or a bullock and buffalo, a cow, some sheep and goats, and a number of fowls, a cart,[1] and field tools including a plough, a weeder or *kharpi*, and a hoe or *kodáli*. But most Bhils have no carts, and many have no cattle. In the hut, besides the sleeping mat, the hand grindstone, and a roll of blanket or torn coverlet, there is nothing but a few pots and cups, most of them of clay.[2] In the Panch Mahàls a Bhil has generally two pairs of bullocks and more cows than buffaloes. He never keeps sheep but he not uncommonly rears goats. Few Bhils have hoes or *kodális* as they generally use a small crowbar or a ploughshare in digging. Every house has a number of large earthen jars to store grain and at least one brass mug or *lota*; many have one or two brass plates or *thális*, and large circular bamboo baskets or *porsás* to hold grain. The baskets are generally kept outside of the hut.[3]

Dress.

For their everyday dress in the Rewa and Mahi Kánthas and in the Panch Mahàls, men wear round the head a coarse cloth *fenta* or *falia*, about five feet long, a second cloth *pachhedi* of much the same length, over the shoulders, and to cover the body when sleeping; and a third *potiu* round the waist. Instead of the *potiu*, the poor generally wear a piece of cloth or *langoti* tied to a string or *kandora* passing round the waist. On holidays they wear, all of coarse home-made cotton cloth, a turban *paghdi*,[4] a coat *angarka*, a long coat *jama*, a shouldercloth *pachhedi*, and a waistcloth *potiu*. In the south some of the Bhils are said to wear turbans, others caps, and others to go bareheaded. In the Mahi and Rewa

of ground. Within the fence was a small stage raised on four poles about seven feet from the ground. And behind the stage the hut, its walls, and door wattled like basket, its roof with very projecting eaves thatched with grass or neatly lined with the large leaves of the teak tree. Heber's Narrative, II. 82. 99, 102. The Mahi Kántha Bhils also live in an enclosure surrounded by a bamboo fence, in huts called *jhupdu* or *dhundi*, built on a few wooden pillars with rafters across, the walls of reed or bamboo, with a door in the centre, the roof thatched with reed or covered with *shepdo* that is flat earthen tiles. Major LeGeyt (A.D. 1876).

[1] Of Rewa Kántha Bhil carts Major Fulljames (A.D. 1852) wrote: Many are entirely of wood without a bit of iron, the wheels occasionally of solid wooden blocks. Bom. Gov. Sel. XXIII. 100.

[2] Major LeGeyt gives the following list of a Mahi Kántha Bhil's cooking and drinking vessels: An earthen currypot *toldu*, a flat earthen dish for baking cakes *kuladu*, a bamboo cup to sup from *asan*, an earthen waterpot *thamdu*, an earthen bowl *rámpátra*, a brass bowl *váti*, a widemouthed tin *kansa*, a drinking cup *tásli*, a bronze plate *tháli*, and an earthen jar for storing corn *mátlu*.

[3] Of their dress seventy years ago Bishop Heber wrote: Among the hill Bhils some went almost naked, others had a coarse cotton cloth wrapped round the head and shoulders, and a sort of plaited petticoat of the same material round their loins. The "dirty cotton cloth" of the lowland Bhils, near Chámpáner, was fuller, reaching generally to the hips, and one had a blanket of red baize flung over his shoulders. Heber's Narrative, II. 83 and 116. In A.D. 1852 Major G. Fulljames speaks of the Rewa Kántha Bhils as having no clothing whatever, only a narrow strip of cloth hung, so as to cover their nakedness, to a piece of string passed round their waist. In the coldest weather, he adds, they bring forth a cotton cloth generally in rags. Bom. Gov. Sel. XXIII. 99.

[4] Among the Mahi Kántha Bhils the turban and the holiday over-dress are known as *Partápgari*, showing that in past times this Rajput capital was the place of manufacture for these articles.

Section XII.
EARLY TRIBES.
Bhils.
Dress.

Kánthas and in the Panch Mahals the Bhil woman's everyday dress, all of coarse home-made cotton cloth, is over the head and shoulders a short robe *sallo,* an openbacked red blue or white bodice *kanchli,* and a checkered petticoat *gagro.* On holidays they wear a bodice of checkered silk cloth and an over-robe *bandhni.* Of the various kinds of women's robes the *sadi* or *sállo* is made of *khádi* or coarse cloth, printed with small patterns in black blue and red; the *chunddi* is made of *mádurpollam* cloth, the ground being red with patterns of different colours; the *bándhni* and *renia* are made of fine cloth, the ground being generally red with small circular spots of other colours chiefly black printed symmetrically on the red, and the *pomcha* generally made of *madarpat* or fine cloth and sometimes of *khádi* or coarse cloth, has a black border and a red ground with two or three large circular black patterns in the midst. Of these robes the *sadi* costs Re. 1 to Rs. 1½, the *chunddi* Rs. 2 to Rs. 2½, the *bandhni* Re. 1 to Rs. 1½, the *renia* Rs. 1¼ to Rs. 2, and the *pomcho* Re. ¾ to Re. 1. The *sadi bandhni* and *renia* and the cloth called *nándra* for women's petticoats are generally imported from Pratápgadh in Márvád. The petticoat or *ghaghra* cost Re. 1 to Rs. 1½ and the bodice or *kánchli* if made of white cloth 2 to 3 annas, and if of coloured cloth 2 to 5 annas. The women wear a white bodice until either they are mothers or middle aged; after this they wear a coloured bodice. Unlike high class Hindu women the robe is simply thrown over the head and body, and the petticoat instead of hanging to near the ankle, is tucked up so that the legs up to the thighs are bare. In the south of Gujarát they wear a loose cloth over the head, a bodice, and a petticoat.

Ornaments.

Of ornaments in the Mahi and Rewa Kánthas and the Panch Mahá!s, men wear silver earrings *veliu* and silver bracelets *bhoria.* Of the women's ornaments the chief head ornaments are the *bor, rákhdi,* and *jhábu.* The *bor* which takes its name from its likeness in shape and size to the berry of the *bordi* Zizyphus jujuba is a small silver or tin ornament worn in the middle over the forehead. The *rákhdi* or keeper is a brass ornament worn on the crown of the head fastened to a knot of hair. The *jhábu,* which resembles the silver ornament *gofni* worn by high class Hindu girls is a brass ornament fastened to the long back tress called *chotla.* These three head ornaments are seldom and the *jhábu* is never worn by elderly women. The ear ornaments include three silver brass or tin rings or *vedlás* for the upper ear and one silver brass or wood *lolia* for the lower lobe. To prevent the weight of the *vedla* drawing down the ear-lobe a silver or tin chain called *mendli* is fastened to the ear with a hook at the other end fixed into the hair. In the nose is sometimes worn a nose-ring generally of gold and silver and occasionally of brass or tin. Round the neck, in addition to strings of glass and stone beads and shells that often completely cover the breast, is worn a silver or tin ornament called *hánsdi* worth Rs. 12 and upwards. Besides these, a well-to-do Bhil woman sometimes wears a gold necklace or *tedia* worth Rs. 40 to Rs. 50 and upwards. For the wrists and arms the ornaments are almost all of brass or

Ornaments.

tin. Of fifteen to twenty wristlets worn on each wrist the first two or three are called *bhoriás* either of brass or tin, above the *bhoriás* are worn one or two *ghugris* either of brass or tin, above the *ghugris* seven or eight *lodhiás* always of brass, above the *lodhiás* four or five *kákans* of brass, and last of all near the elbow joint, one or two *chudis* either of brass or tin. Of the seven or eight armlets worn on each arm, beginning from that worn just above the elbow joint, the first is a tin *jhelo*, then a *golia* of glass or sealing-wax, then three or four *pátdis*, then one *pátda*, and last of all one *dál*, all of tin. The rings worn on the legs and feet are made of brass. Across the instep is worn the *pával* or *pinjui*, above the ankle five or six *kadis* or rings of flat chips, and above the *kadis* seven or eight *khokhrás* or round rings. To the topmost *khokhra* a well-to-do woman fastens jingling bells. Besides these, on the hand fingers the women also wear brass rings, four for each hand and on the feet brass toe rings.[1]

In the south they wear tin or silver earrings, on their arms five or six broad brass bracelets *chhalis*, and, if well-to-do, a silver elbow ring. On their legs, except the Vasáva Bhils who have them of tin, they wear broad brass anklets, some solid, others hollow with jingling balls inside. All in the Mahi Kántha, and the highland Bhils in the Panch Maháls and Rewa Kántha go armed with a long bamboo bow and arrows.

Food.

The everyday food of a well-to-do Bhil is rice cooked with salt and mixed in buttermilk, and of an ordinary Bhil, Indian corn and buttermilk boiled with chillies and sometimes split peas or beans and gram mixed with vegetables. He generally has two meals, one about ten in the morning the other after sunset. Generally in the morning maize bread is eaten and in the evening maize bran is boiled in water and eaten with buttermilk. Before the evening meal his custom is to take a draught of *tádi* or *mahuda* liquor. Except the ass horse camel rat snake and monkey, the Bhil objects to no form of flesh, eating animals he has found dead as well as those he has killed. By the help of his bow and arrow he manages most days to bring home a pigeon or a partridge, a wild cat, or a hare, and, when on some special day he has two or three guests he kills a goat. They rear fowls in large numbers chiefly for sale. They also offer them to ghosts and spirits, the men meeting and eating them at their spirit-yard *devasthán*. But as they believe that, if they eat or even cook a cock or hen they will become witches, the women will not let a fowl be cooked in the house or even in one of the household vessels. During the hot-weather months, when in their thriftlessness they have run through

[1] In the Rewa Kántha and Panch Mahál women tattoo their faces, and to make room for their ornaments pierce and slash their ears and noses till they are unpleasant to look at. Their bracelets cover the arm from the wrist to the elbow, and are sometimes worn between the elbow and the shoulder. On their legs women of good family wear just below the knees a ring with small bells or rattles attached, which jingle as they walk. Their anklets weigh altogether about ten pounds and are so clumsy that the women at work in the fields have to stoop instead of sitting down. In the hot season they burn the wearer's skin and limbs.

Section XII.
EARLY TRIBES.
Bhils.
Religion.

in special respect by Bhils, and do not, on any occasion, take part in Bhil ceremonies. Instead of Bráhmans, three classes of men are held in special reverence. These are *bhagats* or *badvás*[1] devotees and exorcists, *rávals* or priests, and *bháts* or *dholis* minstrels. Of the Badvás, Rávals, and Bháts or Dholis as they are called in the Panch Mahâls, the Badvás are Bhils by caste, and the Rávals and Dholis are separate castes. Any Bhil who can learn to recite the incantations can become a Badva. Of the two others the Rával who is buried after death is considered inferior to the Dholi who is burned after death. The Badva conducts the *játars* or sacrifices and is consulted on occasions of general calamity and individual sickness. When the rains hold off or when cattle disease or other epidemic visits a village, the Badva traces the evil to the displeasure of some particular god and tells what sacrifices the god demands to allay his displeasure. When an individual suffers from sickness, a relation of the sick takes to the Badva a handful of rice or *adad* which has been laid on the body of the sick for one night. The Badva examines this grain and decides that the cause of the sickness is either the displeasure of some deity generally the goddess Okha, or, and this is commoner, the evil eye of a witch. If the case is one of divine displeasure vows are made to the god or goddess and when the sick recovers offerings are given. When the sickness is traced to the evil eye of a witch, the Badva names the woman who has caused the evil. To find out whether the woman named is a real witch, the people take her out of the village and subject her to a number of different ordeals. She is generally hung by the arms and sometimes by the heels to the branch of a tree and rocked to and fro. While she is hanging, if the branch of the tree breaks or if the woman's body suffers serious injury, such as the dislocation of an arm, she is not considered a witch, but a mortal being with a white breast. But if the branch does not break and the woman suffers no injury, she is considered a witch. Sometimes the woman is blindfolded and asked to name the person standing before her. If in naming this person she makes no mistake the woman is considered a witch. Sometimes a basket of chillies is tied to her face and, if she suffers no harm, she is considered a witch. Sometimes she is thrown into a fast running stream and if she is not carried away by the current but comes safely to the opposite bank without much exertion she is considered a witch; if the woman sinks men standing by the bank swim to save her. In these ordeals, sometimes from the fear of suffering harsher treatment, more often to gain or to keep the position of a witch which secures a free supply of milk and chickens, the woman confesses herself a witch. She admits

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[1] Mr. Nandshankar says for Rewa Kántha, when an epidemic breaks out, the Badva is in great request. Heads of villages come to him, bringing offerings, and asking him to tell them the cause of their misfortune. He is always ready, after a due amount of mummery, to point out some old woman as the head and front of the offending. Small mercy is shown to the luckless creature after she is named. She is seized by a crowd of fanatics, swung by the heels, and otherwise ill-treated, and, unless timely notice is given to the authorities, her life is in great danger.

she had brought the sickness on the suffering person and that to cure him she wants the offering of a he-buffalo a goat or a cock. After she has promised to cure the sick person, the woman is taken back to the village. If the sick recovers, the animal named by the witch is sacrificed by having its throat cut, the blood is caught in a dish and while still warm is given to the witch to drink, who either from fear or to keep up her reputation drinks it off. If the sick person dies, the witch is often driven into the forest to die of hunger or to fall a prey to some wild beast. In the Panch Maháls one case is on record of a witch being burned to death and another of a witch being cut to pieces by the sword.[1]

Among Baḍvás, a few known as *Kájaliya* or black Baḍvás are specially skilful in finding out witches. A Kájalia is said to be able to name the witch's dwelling in an unknown village, to tell the past of an unknown man, and to foresee the future. Besides the Baḍvás, in several villages of the Dohad sub-division of the Panch Maháls are Pujáris who worship the village gods by washing and daubing with redlead the idols in the village temple. For this service the Pujári at harvest receives a gift of grain from each villager and in some villages holds service lands. They are generally brothers or cousins of the village headman. Besides worshipping the idols, the Pujári manages the village fair or *játara* and to meet the expenses of the fair collects subscriptions from the villagers. As spirits from liquor shops are not considered suited for the use of the gods, the Pujári at the *mahuda* (Bassia latifolia) harvest collects *mahuda* flowers from the villagers, and on the day of the fair after bathing, distils liquor for the gods in new unused vessels. To distil this special liquor the Pujári pays a fee to the liquor farmer and receives a permit from the Mámlatdár. The Pujári has also the right to invite the gods to be present at the fair. At nightfall on the day before the fair the Pujári stands near the house of the village headman and cries in a loud voice, "Gods and goddesses of this village, we have resolved to hold a fair; return from whatever place you have gone to and be present." After this call, generally at the house of the village headman, the Baḍva sings incantations till morning.

Of the Dholis or Bháts and Rávals who form independent castes, a Dholi family is found in every five or six villages and at least one Rával family in every Bhil village. The Dholis live on alms given by the Bhils and hold no lands. Like the Bhils the Dholis are divided into clans and do not marry in the same clan. The Dholi has three musical instruments, the guitar or *raváj* like the *sitar*, the fiddle or *sárangi*, and the drum or *dholki*. At marriage the

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[1] In the Panch Maháls the belief in witchcraft is not confined to the Bhils. A few years before the introduction of British rule (A.D. 1858), in the town of Jhál d two Vánia women of high family, mother and daughter, were believed to be witches; and, under the orders of the Mamlatdár had their noses cut off, and were seated on asses with blackened faces and driven out of the town. Mr. Bomanji Modi, District Deputy Collector.

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Dholi plays on all three instruments. At deaths he makes his drum give a peculiar mournful tone at the sound of which the people of the neighbouring villages gather to the funeral. If the relatives of the deceased are rich enough to give the Dholi a calf or a cow, the Dholi beating on the drum accompanies the funeral party to the burning ground. If he does not accompany the funeral party, the Dholi receives a piece of cloth worth 4 to 8 annas. The Dholi also attends the funeral feast. Each Dholi has fixed villages in which to beg. A Dhámor Dholi generally begs in villages which have a large number of Dhámor Bhils, and a Bhábhor Dholi in villages which have a large number of Bhábhor Bhils. In these fixed villages the Dholi begs from any Bhil whether he belongs to his own or to another clan. In other villages the Dholi cannot claim alms, except that a married woman would consider it an insult if her parents' Dholi is turned away from her husband's house without receiving alms. During the rains the Dholi stays at home; during the fair season he travels from house to house with his family and household things. In travelling the Dholi generally rides on a pony, his family on asses, and his household things are also laden on asses. During his travels, the Dholi with his family lives at the house of each well-to-do Bhil for two or three days, and sings the genealogy of his host. During the stay the Dholi and his family are fed by their host and at their departure they are given a present worth about a rupee.

Rávals who are found in every village, besides begging alms, till land. In each village the Rával is of the clan to which the bulk of the Bhils belong. The Rával's chief duty is to offer food to the dead at a death dinner or *káita*. On the night before the dinner the Rával comes to the house of mourning bringing a one-stringed guitar or *kindru* and a pair of brass cymbals or *manjiras*. He clashes the cymbals with one hand and with the other plays on the guitar. He also brings two small, brass images, one of a horse representing the horse of Bárbij or the Moon and the other called *gavatri* representing a cow with a sucking calf. A small space is cleared in front of the house, a lamp with clarified butter is lighted, and on the cleared space are set a cocoanut, four copper coins, and five pounds (5 *sers*) of boiled maize. The Rával sits on this cleared space and in front of him sits the giver of the dinner who is generally a son of the deceased. The host sits holding in both hands a brass platter or *tháli*, on which the brass cow *gavatri* is set standing in a pool of milk. The Rával sings till midnight accompanying himself with his guitar and cymbals. He sings the praises of the gods; he tells how the body was borne to the burning ground and burned; he ends with the song that describes the brave deeds of the Kshatris in old days and how they made all men tremble before them. While the song of the brave is being sung the soul of the dead passes into the cow Gavitri and the cow begins to shake. The ceremony ends by the Rával lifting the brass cow from the platter and setting it on the ground. The Rával goes home taking the platter, the maize or *ghátdi* as it is called, the

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copper pieces, and the cocoanut which were placed on the cleared ground. A well-to-do family gives the brass horse and the cow to the Rával. The horse is made of brass taken from anklets worn by the widow of the deceased, and is kept in a neighbour's house till at the death ceremony *kaita* it is brought into the deceased's house and at the close of the ceremony is presented to the Rával. On the *Dasara* or tenth of the first fortnight of *Áshvin* (September-October) the Rával washes cleans and worships his brass horse and cow. On the *Diváli* or last day of *Áshvin* (September-October) the Rával takes the brass horse and cow to the houses of well-to-do Bhils who give him alms.

The animal held in most veneration by the Bhils is the horse. If a prayer has been granted, they often make small clay horses and range them round an idol or in the spirit-yard. In many of their legends the principal event depends on the assistance or advice of an enchanted horse.[1] Except the Modása Bhils who kill neither the cow nor the blue-bull Portax pictus, Bhils have no special feeling for the cow, most of them eating its flesh, and freely taking its life.[2] Snakes they do not worship, and kill them when they have the chance. Except a few who reverence the *pipal* Ficus religiosa they have no holy trees or plants.

Festivals.

With the Bhils the chief festivals are those in honour of the dead. The only regular Hindu festivals they specially observe are *Shimga* or *Holi* at the spring equinox, *Dasara* the day of the autumn equinox, and *Diváli* in October. Both Shimga and Dasara, especially the spring festival, are times of great drinking and merriment. During the Holi festival in February-March all Bhils, men and women, old and young, meet together for several days before the festival, and sing indecent songs and abuse each other. The parties also go to the house of the village headman and other well-to-do people, and after singing and dancing demand presents or *goth* of Re. 1 to Rs. 1½. On the day of the Holi festival, the village headman lights the bonfire at sunset, and round the fire the Bhils dance and sing till midnight or later. Next morning, which is the *dhulchi* or dust-throwing day, the Bhils throw dust and dry cow-dung over each other. In some villages they fight throwing stones and sticks; in some villages they dance in circles, the men and women separately; and in others they have a fight between men and women. In the fight between men and women all meet in the morning near the headman's house and dance and sing. While dancing, one of the women suddenly snatches a shouldercloth or *pichhodi* from one of the men, puts a small lump of molasses *gol* in it, and, climbing a tree, ties the cloth to one of the branches. All the women gather round the tree brandishing long bamboos and sticks, while the men struggle to break or steal through the band of women to recover the cloth. The game goes on till evening when one of the men succeeds in getting up the tree and securing

[1] Transactions Royal Asiatic Society, I. 72.

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the cloth. While the contest continues bands of men and women take turns to lead the attack and defence, while others in turn rest, drink, and eat.

Bishop Heber in the spring of A.D. 1825 was visited by a party of Panch Mahál Bhils, men and women together, who came to his camp with bamboos in their hands. They had a drum a horn and some other rude minstrelsy. They drew up in two parties and had a mock fight, the women with slender poles the men with short cudgels. At last some of the women began to strike a little too hard, on which their antagonists lost temper, and closed so fiercely that the poor females were put to the rout in real or pretended terror.[1] At the *Dasara* in early *A'shvin*, some Bhils outside of the village keep the Nine-Night feast and ceremony in honour of Durga Devi. They also in the Panch Mahále, as is common among high class Hindus, on the second day of *A'shvin* sow barley in a dish heaped with earth, keep it in the house covered with a screen and carefully watered and tended till the ninth day when it is cut as a sacrifice to the goddess. Numbers come to see the barley cut. Liquor is drunk and the seedlings are carried with music and thrown into a river or pond. The people scramble for the seedlings, wear them in their turbans till they dry, and even when withered cherish them as sacred relics. At *Diváli* they burn no lights, but for two days they drink liquor and sing. On Diváli Day a thanksgiving to the gods is performed near the cattle-shed. In the morning the ground near the door of the cattle-shed is cleaned and a small circle is made with rice. In this circle besides a lamp seven *nived* or lumps of boiled rice or maize are set on seven leaves. A fire is kept burning and clarified butter is thrown over it. One man, generally the owner of the house, puts his hand over five hens, throws water on them, and offers them to the gods, saying "O Dharma Indra, this sacrifice we offer to thee. During the coming twelve months keep all our cattle free from disease, do not make them ill, and increase them and be kindly." At the same time another man cuts the throats of the hens. A third man with his hand sprinkles liquor on the ground, saying "O Dharma Indra, we pour this spirit to thee." The cattle, that is the cows and oxen but not the buffaloes, with horns painted red, are let out from the cattle-sheds, the headman's cattle-shed being the first to be opened. When all the cattle are gathered, they are driven over the body of a Bhil, generally a cowherd, who lies on the ground at full length with his face down and for running the risk of being trodden on receives from the headman the present of a cloth or turban. Up to 1880, in Dohad and Jhálód towns, these turbans used to be given at Government cost.

Besides these three regular festivals, the Bhils perform three sacrifices or *játars*. One on Dasara Day the bright tenth of *A'shvin* (September-October), and two, both of them field festivals, one in

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[1] Heber's Narrative, II. 72.

A'shád (June-July) when the green grass shoots, and the other in *A'shvin* (September-October) when the early or rainy season harvest is reaped. On Dasara Day the sacrifice is offered either to the goddess Kálika or Chamund or to the god Kachumbhar, in *A'shád* to the god Sarsel or Sálun, and in *A'shvin* when the crop ripens to the goddess Chámund. On all these occasions the sacrifice or *játar* is performed with the same rites. On the day before the *játar*, the village headman cleans his house and at nightfall calls the Baḍva to recite incantations. The Pujári, or in the absence of the Pujári the Baḍva, with a loud voice calls the gods to be present. Throughout the night the Baḍva goes on singing. He first invokes the aid of Sárda the goddess of learning, and then sings the praises of Ganpati and other divinities, including the goddess Chámund and the god Kachumbhar. He recites the tale of Jasma, the Od woman who rejected the love of king Siddhráj Jaisingh (A.D. 1100). Early next morning the Baḍva becomes inspired by the god Kachumbhar. To ascertain if he is really inspired, or, as the Bhils say, if the breath has entered him, they send the Baḍva to bathe, and in his absence place in a line on the ground seven *billás* or apples of the *bel* Ægle marmelos tree. On his return the Baḍva is asked to point out which apple was first laid down. If he chooses the right one, he is believed to be really inspired. Certain of the persons present then ask the Baḍva questions regarding their future, regarding the cause and cure of some sickness, the next rainfall, or the cattle plague. The people then accompany the Baḍva outside of the village to the spirit-yard or *devasthán* of the god or goddess in whose honour the festival or *játar* is held. In this spirit-yard the Baḍva sings, becomes inspired, and is again asked a number of questions. After the breath or spirit of the god has passed the Baḍva offers the sacrifice of a buffalo or a goat, generally a buffalo on Dasara Day. The Baḍva throws a little water on the head of the sacrifice; and if the animal shakes its head, the offering is believed to be accepted. The headman then cuts the neck of the animal with a sword. The head is separated from the trunk and placed near the image of the god or goddess. As a libation to the deity the headman pours on the ground a little home-made liquor. The liver of the sacrifice is dropped into the fire which is kept burning at the time. The head of the animal is taken by the village headman, and the rest of the meat and liquor is distributed on the spot. Sometimes besides the three regular *játars*, to obtain rain or for some other purpose, the Panch Mahàls Bhils hold special *játars* in honour of Ghodádev the Horse God whose temple stands on a hill in the Sháhada village of Dohad.[1]

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[1] In August 1877 as no rain had yet fallen 2000 to 3000 Bhils encamped on the Sháhada hill for about a fortnight till the Baḍva was inspired. The god through the Baḍva said that he was engaged in important work at the court of Indra, and that he had no time to attend to the Bhils' prayers, but that he would send rain on the third day. According to the Baḍva's saying the rain fell on the third day. About this time one of the nine brass horses in the temple of Ghodádev was missing. The Baḍva explained the absence of the horse by saying that he had gone in search of the crab that had crawled to the bottom of the sea with the goddess Lightning in his belly.

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The Bhils have four chief ceremonies, naming shaving marriage and death. Five days after a birth the child and mother are bathed. In the Rewa Kántha no ceremony is performed. But in the Panch Mahâls the mother makes a circle of flour, piles little heaps of flour on all sides, and sits in the middle of the circle when her female relations make her presents of money or clothes. On the tenth day the father and mother name the child. On the twelfth day in the Rewa Kántha the house is cleaned and a feast is given but nothing is done in the Panch Maháls. At five years old the child's head is shaved. The child's aunt takes the hair in her lap, and, wrapping it in her clothes, receives a cow buffalo or other present from the child's father. The next ceremony is marriage, which seldom happens before the boy is twenty and the girl fifteen. The fixing of a marriage between a young couple is arranged entirely by their relations. When the parents wish to marry their son, they send friends to the parents of the girl whom they wish to become their son's bride. These make proposals, and present raw sugar and liquor, and if they accept the offer of marriage, the girl's parents eat the sugar. After some time the boy's father visits the girl and presents her with clothes and food. The betrothal is then complete. In the morning of the marriage-day the bride and bridegroom each at their own homes are rubbed with yellow powder. In the south, during the ceremony the bride's party laugh and jeer at the party of the bridegroom, the men at the men the women at the women. After the ceremony a fire is kindled, and round it the people dance, the bridegroom taking a few turns with the bride on his shoulder. When the dance is over the bridegroom gives all a drink before they leave. Then the bridegroom is bathed and afterwards, to guard against the evil eye, his eyes and cheeks are marked with soot or *kájal*. The bridegroom wears a turban, a long coat of country cloth, a waistcloth *dhotar*, and a sword. The party start with drums and cymbals to the bride's village. The women follow singing. When they reach the village, they stop a couple of hundred yards from the bride's house. Here they are met by the bride's father and a few friends. After saluting they seat themselves, and the amount fixed as the price of the bride is counted out. The bride's father then goes back to his house, the bridegroom and his party following with music. On reaching the house the bridegroom's party are seated on one side of a *mandva* or booth built in front of the door. The bride is then led in by her mother and seated opposite the bridegroom, their hands are joined, and the hems of their garments are tied. Then, while three women sing songs, the bride and bridegroom walk together twelve times, the bridegroom leading for the first six and the bride for the second six, round a branch of the *samri* Prosopis spicigera tree, placed in the middle of the booth. When this is over, the bride's mother leads the bride and bridegroom into the house and lays before them a dish of wheaten bread and molasses, and with this the bride and bridegroom feed each other in turn five times over. Then the knot that fastened their garments is unloosed, and the bridegroom, leaving the bride, returns with his friends to his own house. Here he and his party feed on rice and pulse sent by the bride's father. When the meal is over they return to the bride's. The mother brings out

the bride. The garments of the bride and bridegroom are again tied together, and, taking the bride with him, the bridegroom, accompanied by his friends, returns to his house. Among the Mahi Kántha Bhils women, as a rule, choose their husbands. But, on the fair day, at Tosina, in the north of the Mahi Kántha, if a Bhil takes a fancy to a Bhil girl, and can, without being found out, get her to cross the river with him, he can claim her as his wife. If they are caught on the way the man is punished by the bride's father.

Though in theory a marriage should be attended with all this ceremonial, in practice the Bhils are very loose about marriage relations. A man marries a second or a third wife if the first wife does not bear children, or if she does not get on with him, or if he does not like her, or if he has a large number of children and the work of the house is heavy. A woman marries again, not only if her husband dies, but if she falls in love with another man and can get him to take her and pay her husband his marriage expenses. The children, if there are any, remain with the father. An unmarried girl is allowed to live with any man she likes without any ceremony either of marriage or betrothal. If after betrothal a girl goes to live with some other man, her husband has to pay her betrothed the cost of the betrothal ceremony. So, after marriage, if a woman takes a fancy to any man she may go and live with him if he is willing to pay her husband's marriage expenses. When a man wishes to marry a widow, if his proposals are accepted, the suitor is desired to bring to the house of his intended bride such presents as he can afford, which are usually a petticoat of coarse chintz, a robe, a bodice, a necklace of beads, two pots of arrack, sixteen pounds of roasted peas, and two pounds of molasses. The match is then considered settled. Taking some friends with him and the materials for a feast the man goes to the woman's house where a company of her friends are met. Next morning before daybreak the married pair have to leave the house. Marriage with a widow generally takes the form of an elopement, the bride and bridegroom being received back after the bridegroom has made the bride's friends and the headman a present. The couple pass the day after the wedding in some solitary place three or four miles from the village, from which they must not return till dusk. Their friends send them meat and drink.

Except in the case of a very young child or when the cause of death has been small-pox, Gujarát Bhils burn the dead as they say, with the sun as a witness, that is only during the day. When life is gone the relations bathe the body, spread a waistcloth *dhotar* over it, and carry it on a rough bamboo bier to the burning ground. At the burning ground the chief mourners sit near the body, while the rest of the party gather wood for the pyre. The son or other next of kin sets the pyre alight. When the body is half burnt the mourners bathe. On the way back to the deceased's house the party rest half-way between the deceased's house and the burning ground, place five stones near each other, and to the branch of a neighbouring tree tie a small piece of the deceased's winding sheet. On returning to the deceased's house the party smoke tobacco for a short time, and after saluting each other, go home. On the fifth day after death ten

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to twenty friends and relations of the deceased come to the place where the small stones were laid and without drinking any liquor eat boiled maize *ghugari*. After the meal they throw away the stones and the piece of the winding sheet, and return to their homes. On the fifth day as well as on the day of the *kaita* or death-dinner the Jhálod Bhils have the special practice of shaving their mustaches. In Jhálod, where they are well to do, Bhils give a death-dinner or *kaita* on the twelfth day like upper class Hindus. Among the poorer Bhils the families of five or six deceased persons subscribe and give one combined death-dinner, in some cases two or three years after the death. For this death-dinner much liquor is distilled and a dish called *ghugari* made of Indian corn gram and wheat boiled together is prepared. When the guests, who often number two or three thousand, come together a Rával pours a quart of milk into a metal salver and in the milk sets a brass horse. Two of the deceased's near relations squat down holding the dish at arm's length above their heads. Then while the Rával plays a one-stringed guitar or *tamburo* with a hand drum accompaniment, the mourners for an hour or two keep throwing into the dish money rice and Indian corn. At last the salver shakes and the image of the horse falls on its side in the milk. The mourners weep and wail. Liquor is handed round, and, in a leaf, each guest is given a small dole of boiled Indian corn gram and wheat. When the meal is over all but relations leave, the Rával taking his perquisites, the brass horse and the salver full of grain. The relations usually bring a goat or young buffalo or a few yards of country cloth as a present for the son of the deceased. If they bring cloth it is given when the villagers leave, if they bring a goat or young buffalo it is at once beheaded and the head thrown on the roof of the deceased's house. The body is taken to a distance, cut up, cooked and eaten, the relations bringing liquor to drink with it. If the deceased was a man of importance a year or two after his death his relations go to a stone mason and make him cut on a stone slab the figure of a man on horseback with a spear in his hand, paying him by the gift of a cow or a she-buffalo. On the first *kalichaudas* or dark fourteenth of *Áshvin* (September-October) the stone, with procession and drum-beating, is carried in a cart to the deceased's house, where it is washed, daubed with redpowder, covered with a white cloth and again placed in a cart, and taken to the village spirit-yard or *devasthán*. There a goat is killed, its blood sprinkled on the stone, and its flesh cooked and eaten with as much liquor as the party can afford.

The two leading beliefs of the Bhils are in witchcraft and the evil eye. As has been noticed above almost all cases of sickness are traced to witches. As a witch alone is supposed to be able to eat fowls, Bhil women in the Panch Mahâls never eat either fowls or eggs. They even object to eat food which is brought in a vessel along with a fowl. To escape the influence of the evil eye the Bhils turn their backs to each other while eating or drinking. Except his wife and young girls no Bhil woman, even his sister or mother, will look at a sick or wounded Bhil. As a

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rule women use neither the bow nor the sword. Only when the rains hold off and threaten scarcity, women go with bows and arrows to the shrine of the village goddess where they abuse the goddess, smear her idol with cowdung and sing dance and leap as if preparing to commit a dacoity or *darora* by stealing a buffalo from the herd of the nearest village. On such occasions the herdsmen seldom offer any resistance. The captured buffalo is led in triumph to the goddess' shrine in the women's own village and is there killed with clubs and sticks. Round the dead buffalo the women dance and then distribute the flesh among themselves. The Bhils say that the women perform this buffalo-killing ceremony to shame the gods into pity and to convince them how hard the times must be which compel women to take to arms. Of the beliefs connected with driving or coaxing away a human or a cattle epidemic the chief are that the village headman or patel as representative of the village vows to wear no turban, to give up shaving his head, and sometimes to put on women's clothes. The headman asks the Baḍva which of the gods is offended and what sacrifices should be offered to propitiate them. Sometimes to drive away an epidemic asses are made to plough a small plot of land. The people and the Baḍva go to the shrine of the offended deity and near the deity place a small wooden cart, about a foot long, and a buffalo or a goat whose neck is decked with flower garlands, whose brow is marked with redpowder or *kanku*, and whose body is covered with a red cloth. Before the deity the Baḍva sings until the cart begins to move of itself. The motion of the cart is believed to show that the plague has entered the cart which with the buffalo or goat is lifted and driven out of the village in the direction shown by the Baḍva. Overjoyed that the plague is leaving the people follow dancing and shouting and beating their tomtoms. On hearing the procession coming towards them, the people of the next village march out with tomtoms to join the procession and take charge of the animal and the cart from the first party who return to their own village. If from the next village no people come out the first villagers leave the cart and the animal in this village, but this rarely happens as people are careful not to allow the plague to stay within their limits. The people of the second village take the animal and the cart to a third village and so on till a village is reached where no one comes to take charge of the animal and the cart. This happens only in the forest or in a deserted village. Often in this way the goat and the cart are escorted from village to village for forty or fifty miles.

Community.

Bhils respect three forms of authority, their chief, the headman of their settlement, and the council of five. In the Mahi Kántha where the Bhil chiefs are left almost free to manage their affairs and where quarrels between neighbours are not uncommon, the right of the head of the tribe to his clansmen's services is fully admitted. When he hears the *kulki* or shrill longdrawn cry that the men of the village are wanted, a Bhil leaves any work he may be doing, and attends the summons. On the other hand, if their chief uses his power in a way they dislike, the Bhils join together

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to resist him. Every Bhil settlement has its headman, *gamti* or patel. This office, which is generally hereditary, gives the holder a position of respect and makes him referee in social disputes. Though in practice the rule is not always kept, the Bhil council or *pancháyat* should be entirely composed of village headmen. This council decides all marriage disputes, punishes breaches of caste rules, and, when the offender is penitent, fixes the amount of the atonement fine. In the Mahi Kántha theft robbery and other serious causes of quarrel, which are punished as crimes in the more settled districts, are adjusted by a system of fines. Murder is to some extent an exception, and as a rule the relations of the murdered man do not rest till they take the murderer's blood. Bhils pay special respect to the elders of their families. Unlike other Hindus a Bhil woman calls her husband's elder brother father instead of brother-in-law, and her husband's elder sister mother instead of sister-in-law. A man gives the same titles of respect to his wife's elder brother and sister. As a mark of respect a Bhil woman does not show her face to members of the house who are older than her husband. At the same time the older men neither touch the woman's body, nor her cot her clothes or her ornaments.

Education.

During the last fifty years, except on the Mahi Kántha frontier, the Bhils have given up their turbulent and wandering habits, and are settling to the work of tilling fixed fields. Most of them are still very poor, though a few, especially in the Panch Mahális, have of late years acquired some property. Of boys who have learned to read and write in Government schools, three have gained places as clerks and one is a village accountant. Some of the Bhils in the Gujarát Bhil corps prove intelligent and able men.

Chodhra's.

Chodhra's, 69,628, are found in Rájpipla, in Mándvi the north-east sub-division of the Surat district, and eastwards in the Dángs. The tribe contains five divisions, Bharutia, Chautala, Chokápur, Tekaria, and Valvái. Of these the highest division is the Chokapuri who are also called Pávágaria, from Pávágar hill. They claim to be partly of Rajput descent, and, according to their story, lived as carriers in the Rajput kingdoms of northern Gujarát, and fled south on their overthrow by the Musalmáns. The men are stronger and fairer and the women are better looking than those of the other early tribes. Like Dhundiás and Dublás, they live in wattle and daub huts, each by itself, in a large cleanly-kept enclosure. Several own brass and copper dishes, but few have more than a scanty stock of cattle, some goats and fowls, and a few field tools. The men dress in a turban, coat, short trousers, and waistcloth. The women keep their hair very tidy, and wear a coloured cloth over the head, a bodice, and a cloth round the waist. The men's ornaments are silver brass and tin ear and finger rings, and, if well-to-do, bands of silver at the elbow and wrist. Women wear round the neck coils of white glass beads, and, if well-to-do, a silver necklace, brass brooches on the arm, and tin or brass anklets. Though many can afford to eat millet, and on feast days wheaten bread, their every-day food is coarse grain or panic porridge boiled in water and generally supped with whey.

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EARLY TRIBES.

Chodras.

They never feed on carcasses; but, except the cow, buffalo, horse, donkey, jackal, rat, snake, dog, and cat, they eat most animals. They are woodcutters and cultivators, some of them successful growers of the hardier sorts of rice. They are quiet and courteous, much given to liquor, and almost all very poor.

Among the regular gods, they honour Rám, and of special guardians Pálio and Simáriyo boundary-gods and village-guardians. Their chief worship is paid to the spirits of their forefathers. That these may not wander from want of shelter and company, they set apart near each village a plot of ground as the *devsthán* or spirit-yard. They pay no special respect to Bráhmans, and never make use of their services. On the sixth day after a birth they worship the goddess Chhathi, feasting their friends on liquor and pulse. A boy is considered fit to marry after eighteen and a girl after sixteen. A man anxious to marry his son goes to the girl's house, and, if the father is willing, entertains her parents and relations with liquor. One or two days before marriage the bride and bridegroom are rubbed with yellow powder. On the marriage day, with music and a company of friends, the bridegroom goes to the girl's house, and after the boy's father has paid the girl's father Rs. 32½ as dowry, and presented the bride with a robe a bodice and a silver necklace worth together about Rs. 13, the bride and bridegroom are seated in the marriage booth. Their skirts are tied by the women of the house, and together they walk four times round the pole of the booth. Music, dancing in which the bride and bridegroom join, and a feast of rice and pulse complete the ceremony. When the bride leaves her father's house, the father according to his means gives her a she-buffalo or a money present. The practice of winning a bride by taking service with her father is common among the Chodhrás. Before lighting the funeral pile Chodhrás place cooked pulse and rice in the corpse's mouth, thinking it lucky if a crow comes and takes it away. With this exception the Chodhrás' and Dhundias' death ceremonies are the same. On the fourth day after a death a spirit-medium *báhdar havriya*, accompanied by the friends of the deceased, takes a stone, and, groaning and shaking as if possessed, sets it in the spirit-yard. He kills a fowl, letting some of the blood fall on the stone. Next, he adds grain butter and liquor, and, marking the stone red, consecrates it to the spirit of the deceased, covering it in some cases by a quaintly ornamented hollow clay dome. Near the stone the friends set a small clay cow or she-buffalo for a woman or a horse for a man. Three times a year, on *Akhátri* in May, on *Diváso* in July, and on *Diváli* in October the Chodhrás in a body visit these shrines. They offer fowls goats and sheep, drink freely, and men and women together close the feast with a dance. Except that the village patels appointed by Government have some influence over them, the Chodhrás have no headmen or leaders; and, though they know and strictly keep to their position in the Hindu caste system, there is an entire want of caste organization among them. As a class they are likely to improve, and in A.D. 1898 had some of their boys at Government schools.

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EARLY TRIBES.
Dhundia's.

Dhundia's,[1] 102,479, are found chiefly in Chikhli Balsár and Párdi in the south of the Surat district, and eastwards through Bánsda and Dharampor over the western portions of Khándesh. They are a small but well-knit and active race. Except a few, who are well-to-do, most of them live in huts differing little from Dubla huts. Their ordinary dress is, for men, a cap sometimes a turban, a cloth for the shoulders, and a loincloth *langoti*. In the rainy season they wear a sleeveless woollen jacket called *kánch*. A Dhundia woman wears a loose cloth thrown or folded over her head, an open or a backed bodice *kápdu*, and a piece of cloth wrapped round the waist. Men's ornaments are earrings and armlets of brass tin and sometimes silver. Women's ornaments are brass and tin nose and ear rings, round the neck coils of shells and glass beads, round the arms at the elbow a plain solid tin band, and from the elbow to the wrist bands of solid brass; on the legs solid bands of brass from the knee to the ankle. If well-to-do, the nose and ear rings are of silver, and there is a silver wedding necklace called *doro*.

They are peasants and labourers. As a class, though not richer or more skilled, they hold a higher social rank than the Dublás and other early tribes. Except Chodhrás these all eat food cooked by Dhundiás. But a Dhundia dines with no one who is not of his own class.

The favourite divinities among the Dhundiás are Shámla Dev and Haria Dev, who endow men and women with prophecy and divination. They do not employ Bráhmans as the Náiks are their priests. Their marriage and death customs differ little from those of Bráhmanic Hindus.

On the sixth day after a birth the child is named and the goddess Chhathi is worshipped. When a marriage is to be arranged the boy's father goes to the father of the girl. If the girl's father is willing to give his daughter, two men and two women from the boy's side come and are entertained with liquor boiled pulse and millet cakes. A day is fixed for the marriage, but without consulting either a Bráhman or the stars. Shortly before the marriage-day the boy's father sends with some clothes a present or dowry of Rs. 16 to Rs. 22. For three or four days before the marriage both bride and bridegroom are daily rubbed with fragrant yellow powder or *pithi*. On the wedding-day, led by one or two Náiks playing the gourd pipe or *tur* and the drum or *thali*, the bride and her friends go in procession to the bridegroom's. As they draw near, the bridegroom, his mother wearing the *modh* headdress, and a band of his relations come out to meet them. When the bride and her party have been led into the house the bridegroom is seated on a cot in the marriage booth. The ceremonies are carried on chiefly by the women, with, at some points, the help of a Náik. While the women of the party sing songs, the bride, to show her wish to be an obedient wife, sweeps the floor, clasps a pillar, and declares

[1] Unless from the word *dhundi* the small weeding harrow, and so perhaps *dhundiás* the harrowers, like *halis* the ploughmen, no derivation of the name Dhundia has been traced. See Bom. Gov. Sel. X. 70.

that empty water-pots are full. Then in front of a lighted lamp, while the rest sing, four married women tie together the hems of the bride and bridegroom's clothes. As they fasten the knot they sing:[1]

> 'Go to market and town, bring dates and cocoanuts. Eat mutton and fowls, eat them in shares. Have no quarrels. If she runs off, give her a kick, and bring her back.'

When the song is ended, a Náik unties the knot, strikes together the heads of the bride and bridegroom, and the ceremony is over. Then the men and women join hand in hand in a dance. When the dancers have had enough, the bridegroom entertains the company with thick cakes and *tádi* or palm wine and, with her parents and friends, the bride goes home. After four days the bridegroom, with one or two of the men and women of his family, goes to the bride's house. Here he is entertained, and the same day, taking the bride with him, receives, as he leaves, a cow and a silver ring, or, if the girl's father is poor, a ring of brass. Men with no means of paying the dowry often offer to serve the girl's father for a term of one to five years. During this time the suitor receives food and clothing, but his earnings go to his master. If he proves idle, he may at any time be sent off. Even when the three years are over, the girl may refuse him; but, if she refuses him, he can claim payment for his services. When all goes well, the regular marriage ceremony is performed. This form of service is called *khandhadio* or bride-purchase. When her husband's funeral ceremonies are over and a dinner has been given in his honour, a widow may marry again. When a widow marries a second time, she leaves in charge of his relations any children she may have had by her first husband.

When a Dhundia dies the body is bathed and rubbed with turmeric. If the family is very poor, they bury the dead; but as a rule they burn the body carrying it to the burning-ground with the sound of cymbals and drums. The widow goes with the funeral procession weeping, but not beating her breast. The pyre is kindled by a son or other near relation, and when it is half burnt the mourners return to the house of the deceased and drink liquor. After two or three hours a few of the mourners go back to the burning-ground to see that the body has been wholly consumed. On the third day two or three men, with an earthen vessel full of *tádi*, go again to the burning place. Here they gather the ashes, sprinkle a little *tádi* over them, and drinking the rest of the liquor, set the empty jar and a dish of cooked rice on the ash-heap. Dinners are given in honour of the dead. Those who are poor wait till they find one or two families also in mourning, and with them join in giving a dinner. The well-to-do

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[1] The Gujaráti runs:

હાટ નગરી જાજેા, ખજુર કેાપરા લાવજેા,
માસ મરઘુ ખાજેા, વે'ચી ખાજેા, લડતા નહી,
નાશી જાયતેા એક લાત મારી પાછી લાવજેા.

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have a feast of their own, asking friends from long distances, hiring Jogis or wandering fiddlers to amuse the guests, and keeping up festivities for several days. After ten or fifteen days a party of the deceased's relations meet together. A holy man or *bhagat* of their own tribe is called, and a pointed stone, generally about three feet long, is brought from the river, and placed among the memorials of the village dead in a small grove on the outskirts of the village. When it is properly set, the *bhagat* smears the stone red, and, quivering all over as if spirit-possessed, kills a goat, sprinkling its blood on the stone. Close by the stone the goat is cooked, and with a full supply of liquor the party including the *bhagat* make merry. Twice each year, at *Diváso* (July-August) and *Diváli* (October), the dead man's friends visit the stone. They offer rice, and sprinkle the stone with some drops of a hen's blood. They then go back to their home and feast.

In most Dhundia villages one family has the hereditary right of headship. The headman or *náik* is treated with respect, and is referee in private quarrels. But most of their social disputes are decided by a mass meeting of the tribe at one of the big funeral feasts. Breaches of caste rules are punished by fine, or, if the offence is heinous, by, for a time, turning the culprit out of caste. Of the early tribes the Dhundiás are perhaps the most likely to improve. In the Párdi sub-division of the Surat district peasants of this class are said to have a wonderful power of memory. Ninety-nine out of a hundred know accurately for ten years back the amount of rent they have paid. Many of them manage their lands with skill and success, and are beginning to send their children to school. In some of the native states on the borders of Surat, freed from the competition of Bháthela and other high-class cultivators, the Dhundiás, when well treated, show much capacity for improvement. Some have holdings with a yearly rental of as much as Rs. 300. These they manage with great labour and skill, dividing the land and sharing the crop with sub-tenants. Among the larger holders the custom prevails of setting apart small plots for each member of the family. In their allotments the women grow vegetables and the men grain. The women take their vegetables to market, sell them, and with the proceeds buy clothes. Large holders advance grain and money, and in recovering their outstandings are said to show much forbearance. Though fond of liquor, the well-to-do are said seldom to drink to excess.

Dubla's.

Dubla's,[1] 120,265, are found in Broach Rájpipla and Surat. The tribe contains eight subdivisions, Bábás, Damanis, Nardás, Páliás or Khodiás, Sarviás, Taláviás with a specially high rank, Vásávás, and Vohriás. The members of these clans seldom eat together and never intermarry. The Dublás or weaklings, as their name is said to mean,

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[1] Dublás are not weaker than the other forest tribes of south Gujarát. If the name means weakling, they may have got it because they were the tribe first and best known to the more recent high class settlers.

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are a feeble people, soon aged by their hard life and their fondness for liquor. They claim a strain of Rajput blood, speaking of their near relations and connections as Ráthods.[1] They live in small wattle and daub huts with conical thatched roofs. They have generally a shed close by with one or two cattle, a cow or buffalo, some goats and fowls, a cart, a plough, and a hoe. Of house furniture there is only a rough bedstead a handmill and a few brass and clay pots. Of the men some dress like the poorer Kanbis and Kolis in turban waistcoat and waistcloth or short-drawers. But many of the less prosperous have only two cloths, one worn round the waist the other round the head. The women wear the openbacked bodice or *kánchali*, and, round the waist, either the robe *sála* drawn over the head or the petticoat with a small separate headcloth. Except a few who have silver or tin finger rings, the men wear no ornaments. Unmarried women have no ornaments. Married women wear on each arm four bracelets and a solid ring of brass, and on each ankle a solid brass band. Some well-to-do families have silver and a few have gold ornaments. Though most live on porridge made of the coarsest grain, some can afford millet cakes, and on holidays even wheat. Of animals they eat the sheep goat rabbit and fowl. They will not touch the flesh of the cow nor of any animal found dead. Their favourite game is the quail *lábdi* and the iguana *pátlágoh*. So fond of the iguana are they, especially their women after childbirth, that the proverb runs 'A lizard tired of life makes for the Dubla huts.' They are peasants and labourers, most of them ploughmen or *hális*, the hereditary servants of Bhátela Bráhmans and other families of the better class of cultivators. These men work in the fields, their women acting as household servants in the master's family. They are entirely dependent on their masters for food and clothing, and on the whole seem as well off as those of their tribe who are freer in name. As they mix much with the better class of cultivators, their ways are cleaner and their manners less rough and peculiar than those of most early tribesmen.

Their faith and ceremonies differ little from those of Bráhmanic Hindus. Besides spirits and ancestors, they worship Máhádev Hanumán and different forms of Máta or goddesses. They treat Bráhmans with respect, and, except in a few of the wilder villages, on marriage occasions and sometimes at the time of naming make use of their services. The chief particulars connected with marriage are, when the boy is from ten to twenty and the girl from ten to eighteen, the boy's father goes to the house of the father of the girl and asks if he is willing to give her in marriage. If the girl's father agrees a Bráhman is asked to fix a lucky day. Three or four days before the marriage the bride and bridegroom are rubbed with *pithi* or yellow turmeric powder. On the morning of the day, in the booth in front of their house, with the help of a Bráhman the bride's father and mother perform the planet-pleasing

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[1] This would seem a trace of the Ráshṭrakúṭa conquest of south Gujarát in the eighth century (A.D. 743). It further suggests that though Sanskritised in their land-grants to Ráshṭrakúṭa the Dakhan conquerors were commonly known as Ráthoḍs. Compare Bombay Gazetteer, I, Part I. 119-120.

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ceremony. In the afternoon, with a company of his friends, the bridegroom, his eyes painted and a spot on each cheek marked black to keep off the evil eye, starts with music and singing for the bride's house. He is led in by the bride's father and set in the square space in the centre of the booth. The bride is brought in, and, as the sun sets, ceremonies are performed by a Bráhman, almost the same as those practised by the higher classes of Hindus. The day closes with two dinners one at the bride's the other at the bridegroom's. Among the Dublás a man may have more than one wife and a widow may marry. Except a few of the poorest who bury, the dead are burned. On the occasion of a death the friends meet in the deceased's house, the women weep and beat their breasts. The body is set on a bamboo bier, and is carried by four relatives, who, as they pass to the burning-ground, chant the refrain, *Rám bolo bhái Rám,* Call Rám, brothers, call Rám. On reaching the burning-ground, which is generally on the bank of a stream, the pyre is made ready, and when all is prepared, it is kindled by the chief mourner. The party waits by the corpse till it is consumed, receiving on return a draught of *tádi* palm beer. Ceremonies are performed on the second fourth and sixth days after death, and on the twelfth a caste dinner is given. Except a single brass bracelet on each hand, a widow wears no ornaments. Between A.D. 1863 and 1866, when labour was dear, many Dublás left the families they formerly served and worked as free labourers. Since then they are said to have found their old position as ploughmen or *halis* securer and not more hard. They are not without class organization, referring their disputes to a few hereditary leaders or *patels*. With the help of their masters' capital and supervision many of the hereditary servants are skilful husbandmen, though when left to themselves they cultivate only the hardiest grains. Except when out of work they are honest and well behaved, poor, and excessively fond of liquor. They have for some years been sending their boys to school. To encourage them the police of a few villages have been put under the charge of Dubla headmen.

Ga'mta's.

Ga'mits or **Ga'mta's,** 52,019, are found in the north-east and east of Surat and eastwards through the Gáekwár's territory into Khándesh. As among Bhils the name Gámta answers to *patel* or headman, this would seem to be a rather superior subdivision of Bhils, and the right of levying taxes, which till lately was enjoyed by some of their villages, confirms this view. To look at, they differ in no marked way from the ordinary Bhils of southern Gujarát. Some shave their heads while others wear the hair long. The women wear the hair oiled and braided. They live in huts eight or ten cubits long, the walls of bamboo and wattle plastered with mud, and the roof thatched with grass. Their chief food is bread or porridge made of the coarser grains *nágli* Eleusine coracana or *kodra* Paspalum scrobiculatum. They eat the sheep goat rabbit and fowl. They will not touch the flesh of the cow nor of any animal found dead. The men wear a scanty turban, a loincloth *langoti*, and a waistcloth. Their ornaments are silver or brass bracelets. The women wear a cloth over the head, a bodice, and a cloth round the waist. Of ornaments they wear brass earrings and coils of glass beads round the neck. Only girls wear solid

bands of brass on the legs. They are peasants and woodcutters. They worship Vágh Dev Sámla Dev and Devli Máta. They never make use of a Bráhman's services nor pay them respect. Men of their own caste act as their priests. On the sixth day after a birth the goddess Chhathi is worshipped and relatives are feasted on *tádi* or palm wine. An old woman names the child. Among the Gámtás marriage takes place when the boy can climb a palm tree, generally when he is about twelve years of age. The boy's father goes to the father of the girl, and, if he agrees, the boy's father feasts the village on *tádi* spending Rs. 4 to Rs. 5 and the marriage day is fixed. A few days before the marriage the boy's father with his relations goes to the house of the girl's father to pay the dowry Rs. 25 and give the girl two robes and a bodice. He and his party are entertained with bread fowls and *tádi*. On the marriage morning the bride and bridegroom are rubbed with turmeric powder. Later in the day, with music and accompanied by a party of his friends, the bridegroom wearing a sword, goes in the direction of the girl's house. He halts under a tree close to the girl's village, when the bride's father, bringing the bride and a party of his friends, comes out to meet the bridegroom and feeds him and his party with *kodra* and *tádi*. Next with the bride and bridegroom both parties set out for the bridegroom's where a woman ties the hems of the bride and bridegroom's robes. The newly married pair dance together in front of the house and their relatives embrace them each paying them about a quarter of an anna. When the dance is over, the bridegroom's father gives a dinner, and the bride's party return to their home leaving the bride at her husband's house. After five days the bride comes back to her father and again after five days more goes to her husband. Polygamy and widow-marriage are practised. When a Gámta dies the body is bathed, rubbed with turmeric powder, and borne with music to the burning ground. The pyre is kindled by the priest, and when it is consumed, the mourners bathe and return to the deceased house and drink *tádi*. On the following day the mourners go to the burning ground, gather the ashes and throw them into a river, and again drink *tádi*. If well-to-do, on the fourth day, and if poor, after a month or two, his nearest relation rubs redlead *sindur* on a stone, sets it up as a *khatran* or memorial in honour of the dead, and gives a dinner. The Gámtás have no headman and no caste organization. None of them send their boys to school.

Ka'thodia's.

Ka'thodia's, Káth or Catechu-makers, 498, are found in the states to the east and south-east of Surat. In their talk they mix Maráthi with Gujaráti words, and have a story that they originally came from the north Konkan. Like the lowest of the early tribes, they are small hard-featured and black. The men shave the head and grow a slight straggling beard. The women dress their hair oiling it and braiding it in a long fillet. The huts are of mud-daubed bamboos, and the roof which is conical in shape is thatched with grass. Besides porridge and cakes of the coarser grains, they eat almost all animals. The horse, the ass, the cat, and the dog they will not eat, and they refuse the flesh of an animal found dead. The men wear a headcloth loincloth and waistcloth. Those who

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can afford them wear tin earrings and brass or silver finger rings. The women wear a headcloth a bodice and a waistcloth. Their ornaments are earrings fastened to the hair with a chain and hook, coils of glass beads round the neck, and solid bands of brass on the arms. No anklets are worn. They are labourers and catechu-makers, most of them poor and so low in position that their touch is held to defile. The Káthodiás worship Bhildev. They pay no respect to Bráhmans and never make use of their services. Among the Káthodiás the first rite is on the sixth day after a birth. On that day female relatives are called, the goddess Chhathi is worshipped and some rice-figures of the goddess are set on the ground with a lamp near them. The father or mother names the child and the guests are fed on thick cakes and liquor. Both boys and girls commonly marry at about fifteen. The women of the boy's family fix on a girl and, calling on her father, ask her in marriage. If he is willing the agreement is sealed by a drink of liquor. A few days after the boy's father asks the bride to his house. He gives her a present of clothes and the marriage-day is fixed and Rs. 3 paid as dowry. At their own houses on the marriage morning both the bride and bridegroom are rubbed with turmeric. In the afternoon, wearing a sword with a Konkna playing the drum and accompanied by a party of his friends, the bridegroom goes to the bride. When the bridegroom is seated in the marriage-booth, the bride is led in by her brother, and the skirts of the bride's and bridegroom's clothes are tied by the Konkna drummer. After a time the knot is unloosed, and, while the women on both sides sing songs, her brother lifts the bride and his uncle lifts the bridegroom, and they dance round the drummers joining them in the dance. If the girl's father is well-to-do he feasts the bridegroom's party. After the feast is over the bridegroom leaves, taking the bride with him. She stays with him five days and then after five days with her father goes to live with her husband. Polygamy and widow-marriage are allowed and practised. When life is gone the body is bathed, rubbed with turmeric, laid on a bier, and borne to the burning ground. After it is laid on the funeral pile, cooked rice is put in the corpse's mouth, and the pile is lighted at both ends. When the whole is consumed, the mourners go to their homes, stopping on the way for liquor. On the third day they visit the burning ground and gather the ashes, throw a little into the village, and on the top of the ash-heap place some cooked rice. Then in front of them in the deceased's name the chief mourner feeds young children on cooked rice. A funeral feast is given when the relations can afford to pay its cost. They raise no tombstone and have no other ceremonies in honour of the dead. They have a headman and a caste committee. None of their children are at school, and they show no sign of improvement.

Kolgha's.

Kolgha's, 162, are found in the states to the south-east of Surat. They are one of the lowest of the early tribes. Though reckoned impure they will neither eat with nor touch a Bhangia. To look at they do not differ from the other early tribes. Their huts are about twelve feet long by six broad with sides of branches and roofs of grass. Their goods are a few clay pots, and if well-to-do

Kolghas.

a hand grindstone. The men's dress is a cap or scanty turban, a waistcloth, and a loincloth; their ornaments are earrings and a brass band at the elbow. The women wear two cloths, one thrown over the head and shoulders the other wound round the waist. Only a few of the well-to-do wear the bodice. Of ornaments they have earrings, two or three solid brass bands on each arm, and one or two coils of glass beads round the neck. Anklets are not worn. They are hereditary servants, labourers, and woodcutters. As a class they are badly off, some of them so poor as to have to eat roots, and at times to fast for two or three days together. They worship Hanumán Bhil Dev and Kákábalia the small-pox goddess. They pay no respect to Bráhmans, and have no priests of their own class. On the sixth day after a birth, the goddess Chhathi is worshipped and a dinner is given of thick millet cakes and liquor. When a marriage is to be arranged the boy's father goes to the house of the girl. If her father is willing, some days after the boy's father goes to the girl's house and gives her a robe and a pair of solid brass armlets. At this time the marriage day is fixed. On the marriage day the bridegroom, with his father mother and friends, and some Konkna musicians playing the *madhul* drum, go to the girl's house. His father pays the girl's father Rs. 3 as dowry. The boy and girl are seated face to face on a blanket, and, while the women of both parties sing songs, the bride and bridegroom's skirts are tied and each of them says the other's name. Then the whole party, men and women, dance together in pairs, the bride and bridegroom joining. After the dancing is over dinner is served, and when dinner is finished the bride and bridegroom, their skirts still tied, are carried on his friends' shoulders to his father's house. On reaching the bridegroom's house the skirts are untied. The bride stays with her husband for two or three days, and after spending two or three days more with her father, returns to her husband. Polygamy and widow-marriage are allowed and practiced. A dead body is bathed, placed on a bier, and carried to the river-side. The funeral pyre is lighted at both ends, and when the whole is consumed the mourners go to their houses, stopping on the way to have a drink of *tádi* or palm beer. On the third day the ashes of the dead are gathered and *tádi* is sprinkled over them. Those who can afford it give funeral feasts. The Kolghás have no headmen. Their social disputes are settled by the whole caste. They show few signs of improvement. None of them send their boys to school.

Konkna's.

Konkna's, 49,855, are found only in the southern parts of the Surat district and eastwards in the Dharampor and Bánsda states. Their name would seem to show that they have passed into Gujarát from the Konkan. To look at they are like the Thána Várlis, and are said to have been driven northwards by the pressure of the great Durga Devi famine (A.D. 1396-1408). They speak a mixed dialect of Gujaráti and Maráthi. They live in wretched huts, with no furniture but a sleeping mat, a hand-mill, and a few clay-pots. Except a few who wear a cap or turban and have brass tin or silver ear or finger rings, the men's dress is a loincloth *langoti* and a headcloth. A few of them wear cheap ornaments of brass tin and silver. The

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women let their hair hang loose. They wear a cloth over the head, an openbacked bodice, and a waistcloth. Some of the well-to-do wear a silver necklace or *hánsdi*, the rest neck-strings of glass beads and brass bracelets. No anklets are worn. They are labourers and cultivators. Most of them till fixed fields, but have very little stock, and do the greater part of the work with their hands. Some, who from want of bullocks, themselves drag the plough are called *hathodias* or hand-ploughmen.

They worship Brahm and Vágh Dev. Brahm, a stone placed near a *samri* Prosopis spicigera tree, is supplied with a clay-horse and lamp-stand and a flag. Vágh, a wooden pillar with a tiger cut on it, is generally covered with red *sindur* powder. Konknás show Bráhmans no respect, and never make use of their services as priests. Their chief ceremonies are on a woman's first pregnancy a dinner of pulse millet cakes and liquor, and on the sixth day after a birth a dinner to women. The age for marriage lasts among boys from sixteen to twenty and among girls from fifteen to eighteen. When he has found a girl likely to be a good match for his son, the boy's father with one or two friends, bearing a jar of liquor worth eight annas, goes to the house of the father of the girl. If the girl's father agrees after five or six days the bride and her friends go to the boy's father's house. Liquor is drunk, and the boy's father gives two robes and a bodice to the bride, and to his son a turban, two cloths, and a loincloth *langoti*. The wedding-day is then fixed. For a few days before the wedding the bride and bridegroom are daily rubbed with yellow powder, and the bridegroom's father sends to the father of the bride eight or ten rupees as dowry. On the appointed day, with music and singing, the bride's party goes in procession to the boy's house. Here they are met by the bridegroom's father and seated in a booth in front of his house. The bride and bridegroom are then made to sit on a blanket and their skirts are tied by a woman in front of a lamp. Each says the other's name and the knot is untied. After the men of the party have sung and danced, the bridegroom's father gives a dinner of rice pulse and liquor. Her friends leave the bride and return home. After five days she goes to her father's house, and after five days more goes back to her husband. Among the Konknás the practice of serving for a wife *khandadio* prevails. Polygamy is allowed and practised, and widows may marry again. On his agreeing to pay her husband the amount he spent as dowry, a woman may leave her husband and go to live with another man.

Among the Konknás the dead body is bathed, rubbed with turmeric, and carried on a bier to the burning-ground. The mourners bathe in the river. The pyre is kindled by a son or other near relation, and when it is half burnt the mourners return to the house of the deceased and drink *tádi* palm-wine. On the third day eight or ten men go to the burning-ground, gather the ashes, sprinkle water over them, and return home. On the fourth day a dinner is given to relations and clansmen; at the end of a year a silver image of the dead is set up in the house, and in front of it a lamp is lighted every two or three days. The Konknás have a well-organized caste system. When a Konkna

suspects his wife of adultery, he calls a meeting of the tribe. A council or *panchaiat* hears the charge, and, if it is proved, fine the adulterer. Part of the fine is spent on liquor, and the rest is made over to the complainant.

Mangs.

Mángs or **Mángela's**, 683, are found in Bánsda and other states to the south-east of Surat. They are said to have a thin half-starved look. Except the top-knot the men shave the head. They grow a thin scanty beard. The women wear the hair oiled and braided in Marátha fashion. They live in huts about nine feet long by six broad, the walls of bamboo and wattle plastered with mud; the roof peaked and thatched with grass, the house goods a few clay pots. Their chief food is bread or porridge made of *nágli* Eleusine coracana rice and pulse. Except the dog the cat and the ass, whose dead bodies they will not touch, Mángs eat all animals. In the evening they drink *tádi* or palm wine. They smoke and chew tobacco. The men wear a scanty turban a waistcloth and loincloth and, for ornaments, a brass ring in the upper part of the ear, a solid band of brass at the elbow, and a brass finger ring. The women wear a cloth over the head, a bodice, and a cloth round the waist. Of ornaments they wear a silver chain on the head, earrings, coils of glass beads round the neck, and glass bangles at the wrist. They wear neither anklets nor toe rings. They make baskets and winnowing fans, and though poor are better off than many of the wild tribes. Socially they are perhaps the lowest. No Hindu will touch them and even the Vitoliás themselves 'impure,' will not eat at their houses. They worship Hanumán and Mari Máta. They never make use of a Bráhman's services nor pay them any respect. Among them is a class of men called *Bhats* who claim to be of Bráhman descent and act as their priests. More than other wild tribes, their ceremonies resemble those of high class Hindus. On a fixed day in the seventh month of a woman's first pregnancy five women fill her lap with cocoanut kernels and rice or wheat. Friends are fed on rice and pulse or thick cakes mutton and liquor. On the sixth day after birth the goddess Chhathi is worshipped. On the inner wall of the house lines of redpowder *kanku* and turmeric are drawn. Rice is thrown at the drawing, a lamp is lighted before it, and a dinner is given. The same day the priest names the child and is paid 8 annas. When a Máng finds a girl suited to be his son's wife he asks her father. If the girl's father is willing the boy's father feasts the village on liquor, spending about Rs. 6 when the day for the marriage is fixed. Some days after the girl and her friends go to the boy's father's house. She receives two robes, a bodice, and a silver ornament. For two days before the marriage the bride and bridegroom are rubbed with turmeric powder. On the marriage day in the afternoon, with music[1] and accompanied by a party of his friends, the bridegroom rides to the girl's house. Here he is met by the bride's friends and led to the entrance of a booth inside of which the girl is seated. A lighted lamp representing the fire-god is placed on a raised square or *chori*

[1] The Mángs play the *huluki*, a wooden drum covered at one end with leather.

Section XIII. Early Tribes. Mangs.

in the centre of the booth, and the bride and bridegroom kneel before the lamp, while the women of the party sing songs. The priest ties the hems of their garments and joins their hands. Then the knot is unfastened and the marriage is over. A dinner follows. The bridegroom and his party stay three days with the girl's father and then take leave the bride going with them. After four days she comes back to her father's and after four days more goes to her husband. The father of the bride gives a silver or brass ring or a cow or heifer to the bridegroom. Polygamy and widow-marriage are allowed and practised.

The Mángs bury the dead. When a Mang dies the women wail but do not beat the breast. The body is bathed and rubbed with turmeric. It is covered with a new cloth, tied on a bamboo bier, and carried to the burial ground. A pit is dug and the body is laid in it and covered with earth. The mourners bathe, return to the deceased's house, have a drink of *tádi* and go to their homes. On the fourth day early in the morning rice is cooked, rolled into small balls or *pind* and covered with the heart of a cock. The rice-balls are placed in the deceased's house and after lying for a few hours are thrown into running water. In the afternoon a dinner is given. A silver image of the dead is kept in the house and in front of the image every seven or eight days a lamp is lighted. Each family keeps small silver plates each with an embossed figure of the dead. Among the Mángs some men with the title of Patel are chosen to settle social disputes. A man guilty of breaking caste rules is fined and the money is spent on drink. The Mángs show no signs of improvement and send none of their children to school.

Naiks.

Na'iks, 66,672,[1] are found in the south and east of Surat. The tribe contains four subdivisions, Cholivals, Gabáds, Kadháds, and Nichás. Cholivals and Nichás eat together, but not with Gabáds or Kadháds. None of them intermarry. Their name suggests that this clan at one time held the place of leaders among the Dhundiás. Though they do not eat with them, Dhundiás still treat Náiks with special respect at Dhundia marriages and other ceremonies giving them somewhat the place of Bráhmans. The men do not differ in appearance or dress from Dublás. But, except among the bodice-wearers *cholivalás*, the women's dress is seldom more than a waist and head cloth. Like the Dhundiás they are peasants and labourers and their huts and household goods, and except in the following particulars, their beliefs and customs differ little from those of the Dhundiás. The Náiks' special practices are, at marriage, to fix the dowry or *dej*, paid by the boy's father, at Rs. 11½ and, if he is well-to-do, for the bride's father to give a cow a she-buffalo or a goat. Instead of one, the father of the bride sends four letters of invitation, and, instead of by women, the marriage knot is tied by men. The Naiks are fond of music, playing the *tur* drum on occasions of betrothal marriage and death. At betrothal and marriage, men and women dance, both

[1] This total includes the bulk of the Panch Mahals and Rewa Kántha Naikdás.

singly and in pairs. Drops of turmeric-water are sprinkled on the dead, and, after the body is burnt, the mourners return, drinking liquor on their way home. A year after a death, with the help of a holy man or *bhagat*, a stone is brought from a river, and, by a party of the deceased's friends, is set up as a memorial stone or *khatran* in the family ground. On setting it up, either the holy man or a member of the family rubs the stone with redlead, kills a hen and sprinkles its blood on the stone. Then Máta the mother enters the *bhagat*. He trembles all over, and says to the spirit of the dead man, 'See that you do not disturb this family.' After the ceremony is over, the hen is roasted and eaten by the party, and every year, at Holi time, a hen is offered to the memorial stone. They have some class organization, referring their disputes to certain hereditary headmen or *patels*.

Na'ikda's.

Na'ikda's, 6454, are found only in the wildest parts of the Panch Mahâls and Rewa Kántha. The name Náikda or little Náik is probably due to their being held inferior to the Broach Talabdás who were formerly known as Náiks. Of their origin as a separate class two stories are told. One that their ancestors were grooms to the Musalmán nobles and merchants of Chámpáner who took to the woods when (A.D. 1550-1573) by the decay of that city their employment was lost. The other account states that they are descended from an escort sent by the rája of Báglán to the rája of Chámpáner.[1] The Náikdás are generally small thin and wiry. They can endure great fatigue, are remarkably active, and are not wanting in courage. They are black-skinned with dark eyes square faces and harsh irregular features. Among both men and women the hair is worn rough and long. Their dwelling is a hut, the frame of rough timber, the walls of reeds and bamboo generally plastered with cowdung and clay, the roof peaked and thatched with grass and dried teak or palm leaves. The house is divided into two parts, one for the cattle the other for the family. In front is a platform where grass is stored and *mahuda* Bassia latifolia flowers and ears of Indian corn are laid to dry. The property of a Náikda family is small. Of farm stock sometimes there are a few cattle and generally a goat or two and some fowls. Of field tools a few have a plough, the rest only an axe and a hoe. Of house furniture there is a rough stone handmill, a long wooden pestle, and in the ground a small wood or stone mortar and some clay pots. The men wear a few yards of dirty tattered cloth round the loins and a second cloth round the brow showing at the crown the ruffled hair. The women wear over the shoulders a dark blue or red cloth or *sári*, a petticoat, and sometimes a bodice. Except tin and brass earrings the men wear no ornaments. The women wear tin earrings, necklaces of beads or shells and brass bangles and armlets in shape and make, except that they wear only one instead of many tiers, much like those worn by Bhil women. Their ordinary food is, besides the coarser grains, Indian corn pulse and occasionally rice. Except the ass crow and snake the Náikdás eat any kind of flesh; large black ants, squirrels,

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[1] Mr. Nandshankar in his Account of Rewa Kántha.

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EARLY TRIBES.
Náikdás.

monkeys whom they jokingly call tree sheep, and even dead animals. For months in each year, when their stock of grain is done, most of them live on wild fruit and edible roots. They are much given to *mahuda* spirit, and at their festivals drink to excess.

The Náikdás are labourers and woodcutters. Only a few own bullocks and ploughs and till fixed fields. Most are content with rough hillside tillage, burning brushwood and among the ashes sowing the coarser panics. When the seed comes up, the Náikda raises in the middle of the clearing a rude platform on four posts and on this he stays night and day watching the crop. Besides cultivating they gather the flowers and berries of the *mahuda* tree, some medicinal roots and barks, gum lac honey and wax. As woodcutters they are either hired by forest officers or by large landholders or oftener themselves cut timber and bring it for sale to Godhra and other markets. In almost every part of the work their women help them and they seldom leave the district in search of employment.

In A.D. 1818 when they first came under British rule the Náikdás had the worst possible name for savage cruelty. In A.D. 1826 they were said 'to exceed the Bhils in their predatory and lawless habits, in their cruelty bloodthirstiness and love of independence, and in the total disregard of all the customs and usages of social life.'[1] Their chiefs used to organise forays and engage Sindhis and Makránis to help them. Numbers of cattle were collected and kept in the hills until ransomed. The proceeds of the raid were then distributed among all who had taken a part in it.[2] In A.D. 1838 their depredations became so daring that a force had to be sent against them. For some years they were more orderly. But in A.D. 1854 they were still a peculiarly savage and predatory class living in the most remote and impervious forests.[3] In A.D. 1857 certain of the leading Gujarát mutineers tried to raise them to revolt. The attempt was to some extent successful but was delayed till too late to cause much mischief. In 1868 the Náikdás were stirred up to rebellion by one of their holy men or *bhagats*. A force of over a thousand foot and horse with nine European officers was sent against them.[4] At the beginning of the campaign their leader, whom it was believed no bullet could harm, was fortunately shot, and the rising was at an end. Since then the tribe has remained quiet.

Lazy thriftless and fond of drink, the Náikdás are poor, most of them sunk in debt. The yearly income of a Náikda family may be estimated at Rs. 60 to Rs. 100 and their monthly expenses at Rs. 5 to Rs. 7. Though they eat carrion and rank among the very lowest classes their touch is not held to cause pollution. They eat with Musalmáns but

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[1] Bombay Government Selections, XXIII. 139, 152.
[2] Mr. Prescott's Account. [3] Bombay Government Selections, XXIII. 6.
[4] The details were: Of foot of the 26th Regiment B. I. three European officers and 250 men; of the 6th Regiment B. I. three European officers and 300 men; of the 13th Regiment B. I. three European officers and 191 men; of the Gujarát Bhil corps 69; of the Gáikwár's Arabs 100, and of the Lunáváda Makránis 25. Of horse there were of the Poona Horse one Rasáldár and ten troopers, of the Gáikwár's mounted police 100; and 31 of the Panch Maháł Kaira and Ahmedábád mounted police.

not with Dhedás or Bhangiás. Náikdás show no respect to Bráhmans,[1] and care little for Bráhmanic rites fasts or feasts; they perform no memorial or *shráddh* ceremonies beyond, if they can afford it, giving a dinner in honour of the dead. Except that they sometimes pour oil over Hanumán, and, though they are not allowed to enter her temple, worship the mother or Mátá on Pávágad hill and at other local fairs, the objects of their worship are spirits and ghosts. They show no respect for the Muhammadan religion and neither worship nor make offerings at Muhammadan shrines. In honour of spirits they fix teak posts in the ground, roughly hacking them at the top into something like a human face. Over these posts they smear a red dye *katrej*, and round them set rows of small clay horses.

Marriage and death are among Náikdás the only occasions of ceremony. To arrange a marriage the boy's father goes to the father of the girl and asks him if he will give his daughter in marriage. If the girl's father agrees the boy's father pays him from Rs. 2 to Rs. 5, and leaves. He comes back with some friends bringing a rupee's worth of molasses some of which he places in the girl's hand laying on it a rupee and a half anna. Of the rest of the molasses half is given to the friends of the girls and half to the friends of the boy. The wedding day is fixed by the Náikdás after examining the stars. On the appointed day a booth of fresh leaves is built in front of the bride's house. In the afternoon with horns drums and cymbals and bringing some food, the bridegroom with his parents and a number of relations and friends comes to the bride's father. Here the boy's father pays about Rs. 15 to the father of the girl, and the two families dine together, the bride's father furnishing the liquor. After dinner the bride and bridegroom are seated face to face in the square or *chori* in the centre of the booth, and by two old men, one from each family, who for the occasion are called priests or *pujáris*, have their hands joined and their skirts tied. A sheet is thrown over their heads, and the old men give them some balls of flour and molasses. When each has twice fed the other, the cloth is drawn away and the marriage is over. Then every one drinks as much liquor as he can. drums and cymbals strike up, and all ends in a dance, the men and the women dancing by themselves. In many cases there is no ceremony of this kind. If a girl reaches the age of sixteen and her parents have not betrothed her, she may go and live with any man she chooses, and if he agrees to pay her parents sixteen rupees no objection is raised. Again, if a woman deserts her husband and goes to live with another man he pays the husband sixteen rupees. If the husband consents to give up his wife, he is paid nothing. A widow may marry again. On such occasions there is no ceremony. The husband presents her with a new petticoat bodice and robe. He comes to her house and takes her away with him. But this must be done at night, for it is the common belief that if a widow is married in the day time the village

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[1] The common belief, says Mr. Nandshankar, is that they hold the killing of a Bráhman to be an act of merit. Referring to the feast on the thirteenth day after death their proverb says, By the death of one TILVANI or brow-mark *tilu* wearer a hundred are fed.

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Na'ikda's.

will be burnt. A man may have at the same time more than one wife. The Náikdás do not marry with any other caste. But if a Koli woman lives with a Náikda, or a Koli with a Náikda woman, they are admitted into the Náikda caste. The Náikdás burn their dead usually at a place about four miles from their village. The corpse, wrapped in cloth, is laid on a bamboo bier and carried by men of the tribe, or in a cart, to the burning ground *sivdi*. When the pyre is ready, it is kindled by the deceased's nearest male relation. Nine days after the burning of the body, the nearest relations go to the burning-place and collect the ashes into a heap, and on the heap place an earthen jar full of water. On their return home the relations of the deceased shave their heads and faces. On the same day the person who lighted the funeral pyre cooks rice or panic *kodra* at his house. He lays the cooked grain on a plate made of four leaves of the *khákhra* Butea frondosa tree, pours a little butter over it, and sets fire to it. Some more of the grain, placed on five leaf plates, is sprinkled with butter and given to five children to eat. On the twelfth day the family of the deceased prepare rice or panic *kodra*, and pulse, with, if they can afford it, a little butter, and call those who were at the funeral, or if they are rich enough, the whole village. The guests do not all meet at one time. They come when they like, and receiving their share of the food either eat it on the spot or take it with them to their homes. Among the Náikdás authority and power is centred in four chiefs. Of these one lives at Sivrájpur in Hálol; a second at Gondola in the Udepur state; a third at Ságtála in the Bária state; and a fourth at Dandiapura under Jámbughoda. At a moment's notice these men could between them raise the whole tribe of Náikdás. Except for eating with a Dhed, Chamár, or Bhangia, a Náikda would not be put out of caste. In such a case he would not be readmitted unless he gave a dinner to his castemen. During the last seventy years the Náikdás have made a great advance towards orderly habits. At Jámbughoda since A.D. 1869 a few have sent their boys to school, and two sons of the saint or *bhagat* who was hanged in A.D. 1868 enlisted in the Gujárát Bhil Corps in A.D. 1870.

Va'rlis.

Va'rlis, 46,148, are found in Dharampur and in Surgána to the east and south-east of Surat. This small clan would seem to have come from the Northern Konkan where they are found in considerable numbers. The name is thought to come from *varál* a small patch of cultivated ground. They are more slender and darker than ordinary cultivators. The men shave the head and do not wear the beard. The women wear the hair oiled and plaited. They live in huts eleven or twelve cubits in length and breadth, the walls of bamboo and wattle plastered with mud and cowdung, the roof peaked and thatched with grass. The only house-goods are a few clay pots. They live chiefly on the coarser grains with occasionally a little rice; they eat sheep goats rabbits and fowls. They will not touch the flesh of the cow nor of an animal found dead. They are immoderately fond of smoking and drinking. The men wear a waistband *langoti* and a tattered head-cloth. Their ornaments are silver or tin earrings, silver or brass bracelets, and a brass finger ring. The women wear a cloth over the

Várlis.

head, a bodice, and a cloth round the waist. Of ornaments, they wear a silver chain on the head, brass earrings, coils of glass beads round the neck, and brass bracelets. No ornaments are worn on the legs. Besides the produce of their small patches of hill-side cultivation and rice land, the Várlis earn something from the sale of fowls, numbers of which they rear. They also act as woodcutters and gather firewood. They never make use of a Bráhman's services and pay Bráhmans no respect. On the sixth day after a birth the goddess Chhathi is worshipped. The wall of the house is spotted with redpowder, rice is thrown at the marks, a lamp is lighted before them, and a dinner is given to women. The father names the child. Among Várlis children are married any time after they are twelve years old. The boy's father goes to the father of the girl to ask her in marriage. If the girl's father agrees, the boy's father feasts the village on liquor, spending Rs. 2 to Rs. 5 and fixes the marriage day. For two days before the marriage the bride and bridegroom are rubbed with turmeric powder. On the marriage day to the sound of the *tur* drum, played by a Náik, and accompanied by a party of his friends, the bridegroom goes to the girl's house. Here under a booth of bamboo roofed with grass the bridegroom is seated on a blanket. The father of the bridegroom pays the bride's father Rs. 5 as dowry, and gives the bride two cloths and a bodice, worth in all about Rs. 2½. Either a Náik or a woman ties the hems of the bride and bridegroom's clothes and joins their hands. The bride's friends tell her not to quarrel with her husband and from her earnings to make good the money he has spent on her marriage. The bride and bridegroom then feed each other with cooked rice. A dinner follows. When the dinner is over, the bridegroom leaves, taking with him the bride, who is accompanied by her relatives. During their stay for a day and night at his house, the bridegroom's father entertains the bride's relatives with rice pulse and *tádi* palm beer. After five days the bride comes back to her father's house, and again after five days more goes to her husband. Among the Várlis the practice of serving for a wife *khandádio* prevails. Widow-marriage is allowed but polygamy is not practised. When a Várli dies, the body is bathed, rubbed with oxide of lead *sindur*, and carried to the burning ground on a bier. The pyre is kindled by a son or other near relation, and when it is half burnt the mourners bathe and return to the deceased's house and drink toddy. On the fourth day the mourners go to the burning ground, gather the ashes, and sprinkle toddy over them. Balls of cooked rice or *pind* are also placed in front of the ashes. They then bathe and return home, where they are entertained by the deceased's heir. In the case of a well-to-do Várli a dinner is given at the end of the year. The *patel*, who holds office during the pleasure of the community, decides all caste questions. None of the Várlis send their boys to school.

Vitolia's.

Vitolia's, about 13, are found in the Bánsda state. Their language is a mixture of Gujaráti and Maráthi. In appearance they are dark and thin. The men wear the hair long, never shaving the head. The women dress their hair with care, oiling and braiding it. They live in bamboo and wattle huts, the sides plastered with mud and cowdung, the roofs thatched with grass. Their only household goods

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Early Tribes.
Vitolia's.

are a few clay pots. Besides the coarser grains boiled in porridge and baked in cakes, they eat all animals except the dog the cat and the ass. The men wear a headcloth a loincloth and sometimes a waistcloth; those who can afford it wear earrings and a brass armlet. The women wear a headcloth bodice and waistcloth, and of ornaments a necklace of glass beads and a brass armlet. Anklets are not worn. They plait bamboo baskets and winnowing fans. They are very poor, and are one of the classes whose touch defiles. They worship Samla Dev and Kákábalia the small-pox goddess. They pay no respect to Bráhmans and never make use of their services. In the seventh month of a woman's first pregnancy, five women are called and given liquor to drink. On the sixth day after a birth the goddess Chháthi is worshipped and at the same time the mother names the child. Both for boys and girls fifteen or sixteen is the usual age for marriage. The boy's father asks the father of the girl, and if he agrees, the boy's father entertains the village with liquor. A few days after the boy's father asks the girl and her family to his home and makes them presents. To the girl he gives two robes a necklace and an armlet *chállis*, to her mother a robe worth about Re. 1, and to the bride's brother a waistcloth worth about 8 annas. On this occasion the marriage day, which among Vitoliás is always a Monday, is fixed. In the morning of the marriage day the bridegroom and his relations start in procession with music for the bride's. There they are met by the bride's friends, and the bridegroom is seated in the marriage booth which has been built in front of the house. The bride is brought in and both bride and bridegroom are rubbed with turmeric powder and bathed. After bathing they are dressed in their best clothes, and the bride's brother receiving 1 anna for his trouble ties the skirts of their clothes together. This and the joining of hands completes the ceremony. Then the party begin a dance keeping it up till the early morning when the skirts of the bride and bridegroom's robes are untied. For two days the bridegroom and his party stay at the bride's house. Then leaving the bride with her father he goes home. His bride joins him after five days, and spending five days with him, returns to her father, coming finally to her husband's house after five days more. Polygamy and widow-marriage are allowed and practiced. Vitoliás burn the dead. When life is gone the body is bathed, rubbed with turmeric, tied on a bamboo bier, and carried by four men to the burning ground, the women weeping but not beating the breast. The funeral pile is lighted on all four sides. When the whole is consumed, the mourners bathe in the river and return home stopping on the way for a drink of liquor. On the fifth day a party of mourners visit the burning ground and throw the ashes into the river. On the same day a caste dinner is given. After two months, with the same ceremonies as those observed by the Náiks, a stone smeared with redlead *sindur* is placed below a tree as a memorial-stone or *khatran*. They have no headman and no class organization. They do not send their children to school and show no signs of improvement.

Section XIII.

DEPRESSED CLASSES.

Strength.

SECTION XIII.—DEPRESSED CLASSES.

OF fallen, perhaps rather unraised, or, as Hindus hold unclean castes, there are five with a total strength of 860,655 or 8·7 per cent of the whole Hindu population. The details are :

HINDU DEPRESSED CLASSES, 1891.

NAME.	Ahmedabád.	Kaira.	Panch Maháls.	Broach.	Surat.	Native States.	Baroda.	Total.
Bhangiás ...	14,883	15,838	4356	3748	1659	144,040	33,501	217,525
Dhedás ...	47,082	46,242	5599	16,160	26,467	219,303	124,324	485,177
Gárudás ...	2290	2277	412	434	553	10,107	7453	23,526
Khálpás ...	13,441	12,164	2518	3875	3906	47,426	37,853	121,183
Sindhvás ...	2087	2495	288	1	...	786	7587	13,244
Total ...	79,283	79,016	13,173	24,218	32,585	421,662	210,718	860,655

The uncleanness which attaches to these castes would seem to be due to the work they live by rather than to the character of the people themselves.[1] To explain how the present fallen castes first came to undertake their degrading duties, three causes are assigned : One is that they were of shameful birth, children of a Bráhman woman and a Sudra man. The second that they are of alien race, the remains of a tribe who for long refused to submit to their conquerors. The third, their own and from the almost entire sameness of look language and customs, apparently the true belief, that they are fallen Rajputs, forced by the pressure of war or want to agree to undertake the meanest work.

Appearance.

Fairer larger and less active than the Bhil, Dubla, Koli, and other less settled tribes, the men and women of these classes are hardly to be distinguished from the lower castes of craftsmen and peasants, and, except in accent, their language shows no perceptible difference from the Gujaráti ordinarily spoken by the higher classes of Hindus. The houses are generally in a quarter of the village by themselves. Most of them have only one room, but the walls made of mud or brick, and the peaked roofs covered with thatch or tile, are larger and better built than those in the huts of Bhils and other tribes. Inside and close to the door the ground is kept carefully clean, freshly smoothod with cowdung, and well swept. The outer walls show, as a rule, some coloured drawings in red ochre or chalk or some other attempt at ornament ; and there is often near the door a basil or *tulsi* plant on an earthen pedestal. The furniture is

[1] Some Dhedás who have taken to the work of town scavengers are considered as low as Bhangiás ; others who have become shoemakers seem in a fair way to free themselves from the slur of impurity.

Section XIII. DEPRESSED CLASSES. *Food.*

scanty, a cot and quilt, a few metal dishes and cups, and some earthen pots.

The greater number of them live on the coarser grains, and though, except camels horses asses dogs cats rats and snakes,[1] they will eat almost every kind of flesh, animal food is a luxury to them. They can seldom afford to kill sheep goats or fowls, and especially in the southern parts of Gujarát, Kanbis and other high caste cultivators are careful to bury their dead cattle.

Position.

Among high caste Hindus the degree of aversion for people of this class depends on the kind of work by which they live. Tanners rank below Dhedás, and neither of these is so low as the sweeper or Bhangia. If they take to shoemaking, a family either of sweepers or of tanners would, after a generation or two, free themselves from the slur of impurity; while, on the other hand, by becoming town scavengers, village sweepers would lose position. Still all of them are Hindus, cleaner than the *mlechh* or unbeliever, be he Pársi Musalmán or European.[2]

Except a few well-to-do tanners and servants and some highly paid town scavengers, the bulk of these people are poor. The monthly expenses of a family, containing a man wife and two children, vary from rupees five to rupees seven. In a poor family the marriage of a daughter or son costs anything up to rupees twenty-five; and the funeral expenses vary from rupees ten to rupees fifteen. In a well-to-do family the marriage of a daughter costs rupees thirty to rupees fifty and that of a son from rupees forty to rupees 200. Funeral expenses vary from rupees thirty to rupees 200. Caste dinners are given only on occasions of marriage and death.

Religion.

Orderly, and, except near Surat, sober these people are more religious than the artisan classes, and are freer than the less settled tribes from the dread of witches and spirits. They honour most of the Bráhmanic gods, but chiefly Hanumán, Ganpati, Rám, and Devi, and above all they reverence the sacred basil or *tulsi* plant. A few among them belong to the Sváminaráyan and a good many to the Kabirpanthi sects. These are more careful than the rest of their class-fellows in what they eat and with whom they associate. As they are not allowed to enter them people of these classes seldom worship at the regular village temples or shrines. In some hut near their dwellings they have an image of Hanumán or of Ganpati, where on holidays they light a lamp or offer flowers. In front of their houses most of them keep a

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[1] The Dhedás of Viramgám in the Ahmedábád district are said not to eat the buffalo.

[2] A Muhammadan sovereign asked his Hindu minister which was the lowest caste. The minister begged for leisure to consider his reply, and having obtained it, went to where the Dhedás lived and said to them: 'You have given offence to the Padisha. It is his intention to deprive you of caste and make you Muhammadans.' The Dhedás, in the greatest terror, posted off in a body to the sovereign's palace, and, standing at a respectful distance, shouted at the top of their lungs: 'If we've offended your majesty, punish us in some other way than that. Beat us, fine us, hang us if you like, but don't make us Muhammadans.' The Padisha smiled, and turning to his minister who sat by affecting to hear nothing said: So the lowest caste is that to which I belong. Rás Mála, II. 237.

Section XIII.

DEPRESSED CLASSES.

Religion.

plant of basil or *tulsi*, and inside some of them have an image of Mata Hanumán or Ganpati. Those who can afford it, are fond of going on pilgrimage, worshipping Krishna at Dákor and Devi at Pavágadh and Ambáji. They do not pass into the building, but standing in the portico, bow as they catch a glimpse of the image and present a few coppers to the temple servant.

Compared with artisans, many of these castes devote themselves to a religous life. Two of the best known and most respected religious teachers of Gujarát are Rohidás the Chámár and Karidás the Dhed. These religious men or *bhagats* differ in the extent to which they hold themselves aloof from the ordinary duties of life. Some of them continue with their families working for their support. Others without family ties live more strictly as ascetics, contenting themselves with what they receive in alms. Some are popular from their knowledge of charms. But, as a rule, they claim no special power over ghosts and spirits. They are sober and strict in their lives, spending most of their time in reciting hymns and prayers taught them by other holy men of their own class.

Customs.

Except a half-Musalmán section of the scavenger or Bhangia caste, the members of all of these castes respect Bráhmans and follow closely the ceremonies practised by the higher classes of Hindus. Except among Bhangiás, the name is given by a Hindu priest, and, among all of the castes, betrothal is sealed by the red brow-mark or *chándlo* and children are married at any age up to sixteen. At marriages the priest chooses the lucky day, the god Ganesh is worshipped, the bride and bridegroom are rubbed with turmeric powder, and a booth with a central square or *chori* is built in front of the bride's house. On arrival the bride's mother meets the bridegroom, and, presenting him with the grain-pestle and other articles leads him to his seat and places the bride opposite him, separated only by a cloth; the priest recites verses, the hems of the bride and bridegroom's robes are tied, and, together, they walk three to nine times round the central square.

When no hope of recovery remains the dying is laid on a freshly cleaned floor and a copper or some leaves of the basil or *tulsi* are placed in his mouth. Women come to the house to mourn and beat the breast. The body is carried on a rough bier, the bearers, except among the Dhedás, calling Rám Rám as they go. Some of them burn some of them bury their dead. But all observe the regular rites on the third fourth and twelfth days after death. Except the Bhangiás, the people of the depressed classes have a set of Chárans who visit them, take the names of their children, and attend at marriage. According to their own story, the forefathers of these Bhangia Chárans failed to pay the Government demand due by certain Bharváds or shepherds, for whom they had stood security, and in punishment were forced to drink water from a Dheda's cup. They still visit Bharváds, but dine with Garudás Dhedás and Chamárs.[1]

[1] In northern Gujarát the headman of these castes has the social title of *mehtar* or prince.

Section XIII.
DEPRESSED CLASSES.
Community.

In every village with more than one family each of these castes has its headman or *patel,* and in social matters each of them has its caste rules, and, according to the decision of the council, visits with fine or expulsion such offences as adultery, abortion, and eating with or marrying persons of a lower caste. Though the bulk of them are poor and few have begun to send their children to school, under British rule the position and prospects of the depressed castes have much improved. The same rights are conceded to them as to the higher classes, and they are freed from the burden of forced labour and from other indignities.

Bhangia's or Scavengers.

Bhangia's[1] that is Bamboo Splitters, also called **Olga'na's** Scrap-eaters, 217,525 strong, are found all over Gujarát. According to their own story Bhangiás are the descendants of a Bráhman sage who carried away and buried a dog that died in the midst of a Bráhman assembly. But several of their surnames Chohán, Chudásama, Dáfda, Jethva, Makvána, Solanki, Vághela, Vádher, and Vádhiya seem to show a more or less pure Rajput origin, while Dhedva, Kumbhár, Máru, and Purabiya suggest a mixture of castes.

Though he is held to be lower and more unclean, the Bhangia is viewed with kindlier feelings than the Dheda. Bhangiás were never forced to wear dishonouring badges. To meet the basket-bearing Bhangia is lucky and the Bhangia's blessing is valued. Formerly before attempting the dangers of the Mahi crossing a Bhangia's blessing was sought. Still if a Government officer goes into a Bhangia hamlet the men with hands raised in blessing say: 'May your rule last forever.' They are strongly built, dark, and middle-sized. The men wear the moustache and some the beard and whiskers and cut the hair crescent-shaped at the temples. Most men shave the chin and head once a week or once a fortnight. The men wear a headscarf or turban, a jacket, and a pair of trousers reaching to the knee or a waist-cloth. The women wear a petticoat, a piece of cloth drawn over the upper part of the body, and generally a bodice. Poor women wear a brass nosering, brass earrings, zinc or tin anklets, and in Káthiáwár ivory bracelets. The well-to-do wear a silver necklace, a silver armlet worn near the left elbow, and silver bracelets. They speak Gujaráti and understand Urdu. They live outside of villages in huts with thatched roofs and wattle and daub walls close to some main road as one of their chief services is to act as guides. Their every-day food is millet and pulse, and except in Kaira flesh and fish when they can get them. They eat the cow, buffalo, goat, sheep, camel, deer, hare, hen, partridge, quail, peacock, and dove. They do not eat the dog, cat, monkey, ass, jackal, squirrel, crow, parrot, or kite. Some Bhangiás do not eat the wild pig and the Panch Mahâls Bhangiás do not eat the horse. Except in Kaira, where flesh-eating is avoided on

[1] Bhangia is generally supposed to mean broken. Of the origin of its application to the Bhangiás three explanations are given. According to one it means the broken people (Rev. J. Wilson, Abor. Tribes); according to a second it means the scrap-men or livers on broken meat; and according to a third it means the bamboo splitters. This third derivation seems the most likely. In Kaira the Bhangiás' regular trade is the plaiting of baskets and other articles of split bamboo. In that part of Gujarát, if a Koli is asked to spilt a bamboo he will say, Am I to do Bhangia's work.

Section XIII.

DEPRESSED CLASSES.

Bhangia's or Scavengers.

Occupation.

holidays, they eat flesh whenever they can get it, and, except in Surat, Bhangiás eat the flesh of animals which die a natural death. They eat food cooked by Musalmáns. In north Gujarát and in Káthiáwár the men take opium, and in south Gujarát they are over-fond of strong drink. Most Bhangiás, both men and women, are scavengers and nightsoil carriers. They also sweep the roads winnowing the dust in the hope of finding fragments of gold or silver, make baskets and do other bamboo work, and bury dead animals cattle excepted. Some serve as trackers messengers and letter-carriers. A letter telling of a death is always brought by a Bhangia. They also serve as night watchmen, town-criers, drummers, trumpeters, and hangmen. A few Bhangiás cultivate in addition to their regular work. In north Gujarát, except the dragging away of dead cattle, all menial village work falls on the Bhangia. Besides sweeping the roads and carrying away all dead animals except cattle, the Bhangia watches, shows the road, arranges for supplies, and points out boundaries. In south Gujarát where Bhangiás are scarce many of these duties fall on the Dhedás. In municipal towns as scavengers men earn Rs. 8 to Rs. 20 a month and women Rs. 5 to Rs. 10. In other parts of the province they are poor ill-clad ill-fed and live on scraps and charity especially what they collect on eclipse days. The winding sheet or cloth that covers the dead is given to the Bhangia. In the case of the rich this covering is often a worked shawl worth Rs. 50 to Rs. 100. The Bhangia also gets the pot in which fire has been carried before the corpse, when, as is not uncommonly the case with the rich, the pot is of metal. One of the Bhangia's chief harvest times is an eclipse either of the sun or the moon. According to Bráhman ideas Ráhu the tormentor and eclipser of the sun and moon is a Bhangia and by pleasing the Bhangiás Ráhu's fierceness against the sun or moon is tamed. It is therefore right to make presents of clothes grain and money to Bhangiás. No Bráhman will take gifts during an eclipse. As soon as the darkening sets in the Bhangiás go about shouting, Eclipse-gifts *grahandán*, clothes-gifts *vastradán*, silver-gifts *rupadán*.[1] When a Hindu dies, his widow breaks her bangles or slips them off and gives them, generally including one or two whole ones, to a Bhangia woman.

Religion.

Bhangiás have a good name for honesty and as a class they are quiet orderly and well-behaved. Like Dhedás the Bhangiás are religious. They honour almost all Bráhman divinities and their favourite objects of worship are in central Gujarát Hanumán Meldi and

[1] A wider explanation may be offered of the honour shown to Bhangiás during an eclipse. The sun and moon are man's two chief guardians. Through their help, more than through any other help, the constantly growing armies of evil spirits are kept from ruining man. As the guardian power of the sun or moon wanes when under eclipse so the power and boldness of evil spirits waxes. The eclipse is the hour of the powers of darkness. As the air swarms with evil spirits any gifts made during an eclipse become laden with evil spirits. The sin or *pap*, that is the spirit-haunting or unclean effect, of taken gifts during an eclipse is specially great. For this reason during an eclipse no Bráhman will take any gift. On the other hand as the Bhangia is a favourite spirit haunt the spirits that pass into the gift stay at peace in the Bhangia. Like the harlot, the Bráhman, and the Jewish, perhaps every high priest, the holiness of the Bhangia is the holiness of the scapegoat, that is of the spirit-haunt the absorber of ill-luck.

Section XIII.

DEPRESSED CLASSES.

Bhangia's or Scavengers.

Religion.

Shikotri, and, in south Gujarát, Ganpati Devi and the basil plant. As they are not allowed to enter Hindu temples they bow to the idol from a distance. Many Bhangiás are followers of the sects of Kabir Rámánand and Nának. They honour Musalmán saints, and some of them are Lálbegis that is disciples of the Musalmán saint Lálbeg. They respect Bráhmans who tell them lucky days and Garudás or Dheda priests, who, except in south Gujarát, conduct their marriage ceremonies.

Some of them keep in their houses an image which represents some woman of the family who had been possessed by a spirit. They honour the *navrátri* or Nine Night festival in *Áso* (October). Some teachers or *gurus* of their own caste yearly visit the Bhangiás and receive 8 annas to Re. 1 from each house. There have been several Bhangia saints or *bhagats* of whom the chief are Chiko, Dhiro, Harkho, Kirpo, Lallo, Manor, and Válo. Their leading holidays are *Sankránt* in January, *Holi* in February-March, *Akhátrij* in April-May, *Diváso* in June-July, *Sitlásátem* and *Gokal Athem* in July-August, *Balev* in July-August, *Dasara* in September-October, and *Diváli* in October-November. The depressed classes are fond of making pilgrimages. They go to Bahuchráji, Dákor, Dwárka, Shukaltirth, and Unái, where they pay their respects to the idols from a distance or content themselves by worshipping the banner which flies from the top of the temple. In south Gujarát their great day is the *chhadi* or dark ninth of *Shrávan* in August. The day is marked in honour of a certain Záhir Pir,[1] who, besides by Bhangiás, is held in esteem by many Gujarát Hindus and Pársis. On this day the Bhangiás form a procession and carry a model of the saint's tomb. In front of the tomb the more devout dance and sing beating themselves with heavy iron chains, but by the power of the saint receiving no harm. The Bhangia's rites and ceremonies differ little from those of other Hindus.

Customs.

On the birth of the first male child molasses and sugarcandy are distributed among friends and relations and the news is carried to the family of the child's father. The midwife, who is a woman of their own caste, is given some money molasses and sugarcandy. The ceremonies performed on the sixth day after birth vary in different parts of the province. In Kaira wheat cakes made of 1¼ *man* or fifty pounds or of 1¼ *sers* or 1¼ pounds of flour are distributed among friends and relations. In Surat the midwife cowdungs the whole house and lays near the mother a cocoanut, betel leaves, redpowder, and a lamp fed with clarified butter. In the Panch Maháls the new-born child is bathed and its feet cheeks and forehead are rubbed by two or three caste-women with a mixture of redpowder and dry ginger. In Káthiáwár millet is heaped near the mother and a lamp is fed with clarified butter and a copper or brass pot filled with water is placed near the heap. Female friends and relations come and each woman

[1] Záhir Pir lived in the Hissár district of the Panjáb during the reign of the Emperor Firúz Sháh (A.D. 1350-1390). By working wonders he grew very rich. Some of his relations, hoping to force the saint to share his wealth with them, came against him with an armed force. Záhir went out to meet them, and with his own hand destroyed the whole army. Unfortunately Záhir's foster-brother was among the slain and when his mother heard that he was dead she cursed Záhir and told him she would never look on him again. Distressed with his mother's anger, Záhir prayed that the ground might open and swallow him and his prayer was granted.

Section XIII.

Depressed Classes.

Bhangia's or Scavengers.

Customs.

gives three coppers and in return receives a handful of boiled wheat. The mother is held to be impure ten to forty days after the birth during which time she does no cooking. She becomes pure by worshipping the sun or a well or pond. The child is named either by a priest of their own caste or by the father's sister. In Káthiáwár if the sixth day after the birth of a child falls within the first fortnight of the Hindu month the child is named on that day, but if the sixth day falls in the second fortnight the child is named on a day fixed by the priest. The first giving of cooked food to the child is not always marked by any ceremony. According to the means of the parents, boys and girls are married between twelve and twenty. A Bráhman is asked to fix the marriage day and is paid a copper or two for his trouble. Three or four days before the marriage the bride and bridegroom, each at their own house, are rubbed with turmeric, the women singing and making merry. On the marriage day at the entrance to the girl's marriage booth the bridegroom is received by his mother-in-law; the boy and girl are seated in the central square or *chori* of the marriage booth facing each other and between them a small fire is lighted, a cotton thread is wound round them, their hands are joined, they make four turns round the *chori*, and feed each other with *kansár* or a mixture of boiled wheat-flour clarified-butter and molasses. In south Gujarát a priest of their own caste officiates at all these ceremonies; in central Gujarát the priest is a Garuda that is Dheḍa Bráhman. Marriage is generally forbidden among relations within six or seven degrees either on the mother's or on the father's side.[1] Polygamy and divorce are allowed but not without the grant of special leave from the caste. According to their own account they are most strict in punishing any one who marries a woman of another caste, even though that caste is a high one. Widow marriage is allowed and a younger brother can marry the widow of his elder brother. The bridegroom's presents to the bride vary in value from Rs. 10 to Rs. 50. The lap-filling ceremony is performed in honour of a woman's first pregnancy. After his death the father's property is divided equally among all the sons, except that among the bamboo workers the knife and other tools belong to the eldest son. In the absence of heirs a Bhangia's property goes to the caste funds. The poor bury and the well-to-do burn the dead. The body is washed perfumed and covered with a clean cloth and is laid on a bier from each corner of which a cocoanut hangs. One of the relatives carries fire in a black earthen pot before the body and the bier is carried by four men who sing hymns as they go. On their way near the burying ground the bearers stop and rest the bier. On reaching the burying ground the body is laid in a pit, a copper is thrown in, and the pit is filled with earth. When the body is burnt the four bier-corner cocoanuts are thrown into the flames. After the body is buried or burnt, the mourners bathe and return home. At the house of mourning, when the funeral party return, one of the relations of the deceased places an upturned basket over the spot where the head of the dead lay. On the second day an earthen pot full of water is set at the spot where the bearers halted

[1] In Junágaḍh the children of a man and his sister may marry, but the children of sisters cannot marry so long as the relationship can be traced.

Section XIII.
DEPRESSED CLASSES.
Bhangia's or Scavengers.
Customs.

near the burning ground and is allowed to remain there for ten days. The upturned basket in the house is also allowed to remain for ten days. On the eleventh day the basket is set right, the earth underneath the basket is scraped away, and the basket is given to a priest of their own caste. If the body is buried, for ten days after the death one of the family lays a tooth-twig or *dátan* on the grave and a little opium if the deceased was an opium-eater. Some Bhangiás do and others do not consider themselves impure for ten days after a death. All perform death ceremonies on the eleventh twelfth and thirteenth. Balls of wheat flour are offered, the clothes of the dead are given to the officiating priest, and castepeople are feasted on the twelfth and thirteenth. Except in municipal towns where they are paid Rs. 7 to Rs. 12 a month Bhangiás are seldom paid in cash. Town Bhangiás spend their wages on clothing food and drink, while village Bhangiás live chiefly on their doles of grain and cooked food and wear clothes given them by the villagers. Caste disputes are settled by the head of the caste either alone or with the help of some elders. Breaches of caste rules are punished by forbidding the offenders the use of water and fire and offenders are readmitted into caste on paying a fine.

Though in municipal towns Bhangiás are highly paid as nightsoil men they no longer enjoy presents of food and clothes. Those who used to carry letters have lost their employment and the bamboo splitters also are said to be less well off than they formerly were. Bhangia schools have been opened in most villages. Where there is no school a separate class has been provided for Bhangia boys. Within the last twenty-five years a large number of Gujarát Bhangiás have settled in Bombay where as nightsoil men they earn from Rs. 10 to Rs. 20 a month. Bhangiás have a special liking for singing religious songs in which the women join playing on large drums.

Dheda's.

Dheda's,[1] 485,777, are found in all parts of Gujarát. According to their own story they are the descendants of Kshatris, who, during Parshurám's persecutions, passed themselves off as belonging to the impure castes. That they have a strain of Rajput blood is made probable by their surnames Chávda, Chásia, Chohán, Chudásama, Dábhi, Dadiya, Gohel, Makvána, Parmár, Ráthod, Sarvariya, Solanki, Vághela, and Vála.

Except the Márvádis or Márus originally from Márwár and the Mhárs from the Konkan and the Dakhan, none of the Gujarát Dhedás

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[1] The Dharadas or hillmen, from *dharad* a hill, a subdivision of Dhangars and neighbours to the Kashmiras, are in the Máhábharat (B.C.1400 - A.D.200) mentioned among the Kshatriyas slain by the Bráhman warrior Parashurám (Muir's Sanskrit Texts, I. 458). Manu (B.C.800 - A.D.400) speaks of them as Kshatriyas degraded from the extinction of sacred rites (Muir's Sans. Texts, I. 482). They are mentioned by Ptolemy (A.D.177) as living at the source of the Indus (St. Martin's Etude Sur la Geographie Grecque et Latin de l'Indé 56, sec. 216). Another tribe who in name and social position closely resemble Gujarát Dhedás are the South Kánara Daerds. These people in A.D. 1801, numbering about 50,000, could be bought and sold, and so long as they were fed by him, were for life bound to their master's service. Unlike Gujarát Dhedás, the Kánarese Daerds, except a small section of them, did not eat the flesh of the cow, and were not considered unclean. Slavery in India (Blue Book of 1828), 548.

Section XII. DEPRESSED CLASSES. Dheda's. *Divisions.*

show traces of having come from places outside of Gujarát. Among Dhedás, besides their surnames, are several divisions. The two most ancient divisions were Chásia and Kusia. These though still known as traditional names do not mark any of the present classes. Besides Márus or Márvádis there are ten local divisions among Dhedás, named either from the tract of country in which they live or from their different callings. Of the ten local surnames six are place-names Pátaniás of Pátan, Bháliás of north Cambay, Charotariás or Talabdás of Kaira, Chorásiás or Mahi Kánthiás of Baroda and Mahi Kántha, Káhanamiás of the Kahánam tract in Broach, and Surtis of Surat; three are craft-names Hadiás or bonemen, Megváns or rain-men, and Vankars or weavers; and one is apparently a race-name, Gujjaras or Gurjars of Broach. None of these divisions intermarry, but except that the Márvádis or Márus refuse to eat with the rest and that the Gujars refuse to eat with the Mahárs, all divisions of Dhedás freely dine with one another. Two classes, the Márvádis and the Surtis, hold a special position among Dhedás. The Márvádis who are found mostly in north Gujarát hold aloof from other Dhedás, refuse to eat or drag away dead animals, and earn their living chiefly as camel drivers. The Surtis by intermixture with Europeans and Pársis have improved in appearance and intelligence. Many of them act as butlers house-servants and grooms to Europeans and Bombay Pársis.

Appearance.

Except that they are darker and in central Gujarát slighter, Dhedás, in complexion and figure, are much like Kolis and Kanbis.[1] Some of the women are fair and goodlooking. Most Dheda men shave the head leaving a tuft of hair on the top and wear a thin moustache and in north Gujarát and Káthiáwár the beard or whiskers. A few of the Surtis wear a heavy moustache and whiskers and arrange the hair of the head in European fashion. They speak corrupt Gujaráti, with, among a few who are in the service of Europeans, a mixture of English.[2]

Position

In towns many Dhedás live in stoutly built houses with mud and brick walls and tiled roofs. But in villages the dwellings of most are of wattle and daub with thatched roofs little stronger than the huts of the unsettled tribes. They live chiefly on the coarser grains though they have no scruple about eating flesh. As they cannot afford to buy the flesh of sheep and goats and as most of them are scrupulous not to kill animals for the sake of their flesh, they content themselves with the flesh of cattle which have died a natural death. To prevent them falling into the hands of the Dhedás, especially in south Gujarát, traders and the higher class of husbandmen often bury their dead cattle. Though most of them do not eat fish, they will eat the flesh of all animals except horses, dogs, cats, rats, jackals, and snakes. Animal food is a luxury rather than an ordinary dish. Most take opium, and all drink liquor, in south Gujarát to excess.

[1] The Dhedás of Gujarát proper are more like Kunbis and those of Káthiáwár more like Kolis. Rev. J. S. Taylor.

[2] From their merry disposition Dhedás in European service are called Láliás. From their contact with Europeans they speak broken English commonly known as Lália English.

Section XIII.
DEPRESSED CLASSES.
Dhedás.
Dress.

The bulk of the Dhedás are ill-clad. A man's dress consists of a coarse waistcloth reaching to the knee or a short pair of trousers, a coarse cotton jacket, and a cap or a red or white north-Gujarát turban without golden ends, or a piece of cloth wound tightly over the head. A woman's dress consists of a petticoat, a piece of cloth thrown over the head, and sometimes a bodice. Some men and women wear ill-shaped heavy shoes. A few of the better-off men wear a jacket, a long cotton coat, a cotton waistcloth with an ornamental border or a pair of pantaloons, and a white or red Musalmán-like turban with gold ends. A well-to-do Dheda woman wears a full robe and a bodice equalling in fineness and price those worn by high caste Hindus. Their ornaments are among the men wristlets of brass and silver and ear and finger rings of tin or silver, and among the women earrings of brass or gold, a necklace of *kidia* or glass beads, small nose-studs of glass beads, and in a few cases silver necklaces, silver armlets for the elbow of the left arm, bracelets of wood and cheap ivory, finger rings of brass and silver, and bands of tin or silver round the ankles and toes.

Occupation.

The position and occupation of the Dhedás of northern and southern Gujarát vary considerably. In Ahmedábád and Kaira, with their large population of Bhangiás and the want of a class of field labourers, the Dhedas are private rather than public servants. They are considered higher than Chamárs, and, except that they have to drag away the bodies of dead cattle,[1] are almost never called on to sweep or do other unclean work. Formerly their chief occupation was the spinning of coarse cotton thread and the weaving of coarse cotton cloth and the carrying of treasure and burdens. Spinning and weaving used to support them in tolerable comfort. But the establishment of steam weaving mills in Bombay and their spread through the chief towns of Gujarát has flooded the market with cheap cloth and many of the Dheda weavers failing to compete with steam-woven cloth have sunk to be labourers. They do not act as guides or point out boundary marks; few of them hold rent-free land, and only to a limited extent are village servants. Each family is closely connected with the house of some landholder or *pátidár*.[2] For his master he brings in loads from the fields and cleans out the stable, receiving in return daily allowances of buttermilk and the carcasses of any cattle that die. The Dheda is inclined to be unruly and submits to his master's demands with a bad grace. This opposition and want of subordination is perhaps the cause of the much stronger dislike shown in north Gujarát to the Dheda than to the more unclean Bhangia. Only Dhedás would seem

[1] The practice about dead animals in northern Gujarát is that the Dheda removes cows oxen and buffaloes, and the Bhangia sheep goats dogs and cats. A Dheda who touches a dead dog is put out of caste.

[2] This connection seems to show traces of a form of slavery. Rich *pátidárs* have always a certain number of Dheda families whom they speak of as 'ours' *hámára*, and when a man dies he distributes along with his lands a certain number of Dheda families to each of his sons. An old tradition among Dhedás points to some relation between the Kanbis and Dhedás. Two brothers Leva and Deva were the ancestors, the former of the Kanbis the latter of the Dhedás. Rev. J. S. Taylor.

to have been forced to wear special clothes or badges, to hang spittoons round their necks, or to trail thorns to wipe out their footprints.[1]

South of the Narbada where Bhangiás are scarce and where the black-folk or *káliparaj* supply a large population of hereditary farm servants, the Dheda is a public rather than a private servant. In rural parts in many cases the whole burden of the menial work of the village, the sweeping guiding and load-carrying, rest on the Dheda. He holds rent-free service lands, and, like the Bhangia of north Gujarát, goes round the village of an evening to collect scraps of food. In the larger towns as scavengers and nightsoil-men many Dhedás have sunk as low as Bhangiás. They seem a quieter and more submissive set than the Dhedás of north Gujarát, and, unlike them, in many cases fail to obtain the bodies of dead animals which Bráhman and other high caste cultivators prefer to bury.

Religion.

As a class Dhedás are religious. Many belong to the Bijmargi Kabirpanthi and Rámánandi sects or are followers of one Haribáva. A few are Sváminéráyans. Though they visit the shrines of Musalmán saints, make offerings to saints' tombs, and in Káthiáwár eat with Musalmáns they reverence most of the ordinary Bráhman divinities especially Hanumán, Ganpati, Máta, and Narsingji. They have no household gods, but in some villages have their own temples in which the images of their favourite gods are enshrined. They have religious teachers or *gurus*, who yearly receive from each house annas 4 to Re. 1. Of plants they worship the basil or *tulsi* daily in the house holding it in special esteem. They observe the ordinary Hindu fasts and feasts and do no work either on the bright or on the dark fifteenth of any Hindu month. All believe in omens and some in sorcery and witchcraft. When an ancestral spirit harasses a man or a woman an exorcist who is generally a Vághri or a Rabári is called, and begins to jerk his head to the beating of a brass plate which is held over an earthen jar. The exorcist throws grains of wheat to the four corners of heaven, and, after holding a cotton thread over burning frankincense, ties it to the right elbow of the patient. Dhedás treat their priests or Garudás with more respect than the higher Hindu castes pay to their household priests. They sacrifice neither to the horse nor to the snake. Those who can afford it are fond of making pilgrimages to Ambáji, Dákor, Pávágad, and Unái, and to the temples of other local gods and goddesses. Cases of men taking to a religious life are not uncommon. The two best known saints among Gujarát Dhedás are Khimo of Pálanpur and Shivo of Broach. No ceremonies are performed on the birth of a child.

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[1] At the end of last century (A.D. 1800) it is said that in some parts of Kaira Dhedás used to drag thorns after them, and till lately Dhedás were not allowed to tuck up the *dhoti*, but had to trail their dress along the ground. Though traces of the practice have disappeared, the abusive term *kuladi* or *kodivála* or spittoon-men, shows that at one time the Dhedás had to hang spittoons round their neck. Rev. A. Taylor. As long ago as the reign of Sidharája (A.D. 1094 - 1143) the Dhedás of Anahilaváda, at that time the capital of northern Gujarát, had to live at a distance from other people, to wear untwisted cotton round their heads, and to keep a stag's horn hanging from their waists. From these marks they are said to have been freed by Sidharája in return for the sacrifice of one of their number as a victim to stop the leak of water from the great Pátan tank. Rás Mála, I. 112.

Section XIII.

DEPRESSED CLASSES.

Dhedas.

Customs.

A few women of the caste or a Musalmán midwife attend on a woman at the time of childbirth. Among most Dhedás no *chhathi* or sixth day ceremony is performed. Where any ceremony is performed in honour of Chhathi it takes place on the fifth day in the case of a boy and on the sixth day in the case of a girl. If the fifth day after birth falls within the bright fortnight of the Hindu month, the child is named on that day; if it falls within the dark fortnight the child is named on a day within the next bright fortnight. The name is given by the Garuda who is paid about four annas for his trouble. From the tenth day after childbirth the mother moves about the house and does her ordinary work, but she does not cook or fetch water till after the fifteenth day. No ceremony is performed when cooked food is first given to a child.

Girls are married before they are sixteen and boys before they are twenty-five. The marriage day is fixed by a Garuda or Dheda priest. Three days before the marriage the bride and bridegroom are rubbed with turmeric. On the marriage day at the house of the bride and on the third day before marriage at the house of the bridegroom, nine women whose husbands are alive, in the case of the first marriage occasion in the family, and two women in all subsequent marriages, bring to the house nine or ten earthen pots full of water from the village well. On the third day before the marriage at the bridegroom's house and on the marriage day at the bride's, Ganpati is worshipped and the planets are pleased. On the day before the marriage the bridegroom goes on foot with friends and relations and with music to the bride's village. At the outskirts of the bride's village the party is met by the bride's parents who lead them to separate lodgings where they are feasted. On the marriage day the bridegroom with friends and relations passes from his lodgings to the bride's house. At the bride's house her mother meets the bridegroom, and, presenting him with a miniature plough, a grinding pestle, and a churning stick, leads him to his seat and places the bride opposite him or on his left. Wreaths of cocoanut shells are put round the necks of both the bride and the bridegroom and they are separated by a piece of cloth. The ends of the bride and bridegroom's robes are knotted together, their hands are joined, and the Garuda priest recites verses. In front of the bride's house a square or *chori* is made with four brass or copper pots one at each corner. A shallow earthen pot is set in the centre of the square with fire burning in it. After their hands are joined the bride and bridegroom together walk four times round the square. In the square the bride and bridegroom feed each other with coarse wheat flour mixed with clarified butter and molasses. This completes the marriage ceremony. The Garuda receives from the fathers of the bride and bridegroom a cash present of Rs. 1¼ to Rs. 10½. The Turis or Dheda musicians also receive small cash presents. When the ceremony is over the bridegroom accompanied by the bride goes to his lodgings. The bridegroom's party are again feasted by the bride's parents. On the second day after marriage the bridegroom, accompanied by the bride and his friends and relations, goes to his village. Marriage between near relations is forbidden. The Dhedás allow their widows to

Section XIII. DEPRESSED CLASSES. Dhedás. *Customs.*

marry, the widow of a man marrying his younger brother. Divorce can be obtained almost to an indefinite extent. Before they finally settle to wedded life most couples have more than once changed their partners. Before the change takesplace there must be a formal divorce recognized by the caste. Some Dhedás observe no lapfilling ceremony; among others the ceremony takes place in the seventh month of a woman's first pregnancy. On a day fixed by the Garuda the parents of the woman send to her husband's house a robe, a petticoat, a cocoanut, some rice, and redpowder. The pregnant woman bathes, rubs the redpowder on her forehead and cheeks, and dresses herself in the clothes sent by her father. She carries the rice and the cocoanut in the part of the robe which covers her breast and goes to visit her female relations. She visits her friends one after the other, placing two grains of rice on the threshold of each house. After she has visited all her relations she goes to her husband's house, and cooks and with her husband eats the rice which remains. In Káthiáwár the custom slightly varies. The woman does not visit her relations. She carries the rice and the cocoanut in her lap and with her husband goes to worship Ganpati in the village temple or at the house of some relation. When the husband and wife start the ends of their robes are knotted together and the husband carries a sword in his hand.

Except a few who are well-to-do the Dhedás bury the dead. The dead body is carried on a bier to the burial ground where a lamp is kindled. The mourners after bowing to the ground dig a pit and lay the body in it. The lamp is placed in the pit near the body and a leaf of the basil plant dipped in water is laid in the mouth of the corpse and the pit is filled with earth. The mourners bathe and return to the house of mourning. The nearest relations of the dead are impure for eleven days. A *shráddha* ceremony is performed by the chief mourner with the help of a Garuda on the twelfth day or for four days from the tenth to the thirteenth. Castepeople are feasted from one to four days.

Beliefs.

The Kaira Dhedás have some rather remarkable beliefs. In the Satya Yug, the Dhedás they say were called Satyás; in the Dvápár Yug they were called Meghás; in the Treta Yug Eliás; and in the Káli Yug Dhedás.[1] The name Eliás came, they say, from a prophet Elia, and of him their religious men have vague stories. Some of them especially about a famine that lasted for three years and a half, easily fitting into the accounts of Elijah in the Jewish scriptures.[2] They have also prophecies of a high future in store for their tribe. The king or leader of the new era, Káyamrai by name, will marry a

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1 The Gujaráti runs : સત જુગમાં સતિયા કેહવાયા, દ્વાપરમાં મેઘા; ત્રેતામાં એલિયા કેહવાય, કલિ જુગમાં ઢેડ.

2 In connection with the tradition of Elia another reference remains મેહુ મેલ્યા પણ મેઘવારા ન મૂકયા। જાદિન ના ખૂટયા ।। સતિયા ત્યારે સત રહ્યા। બાઆશના બંદા છૂટયા ।। : He (caused) rain to cease, but did not forsake the Meghvás. When did the Satiás remain true, and the bonds of Baal were broken. It is difficult to say whether they say Baal or Bāl. They say that at the time here spoken of there was no rain for three years and a half. Revd. J. S. Taylor.

Section XIII.

DEPRESSED CLASSES.

Dheda's.

Dheda woman and will raise the caste to the position of Bráhmans. They hold religious meetings or *ochavas*, and at these, with great excitement, sing songs full of hope of the good things in store for them.[1]

Community.

Every settlement of Dhedás has its headman called *mehtar* in northern and *patel* in southern Gujarát. Along with three or four other members of the community, he settles all caste and other social disputes. As a body the Dhedás are somewhat strict in punishing breaches of caste rules, and more than most of the artisan castes they show respect to the opinion of their headman. Of the more intelligent Surat Dhedás, many in the position of private servants gain a knowledge of English and learn to read and write. Some of the Dhedás who have learned to read and write have risen to good positions. One was a clerk in a Government office in Bombay, drawing a monthly salary of Rs. 100. On the whole in spite of the decline of their old craft the handloom weaving of coarse cotton cloth, the Dhedás have under the British Government made a great advance. This change in their position, one of the most marked results of British rule, is thus described in a proverb in common use in southern Gujarát: "The gods have gone to the hills, the saints to Makha; under English rule the Dhedás knock and slap us."[2]

Garuda's or Dheda Priests.

Garuda's or Priestlings, 23,526, are found in all parts of Gujarát. They act as priests to all unclean castes including Bhangiás in central Gujarát but except Bhangiás in south Gujarát. They claim to be Bráhmans, who, according to one account, were degraded because the head of their tribe married the daughter of his religious teacher or *guru*; according to another story because they agreed to act as priests to the Dhedás; according to a third story at a sacrifice they ate a piece of the victim; and according to a fourth they are the descendants of the Bráhman priest who was given to the Dhedás by Siddharája. Their surnames Dave, Joshi, Nágar, Shrimáli, and Shukal point to a Bráhman origin, but a few bear the Rajput surnames of Gohel and Gandhiya. Except in the Panch Mahály, where there are two divisions, the *shudh* or pure and the *káyatia* or impure who eat together but do not intermarry, there are no subdivisions among Garudás. They are fairer than Dhedás and speak Gujaráti as Bráhmans speak it. Their men wear the moustache and the hair on the head, live in mud houses or huts, wear scanty clothes, and carry an almanack in the turban and an inkstand hanging from the shoulder. They eat with Dhedás and join them in any food. Like Bráhmans they bathe before meals. As priests of Bhangiás Dhedás Chamárs Shenvás and Turis, all of whom style them Bráhmans, they officiate at marriages and deaths, receiving on each occasion gifts of Rs. 3 or less in

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[1] When a man wishes to hold an *ochava*, he invites the whole caste. Beginning about eight in the evening they often spend the night in singing. Except perhaps a few sweetmeats there is no eating or drinking. The excitement is altogether religious and musical. The singers are chiefly religious Dhedás or *Bhagats*, and the people join in a refrain *Avore kuyam rái rája*, Oh come Káyamrai our king.

[2] The Gujaráti runs, દેવ ગયા ડુંગરે, પીર ગયા મક્કે, અંગરેજના રાજમાં ઢેડ મારે ધક્કે.

Garuda's or Dheda Priests.

cash. Some till, others weave, and a few act as tailors to Dhedás. Most of them can read and a few understand Sanskrit, reciting and explaining hymns and passages from the Puráns. They teach their boys privately, and a few Garudás teach Dheda boys to read and write Gujaráti free of charge or on payment of a yearly fee of Re. 1 to Rs. 2. They worship the ordinary Bráhmanic gods, especially Rám, the basil plant, and Devi, and they keep the Bráhman fasts and holidays. Many are followers of the Rámánandi and Parinámi sects. They go daily to worship Krishna's crown or *mugat* which is placed on the Bhágvat book in their temples. They believe in omens witchcraft and sorcery and practice exorcism and magic on the banks of the Narbada. They worship the sun and moon. They draw up and use horoscopes. As among Bráhmans a few men called *Shukals* act as their priests. No ceremony is performed on the day of birth. On the sixth day Chhathi is worshipped and the child is named by the paternal aunt. No *botan* or food-giving ceremony is performed, and the child is given cooked food when it is eight or nine months old. Boys are girt with the sacred thread between five and nine when the regular Bráhman ceremony is gone through. Garudás hold a distinct position, marrying only among themselves, and like high class Hindus marrying their daughters before they reach the age of twelve. Betrothal takes place before marriage, a lucky day is fixed, and the marriage ceremony is gone through at the bride's house as nearly as possible with the same detail as is observed in high caste marriages. Ganpati is worshipped, the planets are propitiated, the bride and bridegroom are rubbed with turmeric, the bridegroom is received by the bride's mother at the entrance of the booth, and presented with a miniature plough, a grinding pestle, and a churning stick, a fire is lit in the centre of the marriage booth, the clothes of the bride and bridegroom are tied, the hands are joined, and the marriage thread is put round their necks, the bride and bridegroom walk four times round the central square and feed each other with *kansár* or a mixture of boiled wheat-flour clarified butter and molasses, they play cards, and struggle for a ring in a jar filled with water. Divorce and widow marriage are allowed. The lapfilling ceremony is performed during a woman's first pregnancy. Their dead are burned. They perform the *shráddha* and hold themselves impure for ten days. Their yearly earnings vary from Rs. 25 to Rs. 120. They have no headman, but a council of their own punishes breaches of caste rules by fine or expulsion. The Garudás have made almost no progress in learning English.

Kha'lpa's.

Kha'lpa[1] in southern Gujarát, Chamár or Chámadia and Dafgar in northern Gujarát, tanners and skin dressers, with a total population of 121,183, are found all over Gujarát. They claim a mixture of Rajput blood and in proof of their descent bear Rajput names. The appearance of many of them, light in colour, large, and with regular features, supports their claim. Their houses are generally substantially built with mud or brick walls and tiled roofs. Their dress neither

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[1] Khálpa from *khál* or *chhál* the outer skin, *Chamár* from *chamari* or *charm* skin.

Chapter XIII.
Depressed Classes.
Khálpás.

among the men nor women, differs from the clothes ordinarily worn by the lower class of craftsmen. They eat the flesh of the cow and other ordinary varieties of animal food, but in practice they live almost entirely on vegetables. Except near Surat, where they drink palm juice to excess, they are temperate in the use of stimulants. In northern Gujarát they rank below, and in southern Gujarát above the Dhedás. Their work is the tanning and colouring of leather, the making of leather buckets bags and ropes, and the repairing of old shoes. The leather is chiefly made from the skins of buffaloes bullocks and cows. They generally receive their supplies of hides from Dhedás and Musalmán butchers. With goat and sheep skins they have little to do. As one of the staff of Gujarát village servants, the Khálpa has under the British Government been continued in his lands on payment of one-half of the ordinary rental. As a class the Chamárs are poor. In religion they observe most of the ordinary Bráhman rites, consulting a priest either a Kálatia Bráhman or a Garuda as to the name of the child, sealing betrothals with the red browmark or *chándla*, marrying their children between the ages of twelve and sixteen, consulting their priest about the lucky day for the marriage ceremony, holding it in the central square or *chori* of a booth built in front of the bride's house, and at death burying their dead and observing the regular rites on the third fourth and twelfth days after death. They show no special reverence to the horse or the snake, and are not firmer believers in witchcraft than most other Hindus. They have a headman or *patel* in each village, and settle all caste disputes by calling together five of their own body. As a class they show few signs of change or progress; almost none of their children receive instruction in Government schools. The two or three Khálpás who have become Christians have received high education and are under-graduates and graduates.

Sindhvas.

Sindhva's, also called Shenvás from plaiting the leaves of the wild date or *shendi*, and Tirgars from making arrows or *tirs*, with a strength of 13,244, are found mostly in north Gujarát. They bear the Rajput surnames of Chhásatia, Makvána, Ráthod, Solanki, and Vághela. Except that they are darker they do not differ in appearance from Dhedás. They speak Gujaráti and live in small mud huts with thatched roofs. Their food is coarse grain, and, except a few in Kaira, they eat whenever they can get it fish and the flesh of all animals and birds. They take opium and drink liquor. They dress like Dhedás. Their women generally wear the petticoat and bodice and a piece of cloth thrown over the head. Except a few who have a silver necklace women wear no ornaments but a pair of brass wristlets. Most of them earn their living by plaiting wild date leaves into matting or making date brooms or ropes of *bhindi* Hibiscus esculentus fibre. The rest are letter-carriers messengers barbers and village servants. As village servants they enjoy a yearly cash allowance of Rs. 12 and hold and till small plots of land. In their leaf plaiting and field work they are helped by their wives and children. They rank between Dhedás and Bhangiás. Dhedás do not touch them and they do not touch Bhangiás. They are Bijmargis, Rama-

nujás, and devotees of Rámdi Pir and Bhildi Máta. Except the devotees of Bhildi Máta they have no household gods. Bhildi Máta is represented by a cocoanut and is worshipped only when an enemy has to be worried. They observe the ordinary Hindu fasts and feasts but the followers of Rámdi Pir fast on new-moon days and do no work on Fridays. Most of them believe in sorcery witchcraft omens and the evil eye. Their religious head occasionally visits them and receives 2 to 8 annas from each house. Some of them go on fair days to Amba, Bahuchra, Dákor, and Dwárka. They do not enter the temple but worship standing near the door. Both men and women have much taste in singing, sometimes with and sometimes without cymbals and drums. Their sixth-day, name-giving, marriage, pregnancy, and death ceremonies do not differ from those performed by Dhedás. Their Garuda priests officiate at these ceremonies. Among them divorce and widow marriage are allowed. The widow of a man marries his younger brother. Social disputes are settled by a few of the elders. They are a poor class.

Section XIV.
ELEMENT WORSHIP.
Rivers.

bathe in a river. The meeting place of two or more rivers is specially sacred When the river is flooded or immediately after the rains the village headman goes with music to the river bank and throws into the river a cocoanut, milk, a potful of curds, and a woman's robe. A pregnant woman, if she can help it, never crosses a river. If she must cross she throws into the water a cocoanut some betelnuts and a copper coin. Of Gujarát rivers the Tápti, the Narbada or Reva, and the Sarasvati are held particularly sacred. Of other Indian rivers those held most sacred are the Godávari, the Ganges, and the Jamna. Any river near a great seat of pilgrimage has special religious importance. These rivers are worshipped with the usual offerings of flowers cocoanuts and milk by the people on their banks and by strangers when they visit some sacred shrine on their banks. In particular pools in the Reva Godávari and Ganges the bones of the dead are thrown after death rites are performed. The Sarasvati at Sidhpur is sacred, and the river bend to the east of Sidhpur is held to be little distant from paradise. The river is much sought after by persons wishing to perform after-death rites for dead women. The water of the Jamna is stored by most Vaishnavs who sip it after the daily worship is over, and the water of the Ganges is used on all sin-cleansing occasions. The water of one of these two rivers is dropped into the mouth of the dying.

Ponds.

Except those near a sacred shrine ponds are not held very sacred. On their fast days people bathe with pond water, and, in some villages, on the bright tenth of *Bhádarvo* (September) the village headman worships an unsheathed sword and in the evening throws a cocoanut into the village pond. After this the headman walks round the village pouring out a mixture of milk and water.

Springs.

The sudden appearance of a spring is regarded as the outflow of the water of the Ganges and a bath in it is held to be as cleansing as a bath in the Ganges. The spring water is taken home and is poured into the house-well to purify the well. The day of its appearance is kept sacred. The chief hot spring that is held sacred in Gujarát is at Unái, forty miles south-east of Surat, where thousands of pilgrims gather from the neighbourhood on the *Chaitra* fullmoon (April).

Wells.

Certain ceremonies are performed before sinking a well. Some Ods or pond-diggers, Kolis, Bráhman ascetics, and all fatherless sons are believed to have the power of showing spots where water lies at a certain depth. This they are able to do by their experience, by observation of the geological formation of the country, by the ruins of old wells, and by the presence of the *kamboi* (Breynia patens Euphorbiaceæ) bush which is believed to draw its nourishment from sweet water some feet below the surface. On a day fixed by the village astrologer, the spot pointed out by one of these water-showers is sprinkled with water and flowers are strewn over it. A cocoanut or an earthen saucer containing curds and turmeric wrapped all over with red cotton thread is laid in a hole dug in the ground. The digging begins by striking the cocoanut or the saucer with the point of a hoe or pickaxe. Boiled wheat coarse sugar and coriander seed are given to all present, and the village astrologer is paid a rupee. On the appearance of water in the pit a stone daubed with redlead is laid near the top as the home

of the water goddess. Friends and relations of the owner of the well go to the spot with music, throw flowers and sandal-paste into the water, and offer a cocoanut to the stone. It is unlucky to drink water out of a well before it is worshipped. One rupee is paid to the carpenter before the wooden frame work at the top is erected and to the bricklayer before the masonry work is taken in hand. Bráhmans are feasted before the well is used for watering land.

A month after childbirth all women worship a well. The woman goes to the house-well, makes seven small heaps of rice near its mouth, and lays a betelnut on each heap. She dips four blades of the *daro* grass in wet turmeric powder, and throws the blades into the well along with flowers and some cleaned rice. After this she draws water from the well and uses it for some family purposes. Into the well are thrown the dirty water and refuse of the god-room and old sacred threads which have been defiled by being trodden under foot.

Rain Worship.

The power who presides over rain is Indra who rules the firmament, regulates the motions of the clouds, and wields the thunder. The common people, especially the better class of husbandmen, have certain signs and forecasts of the weather, partly the result of local observation and partly based on the sayings of Bhadli the daughter of Ughad, a great Márwár astrologer.

The beginning of the south-west rain (June) is believed to be close at hand if for some days the sky has been clouded; if the heat is overpowering; if sparrows and crows flutter their wings in the dust or in water; if the stork sits with its wings outstretched; if the female crane keeps to her nest and is fed by the male crane; if cranes and *jalkukdi* or waterfowl soar high in the sky; if moths begin to fly about; if white-mouthed ants leave their cells with their eggs; if birds come from the sea side or begin to build their nests; if the chameleon becomes red or yellow; if glowworms sparkle brightly at night; if foxes and wolves howl long after sunset; if the water in a shoemaker's earthen jar has generated insects; if serpents hiss or fight with each other; if the fig tree throws out new branches; if the leaves of the thorny milkbush droop; if the berries of the *nim* Indian lilac tree are ripe; if white insects gather on the *hingora* tree; if the *kevada* or Pandanus flowers freely; if the leaves of trees are bitten by insects; if iron becomes rusty and salt becomes watery; if black clouds move north and south; if there is lightning in the north-east; if a cold wind blows from the south-west and north-east; if the rainbow appears in the east; if there is a halo round the moon; and if the sky is yellowish at sunset. The rain is expected on the twenty-eighth day after the first disappearance at sunset of a cluster of three stars called *Arni*; not till the seventy-third day after the day on which the moon enters the *Rohini nakshatra* or star chamber (22nd May - 3rd June) with lightning but without rain; on the ninety-first day after the day on which hot and parching winds begin to blow; and six months after the first foggy day. Rain is sure to fall on the first of *Vaishákh* (May)

Section XIV.
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if there has been a drizzle and cold winds during the first five days of the dark fortnight of *Fágan* (March). The year will be one of good and seasonable rainfall if the sky is cloudy on any day between the first day of *Mragshirsh* (December) and the second day of *Fágan* (March); if the month of *Mágh* (February) is extremely cold; if for four days from the bright seventh to the bright eleventh of *Mágh* (February) the sky is cloudy; if there is lightning on the evening of the first of *Mágh* (February) and a drizzle; if the wind blows fiercely during the whole of *Fágan* (March); if the *Fágan* (March) fullmoon day is cloudy; if the sky is clear during the whole of *Chaitra* (April); if the moon enters the *Revti nakshatra* or star chamber (28th March - 10th April) on the first of *Chaitra*; if on the bright fifth of *Chaitra* (April) a particular cluster of stars is below the moon; if in *Vaishákh* (May) the sky has five colours and there is a drizzle; if the spring tides on the bright third of *Vaishákh* (May) run very high; if the month of *Jeth* (June) is extremely hot with parching winds; and if the sky is cloudy during the last four days of *A'so* (October).

A cloudy sky on *Ashád* fullmoon (July) is the forerunner of a heavy downpour of rain. If during the day the sky is clear and reddish the Kanbi cultivator is in raptures at the prospect of a good and seasonable rainfall for one month. If on this day the wind blows from the west, there will be a splendid rainfall and a rich harvest; if from the north, there will be drought first and a splendid rainfall afterwards; if from the north-east, the people will be happy and prosperous. If there is lightning particularly in the north-east corner of the heaven there will be a plentiful rainfall and a rich harvest.

The year will be one of partial failure of rain if there is only a drizzle during the time the moon remains in the *Kritika* star chamber (8th - 21st May); if during the time the moon remains in the *Rohini nakshatra* (22nd May - 3rd June) enough rain falls to make water run; if the time of the moon's first entering the *A'rudra* mansion (19th June - 2nd July) is evening and there are good showers during the time it lasts; if during the time the moon remains in the *Mragshir* mansion (11th - 18th June) the wind blows furiously; if on the bright fifths sevenths ninths and fifteenths of *Ashád* (July) there is lightning in the north-east; if the clouds make it pitch dark on the night of the bright eighth and fifteenth of *Ashád* (July); if the bright tenth of *Ashád* falls within the period when the moon is in the *Rohini* mansion (22nd May - 3rd June); if it thunders on the dark first of *Ashád* (July); and if on the dark eighth of *Ashád* (July) the moon and if on the bright seventh of *Shrávan* (August) the sun is clouded at rising. The year will be one of complete failure of rain if it drizzles in *Mágh* (February); if on the *Fágan* fullmoon (March) the wind blows from the south and there is lightning; if during the month of *Chaitra* (April) the sky is cloudy and there is a drizzle especially on the bright seventh ninth and fifteenth; if on the fifth of *Chaitra* a particular

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cluster of stars is to the left of the moon at the time of setting; if on the bright third of *Vaishákh* (May) the wind blows from the south; if the time of the moon's first entering the *Arudra* mansion (19th June - 2nd July) is morning or noon; if on the bright eleventh twelfth and thirteenth of *Vaishákh* (May) there is rain or thunder and lightning; if there is rain or thunder on the no-moon day of *Jeth* (June) and on the first day of *Ashád* (July); if on the bright fifth of *Ashád* (July) the sky is clear and there is lightning in the south south-west or north-east; if on the *Ashád* fullmoon (July) the day is cloudy and the night is clear; if on this day the wind blows from the south; if there is no thunder on the dark fourth and fifth of *Shrávan* (August); if the dark eighth of *Shrávan* falls within the period when the moon is in the *Mragshir* mansion (4th - 18th June); if the sky is clear for the last four days of *A'so* (October); if it only drizzles when the moon is in the *Bharni* mansion (24th April - 7th May); if the month *Ashád* (July) is an intercalary month; and if the bright fifth of *Kártik* (November) falls on a Saturday. A famine is imminent if men and animals feel unusual hunger and thirst; if the *bor* Zizyphus jujuba tree fruits freely; if there are many swarms of bees; if immediately after the rainy season sets in the jackals howl in the evening; if the ants hoard food-grains; if wild animals leave their haunts in forests and make their homes close to villages; if cows bellow during the night; if immediately before the rains the eggs of the peevit or *titudi* are laid on low ground or on a rock in the middle of a pond with the tapering part of the egg touching the ground; if curls of smoke hang in the four quarters of heaven; if a crackling noise is heard from a well; if there is very loud thunder; and if in the cold months vapour rises from water. The crow and the Indian crane or *sáras* are believed to know beforehand whether the year will be wet or dry. If the rain is to be heavy the crows build their nests on the tops of trees sheltered by leaves and branches; if the rain is to be neither heavy nor light they build in the middle of trees but a little exposed; and if the rain is to be light they build on the west or rainy side of trees. If a pair of cranes walking on a river bank utter their cry with their faces turned south the rainfall will fail; if their faces are turned north the rainfall will partially fail; and if east or west the rainfall will be good and seasonable.

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Besides marking these signs Gujarát husbandmen use other contrivances for determining whether the year or some particular month in the year will be dry or wet. Among the better class of husbandmen, Kanbis, Anávla Bráhmans, and others, the chief weather-tests are: On the morning of the bright third of *Vaishákh* (April - May) a man sits in open ground with a burning cowdung cake in his hand. If the smoke moves towards the sun the year will be one of heavy rain; if the smoke forms into a wreath and passes high over the man's head the year will be one of partial or complete failure of rain. On the evening of the bright second of *Vaishákh* (April - May) the village headman sets an earthen jar filled with water in a field on four clods of earth, the clods

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representing the four wet months of *Ashád*, *Shrávan*, *Bhádarvo*, and *Áso*. The mouth of the jar is closed by an earthen saucer containing cleaned rice. After bowing to the jar, the headman returns home and on the following day examines the four clods. The dryness or wetness of the four months is foreshown by the dryness or wetness of the four clods. On the morning of the bright fifteenth of *Fágan* (March) an earthen jar filled with water and with its mouth closed is buried in the ground over which the *Holi* fire is lit. On the next *Holi* festival the jar is unearthed and the dryness or wetness of the jar foretells the dryness or wetness of the year. On the same day an earthen jar filled with water and with its mouth closed is laid in a hole over four clods representing the four rainy months. The hole is covered with earth and over it the *Holi* fire is lit. On the following day the clods in the hole are examined and their dryness or wetness foretells the character of the months they represent.

On the *Shrávan* (August) fullmoon day on a river bank Bráhmans make two heaps of rice calling one a good and the other a bad year. If a crow alights and thrusts its beak first into the good year heap the year will be a famine year; if into the bad year heap the year will be prosperous. In some parts of Káthiáwár the chief or the state officials, with four earthen pots symbolical of the four rainy months, go to a river bank. The chief or the head official worships the boundary guardian *Khetarpál* represented by a trident, by pouring water and throwing flowers over it. Four men of the party with one of the four pots tied to the waist of each at one plunge dive into the water. The four men come out of the water with the pots still round their waists. The water in the pots is examined and according as it is plentiful or scanty there will be a plentiful or scanty rainfall in the corresponding months of the new year. The pots are afterwards broken to pieces. These pieces are by some taken home and put in their grain stores.

To find what crops will fail and what crops will thrive, the following tests are taken. On the fullmoon of *Fágan* (March) heaps of various kinds of grain are piled in some open space. Next day the heaps are examined and those crops will fail whose heaps are scattered. On the *Ashád* fullmoon (July) a *tola* weight of different grains in separate wrappers is put in an earthen jar and the jar is laid in a Shaiv temple. On the next day the different grains in the wrappers are reweighed and according as they rise or fall below the original weight the grains will sell cheap or dear during the coming year.

A branch of the thorny milkbush or *thuveria* with four twigs representing the four rainy months is put in the *Holi* fire for some minutes and is then taken out. The rainfall will be light in those months whose representative branches have been injured by the fire.

Bhil, Koli, and Dubla husbandmen use the following tests to find if the year will be wet or dry: On a day some time before the rain sets in a man and his sister's son stand near the village well with their faces turned towards the sun. A date-palm stick is given to

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each, the uncle holding his stick in his right hand and the nephew his stick in his left hand. While the two are standing, the villagers come and one of them worships a clay image of the rain-god. One of them becomes possessed by the rain-god and begins to move his body to and fro. The uncle and the nephew then brandish their sticks and throw them down at the same time. If the nephew's stick is found below the uncle's the rainfall will be good and seasonable; if the uncle's stick is below the nephew's the rainfall will be partial or will completely fail. They go on pouring water before their goddess till it begins to run. The stream is stopped by a sand bank. If the pent-up water overtops the sand bank the rainfall will be heavy, if the water oozes through the bank the rainfall will be partial, and if the water stagnates the rains will fail.

If the rain holds off till late in June, if the whole of July and the first half of August are almost dry, if the standing crops wither, and if men and animals are distressed by drought, efforts are made to induce Indra the rain-god to favour the earth with showers. Wealthy men engage Bráhmans to repeat prayers to the rain-god in a Shaiv or a Máta's temple. Sometimes the outlet by which the water passes from the basin in which the *ling* of Mahádev is set is closed and the women of the village keep pouring water on the *ling* till it is deep sunk in water. This pouring of water, intended to please Mahádev, is repeated for eight days unless the rain falls in the meantime. Sometimes the people of the town or village quit the place in a body for a day and leave the village or town *ujad* or waste, and cook their food outside. This is done because by holding off rain Indra wishes to lay waste the land. In native states on the day fixed for quitting the town or village the chief issues a proclamation forbidding any one to remain in the village on that day on pain of a heavy fine. Sometimes a man pretending to be possessed by a goddess walks about the town and induces the people to make offerings to the goddess through him. The offerings which are laid in broken earthen vessels symbolical of human skulls out of which the Joginis or female spirits delight to eat, are taken out of the town or village by the eastern gate and then set down on the ground within a water circle. Sometimes a party of Bhil, Koli, or Kanbi women walk in the street singing the praise of the rain-god or as they call him *Mehulo*. One of the party bears on her head a basket containing a clay frog with three twigs of the *nim* Indian lilac tree stuck in it. The party stop at every house where the women of the house pour a potfull of water over the frog drenching the bearer and presenting them with doles of grain. Sometimes in fulfilment of a vow the headman of the village, and in native states the chief, dresses himself like a woman until the rain falls. Sometimes the wealthiest and most respected man in the village dresses himself like an ordinary cultivator, goes to a field, and begins to plough. The women of his house or others who do not generally move about the streets with uncovered faces go at noon to the field where the man is ploughing taking cakes on their heads in the manner of ordinary peasant women. Sometimes the children of wealthy and respectable persons at nightfall go about the

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streets in rags and in a plaintive tone ask alms from door to door. It is a hopeful sign if the people, especially if the close-fisted, taking them to be beggar children, listen to their prayers and give them grain. Sometimes wealthy and respectable women go about the street at midnight and knock at other people's doors. When asked what they are the women say in a feigned voice they are famine-stricken people from Márwár. As a rule Bhil women do not shoot with a bow or use a sword. Only when the rains hold off for long and threaten scarcity, Bhil women go to the temple of the village goddess with bows and arrows, and there they abuse the goddess, smear her idol with cowdung, and sing dance and jump as if preparing to commit a dacoity or *darora* by stealing the buffalo from the herd grazing in the neighbouring village. Generally when women come in this way to steal a buffalo the cowherd in charge of the cattle offers no resistance. The buffalo is led in triumph to the shrine of the goddess and killed with clubs and sticks. Round the dead animal the women dance for a long time and then distribute the food among themselves. The Bhils say that the women perform this buffalo-killing rite to shame the gods into pity and to convince them how badly off they must be when women have to take up arms.

Fire.

Of the five elements fire or *agni* is held most sacred by almost all classes and its worship is widespread. Fire is believed to be one of the elements of the soul. and to be the cause of the natural warmth of the body and of the digestion of food. Besides in burning the dead, it is used in all sin-cleansing rites. To complete thread, marriage, and pregnancy ceremonies offerings are made to fire. Bráhmans hold fire in high veneration; it is their Vishvadev or Universal Lord and they daily offer it a few pinches of cooked rice. Bráhmans specially worship fire on no-moon days. It is used in all sacrifices. Bráhmans produce the fire which is used in the fire sacrifice or *agnihotra* by rubbing together two pieces of *kher* Acacia catechu wood. The fire thus obtained is used for sacrifice and is kept continuously alive in the house by adding to it logs of the *pipal, shami, vad*, and *khákhro* trees. This fire is worshipped in the morning, at noon, and in the evening. If the sacred fire goes out fresh fire is brought with music from the house of some one who kindled it by the friction of wood, and has used it in performing a sacrifice. When brought to the house the new fire is laid in a masonry receptacle. Rajputs in native states and most trading classes in the evening bow to the lamp and to each other; traders and shopkeepers offer sandal-paste and flowers to the lamp; and all craftsmen, Sonis Luhárs and Kansárás, who use fire in their calling, make daily offerings of clarified butter and rice to their fire-place. Anything that has become unclean is purified by throwing it in fire. Sita the wife of Rám, after her deliverance from Rávan, is believed to have been purified by walking on live charcoal, and all Bráhmans with the help of live charcoal purify their pots that have been defiled by being used by others than themselves or by women in their monthly sickness. On the other hand those who have been burnt to death by fire or lightning are believed to become unfriendly spirits or *bhuts*. Fire is one of the great spirit-scarers in all cases of spirit possession

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and in many cases of witchcraft live charcoal or a lighted lamp is set before the patient or the witch that the spirit in them seeing the light may fear and fly. Some time about the *Kártik* fullmoon (November) lamps fed with clarified butter are offered to quiet the spirits. The Jámbughoda Bhils, Kolis, Náikdás, and Dhánkás take vows to walk over live charcoal as a cure for cattle plague and sickness. For this purpose on the dark first of *Fágan* (March) a trench about fifteen feet long and eight feet broad is dug in the ground near which the *Holi* fire is lit. The bottom of the trench is strewn with live charcoal which is turned to a flame every now and then with offerings of clarified butter. The sick man or the owner of the sick cattle or any other member of the family, richly dressed is taken with music to the trench. The fire is worshipped, a cock is offered to it. and the man or woman walks barefoot down the length of the burning trench. In an outbreak of fire its spread is checked by offering curds to it. The chief fire-worship day is *Holi*, the *Fágan* fullmoon in March. On this day fire is lit in houses and at the crossing of four roads or outside the village. When the fire is lit at the crossing of four roads or outside the village a hole is dug or an earthen platform is raised near the spot where the fire is to be lit. The hole or the platform is strewed with redpowder and flowers. The main roads are festooned with mango or *ásopálo* leaves and miniature paper flags. In the evening fuel gathered from the street people or filched from fuel-carts passing through the street is piled over the spot. In the afternoon the street people assemble, indulge in the foulest abuse and in mock fights, and in the evening or at midnight one of the street people or in villages the headman with the help of a Bráhman offers sandal-paste and flowers to the pile which is then lighted with a torch, sometimes by a Vágri. When the whole is ablaze clarified butter, fried *juvár*, and gram, and several dry dung-cakes strung together are thrown in the fire. The worshipper then walks seven times round the fire, pouring water as he walks. At the end of the seventh round he offers a cocoanut. The street or village people then walk seven times round the fire and besides fried grain offer it the unopened leaves and lopping of the mango *moha* and *shami* trees. Newly married pairs, mothers with children, and all who want to guard themselves against fever and sore-eyes worship the *Holi* fire for which they have to keep a day-long fast. The other occasion sacred to fire-worship is during the *Diváli* festival, that is the last three days of *A'so* (October). During these days all houses are brilliantly lighted, and on the last day of the month lighted lamps fed with clarified butter or oil are worshipped, particularly by traders and shopkeepers, offering to them husked rice flowers and sandal-paste. The followers of Kabir, and some of those who belong to the Márgi or Bij sect and profess not to worship idols, hold the flame or jet of a lighted lamp sacred and make offerings to it as others do to their idols. The newmoon day is held sacred by the members of the Bij or Márgi sect when a lamp is lighted in their temples and the flame is worshipped with a full ritual. An outbreak of fire is dreaded if there are five Tuesdays or Saturdays in a month; if the first day of *Chaitra* (April) and the bright eleventh of

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Asház (July) fall on a Tuesday; and if jackals howl during the day time. Lightning or *vijli* is believed to be the daughter of Nand Mer the foster-father of Krishna. Continual flashes of lightning in the north-east foretell a heavy fall of rain.

Wind.

The human soul is believed to be a phase of the wind-god or *Váyu*. All Bráhmans in their daily worship try to regulate their breathing by keeping their four right hand fingers over their left nostril and the thumb over the right nostril. At their meals before touching any other food all Bráhmans eat as the soul's offerings three pinches of cooked rice. Rheumatism, epilepsy, and madness are believed to be wind complaints and to be caused by the evil influence of the wind-god. They are believed to be cured by engaging Bráhmans to repeat verses in honour of the wind-god and by making gifts to Bráhmans. As a cure for rheumatism people wear on their right elbow a *pipal* or *ánkdo* leaf bearing certain words in honour of the wind-god. The following are some of the current beliefs regarding the direction of the wind. If on *Fálgan* fullmoon (March) the wind blows from the south there will be a terrible famine; if it changes every now and then the king is in danger and there will be a civil war. If on the bright third in *Vaishákh* (May) the wind blows in the early dawn from the north-west the crops will prosper; if it blows from the south there will be a famine. If during the time the moon remains in the *Mragshir* star-home (4th-18th June) the wind does not blow fiercely the prospects of the season are gloomy. If the first day of *Jeth* (June) falls within the *Mragshir* period injury to the crops by the wind will be averted. If on the *Asház* fullmoon (July) the wind blows from the east the crops will be injured; if from the south the wells and ponds will dry and there will be a famine; if from the west the crops will prosper and the rainfall will be seasonable; if from the north the rains will hold off for a time; if from the north-east the people will prosper; and if the wind fails there will be an earthquake.

Tomb Worship.

Tomb-worship is not common. The few tombs that are worshipped are those raised over the remains of a *sati*, that is a woman who burnt herself with her dead husband, of an ascetic, and of a Musalmán saint. Till widow-immolation was suppressed by Lord William Bentinck in A.D. 1829 the practice of a woman burning herself with her husband was common. By sacrificing herself the woman was believed to be taken to heaven and to be united for ever with her husband, and her relations and friends specially honoured. The practice of a woman burning herself on her husband's funeral pile was not confined to particular castes or to particular districts. Among the most sacred *sati* tombs in Gujarát are those of Shivkorbái a Nágar Bráhman woman at Surat, and of a Vanjára woman at Válod in the Bárdoli sub-division of Surat; of a Sáthodra Nágar Bráhman woman named Dhankorbái in the Borsad sub-division of Kaira; of a Bharvád woman named Rájbái at Viramgám in Ahmedábád; of a Modh Vánia woman in Mahi Kántha; and of some Bhansáli women in Cutch. Of these Rájbái of Viramgám was said to have been a remarkably finelooking woman, whose beauty drew the notice of a

Musalmán noble in the neighbourhood. The noble with some of his friends made an attempt to take Rájbái by force. Many Bharváds went to Rájbái's aid and succeeded in driving the Musalmáns back, though about 200 Bharváds are said to have been killed in the encounter, among them Rájbái's husband. Influenced partly by her love for her husband and partly because she was taunted with the misery her beauty had caused, Rájbái burnt herself with her dead husband. A pond was dug in her honour and a yearly fair is held in her memory on the bright seventh of *Shrávan* (August). The following account shows what circumstances often led to and surrounded the rite of widow-burning in Gujarát: Manishankar, a Modh Bráhman, aged about thirty, died suddenly or was killed in a brawl. His wife Párvati was a passionate woman aged about twenty-five. The sudden death of her husband shocked Párvati beyond measure, and while she was overwhelmed with grief, and while others were weeping and wailing near the dead body, an elderly woman of the house came near Párvati and dropped a hint with the view of finding whether Párvati had any intention of burning with her husband. Driven by religious zeal, by the gloomy prospect of her widowed lot, and by a desire of immortalizing herself, Párvati took the hint and cried '*Je Ambe Je Ambe*' that is Hail to Amba. This was the first sign of her wish to burn with her husband. While thus beside herself with excitement she rushed to the spot where the body of Manishankar lay. She sat on the ground with the head of her dead husband on her thigh. She untied her hair, her eyes became red and fiery, and she daubed her forehead temples and cheeks with red paint. She worked several miracles, producing redpowder, coins, and women's robes by merely rubbing her hands together. When Párvati's frenzy or *sat* was established beyond doubt, the wailing in the family ceased, and the impurity arising from the death disappeared. Friends and relations sat round Párvati, bowed to her, and addressed her as Satima. As great power attaches to a *sati's* curse and blessing the relations asked her forgiveness for any former ill-treatment and prayed for her blessing. She blessed them all, gently passed her hand over the body of the sick, and presented betelnuts to barren women to be chewed. The news of her frenzy spread far and wide, the house was thronged by the townspeople, men women and children, all eager to have a sight of Párvati and to be blessed by her. Music was played in front of the house. Preparations for carrying the dead body to the buring ground were pushed on. A ladder-shaped bamboo bier was made and on it the dead body was laid shrouded in a red cloth. The corpse was taken out of the house on the bier and was borne by four carriers, one of the two in front being Párvati herself. As they bore the body music played before them and throngs of people followed. As she walked Párvati kept calling '*Je Ambe Je Ambe*' scattering handfuls of turmeric powder, which was eagerly gathered by the people. At the main gateway of the town she was met by the chief or headman who asked her to dip the palms of her hands in red paint and with them mark the town gate, and to bless the chief and the town people. On reaching the burning ground the bier was laid on the river bank, the woman still keeping herself near the dead body. A shed made of the driest wood was raised and in the shed the dead body after being

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washed was laid over a pile of wood. Párvati bathed and prayed to the sun. Her loosened hair was oiled with clarified butter and she walked seven times round the shed. After bowing to the sun and to the crowd she entered the shed and squatted on the pile of wood with the body of her dead husband in her lap. While thus seated several huge logs of wood were so piled round her that she was fixed fast breastdeep in wood. Every inflammable substance was added to the heap. When all was ready the deafening din of drums and trumpets was doubled, the crowd raised a mighty shout, and the Bráhman priest taking two lighted torches inside the shed gave them to Párvati who held one under her oiled hair and the other under the driest fuel near her. As the shriek of a burning woman is unlucky to hear, deafening music was played until the shed was ablaze. As the shed burned, the people bowed to it, and after bathing returned home.

Over the spot where a woman was burnt a masonry platform or *devadi* used to be erected generally by the chief, and sometimes by the members of her family. A stone is set on the platform which is sometimes canopied, and on the stone are carved the sun and the moon and the figure of a woman with her right arm uplifted. Sometimes a religious grant is made by the chief for the daily worship of the platform. The members of the woman's family visit the platform generally on the dark fourteenth of *A'so* (October), daub it with redlead, lay a lighted lamp near it, and offer a cocoanut and a robe to it. The platform is also similarly worshipped by barren women and by fever-stricken people. Some Bhils, Dublás, and other early tribes lay cakes and curds near the platform hoping by the offering to be cured of fever or to recover a lost animal. The members of a *sati's* family are believed to cure baldness and tumour by blowing water from their mouths over the bald or swollen spot.

The tombs or masonry platforms raised on a river bank over the remains of a Hindu ascetic are called *samádhs*, because the ascetic is believed at the time of death to be in a state of mental absorption or *samádhi*. These tombs are raised either by the family of a layman who renounced the world or became an ascetic a short time before his death, or by the disciples and followers of a man who before his death had long been an ascetic. A stone is set on the platform and on the stone a pair of footprints are carved. These tombs are worshipped by the dead man's family or disciples daily or at least on Sundays Tuesdays and Thursdays on the *Ashád* fullmoon (July) and on the anniversary of the ascetic's death, and by other high caste Hindus on high days when they go to bathe in the river. Some ascetics consider it meritorious to sit on the platform on the newmoon day of *Kártik* (November). The seat or the sleeping cot of the saint are also worshipped by his followers and are always allowed to remain empty and unused.

Most Hindus hold sacred the tomb or *takio* of a Musalmán saint called *pir* or *sái* (that is sháhid or martyr) which is generally shaded by a fig, a *ráyan* Mimusops indica, or a tamarind tree. Except by the followers of Svámináráyan, the tombs of Musalmán saints are visited by middle and low caste Hindus on high days or

when a vow taken in the saint's honour is to be fulfilled. Máchhis and Bhangiás offer a cocoanut to one of these tombs after the marriage ceremony is over. The most frequented tombs in the province are those of Báva Ghor at Ratanpur in the Rájpipla state about fourteen miles south-east of Broach, and of Dariyásha at Virpur in the Bálásinor state of Rewa Kántha about nine miles west of Lunaváda. Of the origin of Báva Ghor's tomb the story is told that in early times the goddess Mákhan Devi lived on a hill near Ratanpur and near her a lamp fed by fifty pounds of butter continually burned. So strong was the light that the prophet Muhammad at Mekka asked Báva Ghor to see whence the light came. On the coming of Báva Ghor Mákhan Devi sank under the ground and the saint settling there worked and still works wonders. Even the tiger obeys his orders, and if a person attacked by a tiger calls on the saint's name the tiger retires. A *ráyan* Mimusops indica tree close to the tomb is used in ordeals. Its twined branches form a loop through which suspected persons are made to pass, the belief being that, while the loop shrinks and holds fast the guilty, it allows the innocent to pass unhindered. Dariyásha, the saint of Virpur, regarding whom wonderful stories are told, is said to have been descended in a direct line from Abbás the uncle of the Prophet. The intercession and help of these and other Musalmán saints is asked when a man's life is in danger from drowning or from wild beasts, when a lost article is to be recovered, when the milk-yielding power of milch cattle is to be restored, when employment is to be secured, when punishment is to be avoided, when epidemic cholera, cattle plague, snakebite, women's barrenness, and such diseases as fever particularly quartan fever, white leprosy, abscess, wart, hydrocele, and a white speck in the eye are to be cured. When by the saint's help the object is gained, offerings are made to his tomb. The days proper for making the offerings are Thursdays and Fridays. Of the offerings some are general and others are special. In a general offering the tomb is shrouded in a green or white cover or in a network of flowers or it is strewn with jasmin flowers or *damra* leaves. The tombs are also sometimes canopied by a wooden frame work plated with silver. Rose syrup, cocoanuts, wheat flour mixed with clarified butter and sugar, cakes made of *bávto* flour, sesame seed and clarified butter, a lighted lamp, a sheet of paper, and a pot containing a mixture of milk and water are also offered at saints' tombs. The special offerings are in cases of barrenness a miniature cradle and the flesh of a goat or a cock; in case of fever cloth horses and a lighted lamp; in cases of abscess, wart, hydrocele, and tumour pinches of salt pepper and coarse sugar; in cases of eye diseases a piece of silver money; in cases of earache a silver wire; to recover a lost article millet flour mixed with clarified butter and sugar is offered, and to cure white leprosy some favourite article of food is avoided and after the cure Musalmán beggars are feasted. As a cure for general weakness or ill-health some patients dance near the tombs. These offerings are as a rule laid before the tomb. If the tomb is far off and cannot be easily visited the offerings and a

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lighted lamp are laid in the patient's house before a tomb-shaped heap of rice, or without the rice heap in that corner of the house which faces the saint's tomb, or outside of the house under a *shami* tree which is held to be the abode of a saint. The eatables are used by the person who offers them or by men in charge of the tomb. During the *Muharram* festival the *tábuts* or *táziás*, which are bamboo and tinsel models of the tomb of Hassan and Hussain at Karbala in Arabia are held particularly sacred by Rajputs, Vágris, Kolis, Dhedás, Bhils, and other low class Hindus, some of whom prepare these models themselves and like Musalmáns carry them to the river. Some Bráhman, Vánia, and other high caste Hindu boys, generally those made much of by their parents, dress themselves during the *Muharram* festival as Musalmán beggars, put red cotton threads round their necks, mark their brows with white powder, and live on gifts made by friends and relations. On the ninth of the *Muharram* some women wear wet clothes and drop live charcoal on their bodies. They fast all day and in the evening lick a finger dipped in wet lime and eat rice and sugar. Next day while the shrines are being taken to the river, some low caste Hindus hoping to secure the wellbeing of their children or to be cured of disease offer the shrines wheaten cakes, parched rice, sugared sesame, cocoanuts, red cotton thread, cloth, camels and elephants, and sometimes the flesh of a cock, a goat, or a buffalo. In fulfilment of a vow some pour water, throw themselves in the road, and with a cocoanut in their hands roll in front of the shrines; some pass and repass under them; some walk a considerable distance with their faces turned towards the shrines; and some paint themselves as tigers and bears.

Stone Worship.

Consecrated stones are held sacred by almost all classes of Gujarát Hindus. Most gods and goddesses are made of stone, which, with high caste people, are polished and cut into various forms, and with low caste people are unhewn blocks with or without shape. The forms under which Shiv, Máta, Ganpati, Hanumán, Vishnu, and numberless other gods are worshipped, or rather the forms in which these and other deities are believed to dwell, are human figures generally grotesque. The varieties of stone most used in idol-making are marble, limestone, sandstone, and crystal. These idols are made of stone either quarried and cut into shape by local masons or are brought ready-made from other parts of India. The black round stone that represents Vishnu in his form of Sháligrám is brought by wandering beggars from Badri Kedár at the foot of the Himálayas; while the stone which represents Shiv is brought from the banks of the Narbada on the occasion of the *Tavra* or festival which occurs every twelve years when *Vaishákh* (May) is the intercalary or extra month. During the *Tavra* festival the god Shiv is believed to possess the stones on the banks of the Narbada as the saying is, At the Tavra time there are as many Shivs or Shankars as there are stones or *kankars*. After the stone or the stone figure is consecrated by prayers and offerings it is treated as a god or a goddess, that is it becomes the dwelling of some guardian spirit. It is set in a temple or in a niche or in a room of the

house, and is worshipped daily or on high days. Vághris, Rabáris, Bharváds, A'hirs, Kolis, Bhils, Dublás, Dhánkás, and other wild tribes have no elaborate rites for making a stone fit to be the house of a guardian. With them any stone rubbed with redlead is an object of reverence, or rather with them the mere rubbing of a stone with redlead makes it fit to be the dwelling of a guardian spirit. The stones worshipped by these classes may be brought under two heads, the dwellings of gods and goddesses and the dwellings of the dead. A rough or a polished stone daubed with redlead is the dwelling of Gováldev, Hanumán, Káhnamdev, Kámdev, Kákobalio, Simario, or Sámradev, and a stone marked with a redlead cross or a heap of stones is the dwelling of the goddesses Meladi, Shikotar, Yerái, Khodiyár, Devli, or Bhaváni. A cross or sometimes a redlead trident is painted on the trunk of a *nim* or a *pipal* Indian fig tree, and a heap of stones is piled at its root. For fear of offending the spirit or the goddess, passers, especially women, add a stone or two to the heap, considering the place to be the dwelling of some spirit or of some goddess.

Stones or cairns raised in memory of the dead are called *khatrás*, when the stone is a rough unhewn block, and *páliyás*, literally guardians or guardian homes, when the stone is dressed and carved into a figure. Unhewn stones or *khatrás* are sometimes raised for all the dead members of a family but generally for those who have died a violent death. These stones are daubed with redlead and are laid sometimes under a temple-shaped earthen dome and sometimes in open ground in the house-yard or under a *pipal* tree on the outskirts of the village. Besides on the yearly death days of those whose spirits are believed to dwell in them, these stones are worshipped by all members of the family on Sundays and Tuesdays, and on the occasion of fulfilling a vow taken to cure sickness or avert danger. The worship is simple. Several heaps of cleaned rice, some betelnuts, and a cocoanut are laid before the stone and a lamp is lighted. A black or white flag is stuck in the ground or is tied to the earthen dome, and clay animals, a horse if the spirit was a man and a cow if the spirit was a woman, are laid near it. On special occasions *moha* or palm-juice liquor is poured on the stone, a cock or a goat is offered to it, and all members of the family sit round the stone and dine. Instead of stones some Bharváds or shepherds use small copper plates on which a human figure is engraved by the village goldsmith.

Polished and carved memorial stones are called *páliyás* guardians, *khámbhiyás* pillars, or *chirás* graven stones. They are raised in memory of those who have died a violent death, or who have died the death of a martyr, or who when living have been remarkable for holiness or for some other notable trait of character. Sometimes stones are raised in dread of a spirit-possessed man or an exorcist. The spirit of a man who dies a violent death is quieted by having a stone raised for him. Until a stone is raised, or a man-shaped wooden figure smeared with redlead is buried deep on the village border, such a spirit is likely to attack the bodies or the cattle of the members of its family. These stones are set in an enclosure or under

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a *pipal* tree, on the village border near the village reservoir, or on the spot where the person was slain. The stones, which have sometimes one of their corners flattened, are generally oblong and are about four feet high, two feet broad, and six to twelve inches thick. If it represents a man who met his death guarding his village, on one side of the stone is carved a figure with a sword a shield and a dagger, sometimes seated on a horse or on a camel. The figure is in the shape of a man or woman or of the monkey god Hanumán. Sometimes also a limb lost or maimed in a fight is shown. On the opposite side are carved the figures of the sun and the moon. The name of the man and the day, year, and cause of his death are also cut on the stone. The stones are sometimes set on a masonry platform and sometimes sunk about a foot deep in the ground. Memorial stones are set up either on the dark fourteenth of *A'so* (October) or on the bright fourteenth of *Kartik* (November). When they are set up the village people meet, and the man who sets up the stone washes it with milk, smears it with redlead and clarified butter, and offers it a cock or a goat. Some *moha* or palm-juice liquor and sesame oil are poured over it and the flesh of the animal offered is cooked and served among the guests. On Sundays Tuesdays and Thursdays, on their yearly death days, on the bright second fifth thirteenth fourteenth and fifteenth of *Kartik* (November), on the *Holi* festival in March, on the dark thirteenth fourteenth and fifteenth of *Shrávan* (August), on the dark fourteenth of *Bhadarvo* (September), and on the bright tenth and dark fourteenth of *A'so* (October), the members of the deceased's family wash the stone with milk, paint it with redlead, scatter flowers over it, lay a lighted lamp fed with sesame oil near it, and set a flag over it. Once a year, generally on the dark fourteenth of *Bhádarvo* or *A'so* (September or October) the members of the deceased's family offer a goat or a cock and a clay-horse to the stone. The stones are also held sacred by the villagers who do not let a dead body pass near them. Particularly among the Kolis, newly married couples go to one of these stones, bow to it, and lay near it a copper coin, a cocoanut, and rice. Sometimes the bridegroom before he goes to the bride's house bows to one of these stones. The stones raised for Gogo a Chohán Rajput in Mahi Kántha, for a Chohán Rajput in the Broach village of Karágaum, and for a Bhátti Rajput in Kapadvanj are visited by persons bitten by snakes. In the Mahi Kántha villages which are far from the stone of Gogo, a clay-horse is set on the outskirts of the village. The stone or the clay-horse is in the keeping of a Rávalia, who, by the shriek that is raised by the neighbours drawn to the spot by the sound of a trumpet or a drum, begins, some time after the snake-bitten person is brought to the stone, to wave his body to and fro as if possessed by the spirit who lives in the stone. While he thus shakes the Rávalia sucks the bitten part and spits. When cured the sufferer daubs the stone with redlead, offers it a cocoanut and a bottle of liquor, and lays near it a lighted lamp. The stone of a Rajput named Jorji in Mahi Kántha who is said to have been killed while wrestling with a tiger, is also visited to avert sickness. The stone raised in Mahi Kántha for a Bhil named Jhála is worshipped by villagers on the first Sunday of *Bhadarvo* (September) for the safety and wellbeing of their cattle. The cattle

ropes and some of the sick cow's or buffalo's butter are offered to the stone. Instead of stone slabs a bust of black marble brick or wood is sometimes set up and worshipped in the same way as other stones are worshipped. Sometimes the produce of a piece of land is set apart for the daily worship of these stones.

DISEASE WORSHIP.

Disease both in its milder endemic form in which it is generally present, and in its fiercer epidemic form which wastes the country from time to time, is believed to be due to spirit influence. Endemic diseases are believed to be caused by the unfriendly influence of some planet or of some god or goddess or of some spirit; epidemic diseases are believed to be caused by the anger of some goddess. Besides by drugs diseases of both classes are believed to be cured by religious rites. The following details show the special treatment adopted in the case of certain diseases. Of endemic diseases the commonest is fever. Fever or *táv* is believed to be caused by the unfriendly influence of some planet, or of some god or goddess, or of some spirit. If the fever is caused by planet influence, the particular unfriendly planet is worshipped, a Bráhman is engaged to offer prayers to it, and articles sacred to it are used or are given away in charity. If it is caused by Shiv, his stone is washed by pouring on it a constant stream of water or milk through a small hole in the bottom of a jar, and cooked rice and curds are offered. If it is caused by some goddess or by Hanumán, prayers are repeated in their name and their favourite offerings are made to them. If it is caused by the influence of some spirit, offerings are made to the tombs of Musalmán saints, charmed articles are worn on the arms or neck, handfuls of water are offered and poured on the ground, and fire is worshipped. Intermittent fever is believed to be miraculously cured by charmed words uttered by those who have secured the favour of some spirit. Consumption or *kshaya,* which is believed to be caused by moon influence, is cured by offering prayers to a goddess; syphilitic eruptions or *visphotak* by the worship of Vishnu and Shiv and by prayers to a goddess; piles or *aras* by dropping rice sugar and curds over the stone of Mahádev; scrofula or *kanthmál* by prayers to Vishnu; dysentery and diarrhœa or *samgrahani* by prayers to Mratyunjaya and by pouring water over the stone of Shiv; rheumatism by prayers to Váyu or the windgod, by fire worship, and by wearing on the right arm a chaplet of *ánkdo* (Calotropis gigantea) or *pipal* leaves bearing mystic figures or words; paralysis or *pakshágát* by the gift of a cow or of some article coins, dates, cocoanuts, equal in weight to the body of the diseased and by marrying a steer to a heifer; kidney diseases or *ámbhoi* by wearing charmed copper rings on the toes; jaundice or *kamlo* and enlargement of the spleen or *barol* by wearing charmed cotton threads on the right elbow or on the neck; warts or *varsolis* and hydrocele or *antargal* by offering coarse sugar, salt, and pepper to a saint's tomb; guineaworm or *válo* by offering a silver wire to a saint's tomb; tumour and baldness by water rinsed from the mouth of those in whose family a woman has become a *sati*; leprosy by prayers to a Musalmán saint and by a visit to the shrine of Bahucharáji; and eye-diseases by offering a piece of silver to a saint's tomb.

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Healing Shrines.

The three shrines chiefly frequented by the sick are at Bahucharáji thirty miles north of Viramgám, at Vadáli twelve miles north of Idar in Mahi Kántha, and at Junágadh in Káthiáwár. The goddess Bahucharáji is visited by the lame blind impotent and childless from the neighbourhood and from other parts of the province. They draw near her temple and remain seated beside the sacred pond of Mánsarovar, touching no food until they fancy they have heard the goddess promising them the accomplishment of their desires. They then bathe in the pond and the impotent particularly are believed to be cured by the bath. Regarding the miraculous power of the water of this pond the following story is told. A Chávda ruler of Pátan and a Solanki chief of Kálri resolved to unite their families by marriage. But, by evil chance, both kings had daughters, neither had a son. The Kálri chief passed off his girl as a boy and the marriage was celebrated. Difficulties ensued, and the girl-husband found herself forced to flee from Pátan. Near Bahucharáji she rested awhile. Her slut plunged into the Mánsarovar and to the wonder of the princess came forth a dog; her mare jumped in and came forth a stallion; the princess then tried the magic of the water and she changed into a man. The wooden image of the goddess Revali at Vadáli is visited by the lame, blind, paralytic, and stammering. After they are seated in front of the goddess, the temple servant, a Suthár woman, lights a lamp before the goddess. On a footstool covered with red cloth nine coppers, some maize, a cocoanut, and a lighted lamp are laid. While the sick man sits near the stool the temple woman keeps passing her hand over the lamp before the goddess rubbing her face with it. After some time she becomes possessed by the goddess, and rocks to and fro. While thus possessed a lighted torch is placed in her left hand, and she alternately waves the torch over the sick man, and passes her right hand over the lamp before the goddess. This waving continues till the sick man is believed to be cured. The tomb of Dátár Pir at Junágadh is visited by persons suffering from guineaworm. Vows are taken, and after the disease is cured the diseased wears an iron ring on the right ankle until he has offered a silver wire to the tomb.

Barrenness.

Barrenness in women is believed to be caused by the unfriendly influence of a god or goddess, or of a planet, or of some offended spirit. Both the woman and her husband hold it a curse, partly on account of the social contempt which accompanies it and partly because the after-death state of the childless is wretched unrelieved by the rites which a son can alone properly perform.[1] In high caste Hindu households a son is a necessity on religious grounds, and when there is no natural son a son is adopted. A barren woman is contemptuously called *vánjani.* She tries to get rid of her barrenness by a variety of means. She consults Jain priests, Bráhmans, Jogis or Telia Rájás, who wear oily clothes and are versed in palmistry; drinks charmed water; or ties amulets on her left elbow or neck. If the barrenness is believed to be caused by the anger of some god or goddess, she quiets them by prayers and by giving them their pet offerings, or she calls in the aid of

[1] The sight of a barren woman or a childless man in the early morning is unlucky.

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her patron god or goddess. To secure this friendly aid she prepares 1¼ lákhs that is 125,000 clay *lings* or Shiv emblems, and for a certain number of days offers to each of these flowers, sandal-paste, and *bel* leaves. She prays to her favourite goddess promising that if she gets a male child his head shall be shaved in her honour. She propitiates the water-god by a morning bath in a sacred river or pool on Sundays. If the barrenness is due to the unfriendly influence of some planet, she engages a Bráhman to repeat prayers in its honour, fasts on the day sacred to it, and gives away in charity articles held sacred to it. If the disease is spirit-caused she walks 108 times round the *pipal* tree, particularly on a no-moon Monday, pours water at its roots and winds a cotton thread round its trunk. She also pours water on the basil plant and the *daro* grass. She goes to a Musalmán saint's tomb, offers to the tomb a miniature cradle, and takes vows. She propitiates the spirits of her husband's dead ancestors by having a *nárâyanbali* or memorial service performed in their honour at Prabhás-Pátan, or some other holy place, and by applying on the bright fifth of *Shrávan* (August) flowers and sandal-paste to the image of a cobra. She also secures their good-will by practising rigid austerities. She foregoes her favourite dish; eats standing or with her left hand or with her right hand under her right leg; sups before sunset out of a clay plate; keeps her hair untied and unoiled; does not wear a red browmark; and ties a cotton thread to, or wears a ring of brass and copper wire intertwined on, her left elbow or ankle. Besides by these means a woman gets rid of her barrenness by pricking on a Sunday or a Tuesday with a point of a needle or by secretly cutting a tuft of the hair of a neighbour's or friend's child; or by swallowing an unclipped betelnut after keeping it for some days under the cot of a woman in labour; or by secretly tearing a piece out of the robe of a pregnant woman or a woman in childbirth, an act which when discovered causes much uneasiness to the women and their relations as it is believed to lead to the child's death or to the pregnant woman's miscarriage; or by asking a pregnant woman to dinner on the *gharbhaso* that is festival on the bright fourteenth of *Bhádarvo* (September) and laying a cocoanut in her lap; or by getting herself drenched by water out of an earthen jar over which the cocoanut symbolical of the family goddess is laid during marriages and women's first pregnancies, or by beginning to wear an iron ring on her left ankle from the early dawn of the dark fourteenth of *A'so* (October). The child born to a woman after she has performed all or any of these rites is always a pet in the family, particularly if it be a male child. If a male child is believed to be the gift of a Musalmán saint or *fakir* it is named Fakiro. Like a Musalmán boy he wears a tuft of hair on a shaven head and appears as a Musalmán beggar in the Muharram festival. A boy who is believed to be given by a goddess has his right nostril bored, is named Náthio that is 'Bored,' wears a wristlet and a nose-ring, is sometimes dressed like a girl for some years, and has his head first shaved before his patron goddess. A boy who is believed to be the result of the mother's constant begging of her patron god or goddess is named Bhikho that is Beggar, and as a beggar wears for some years clothes belonging to friends and relations. As the idiot and insane are believed to be guardian-possessed, to scare evil spirits a boy is sometimes

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called Bogho, Ghelo, or Gándo, all meaning mad, and to mislead ill-minded spirits who attack what is most praised, boys sometimes bear such names as Uko and Ukardo that is Dunghill, Kachro that is Rubbish, and Bávo that is Ascetic. Boys are also occasionally called Bhulo that is missed, and Mogho that is dearly bought. The temple of Fulbái in the Borsad sub-division of Kaira has obtained a wide renown and her shrine is much resorted to by most of the barren women in the neighbourhood. A Rabári priest of the shrine while pretending to be possessed by the goddess prescribes to these women certain observances and rites and gives charmed threads to be tied to the ankle.

Small-pox.

Small-pox, including measles or *gobru* and chicken-pox or *achhabda*, is called *sitala* when it is epidemic and *saiad* when it is endemic. Epidemic small-pox is presided over by a goddess called Sitala Máta or small-pox mother, and endemic small-pox by a god called Saiad Káka or small-pox uncle. Both are propitiated by parents especially by mothers, the Saiad when the child is actually attacked with small-pox and Sitala once a year to protect the child. The day sacred to Sitala Máta or the small-pox goddess is the bright or dark seventh of *Shravan* (August). As small-pox is believed to be caused by heat, on that day artificial heat is as much as possible avoided. The female head if not all the members of the family, bathes with cold water and eats food cooked on the previous day. Some women also eat food prepared from materials procured from seven friends. The female head after her cold bath and before her cold meal goes to visit the small-pox goddess under a *pipal* Ficus religiosa tree on the river bank. In books the goddess who is of the Chándál or impure caste is shown as naked seated on a donkey, wearing a broken winnowing fan on her head, with the pad of a water vessel in one hand and a besom in the other. For worship the goddess is shown by a clay female image seated on a donkey, or by a stone, or by a *kevda* Pandanus odoratissimus plant. The women offer the goddess milk, pepper, betelnut, dry-dates, cocoa-kernel, a few Indian millet grains, flowers, and the leaves of the *kevda* or pandanus and of the *ghalodi* creeper. A piece of silk cloth called *ghátdi* or a cotton thread is also wrapped round the image. Five seven or thirteen boys or girls are fed on stale food near the goddess if any member of the family has suffered from small-pox in the course of the year. After worshipping the goddess the women return home, the kitchen hearth is neatly cowdunged, a whitewash cross is made on it, and mango leaves are offered to it. In Káthiáwár, on the dark thirteenth of *Chaitra* (April), to guard against an attack of small-pox, the figures of a man and woman are drawn with cowdung in a niche in the house, *nim* leaves and twigs are offered to the figures, a lamp is lighted, and the members of the family bow to them. In small-pox epidemics an exorcist, called by the village people, pretends to be possessed by the goddess, orders people to take vows, claps the village headman on the head, and blesses him. Sometimes the disease-soothing ceremony or *shánti* (a detailed account of which is given below page 413) is performed on the outskirts of the village, and the village gates are festooned with cocoanuts, *nim* or Indian lilac leaves, and old broomsticks.

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Saiad Káka or Small-pox Uncle also called *Balio* or *Balia Káka* that is powerful Uncle, is supposed to live in a stone or a stone bust said to be that of Ghatorgach son of Pándav Bhimsem. He is said to be a jealous god with hungry staring eyes, is most difficult to please, and takes offence at the slightest discourtesy. His carrier is a donkey. The days of the week sacred to him are Sundays Tuesdays and Thursdays. In an attack of small-pox the treatment of the patient, till the small-pox god is worshipped on the seventh fifteenth and twenty-first day after the appearance of the disease, is peculiar and the conduct of the child's parents during that period is believed invariably to tell on the child's health. In an attack of small-pox no medicine is given. As it dries the small-pox is rubbed with cowdung ashes or with a paste of *shami* Prosopis spicigera wood. To bring out the small-pox, for the first eight or ten days the child wears warm clothes and eats clarified butter, milk, coarse sugar, and pepper; salt is avoided. After eight or ten days the child lives on such articles as curds sugarcandy and raisins. Sometimes, with a peacock's feather tied to his right wrist, the child sleeps on a bed covered with *nim* leaves in a room the floor of which is washed by a mixture of cowdung and urine. The child is fanned by *nim* twigs and the door-posts are festooned with *nim* leaves. The child is addressed as *Saiad Káka* or *Balio Káka* and is on no account scolded for fear of offending the god who is supposed to possess him. If very young the child is rocked in a cradle and is lulled to sleep by songs in honour of Small-pox Uncle. Impurity arising from death and birth does not defile the child who is not allowed to bathe. The sight of a woman in childbirth or in her monthly sickness, of an idiot, of any person in black, and of any unclean person is believed to be very injurious to the child. The child is therefore protected by a screen from other people's gaze. As an additional safeguard the child's cot is strewn with *nim* leaves to avert the ill effect produced by the shadow of an unclean person accidentally falling on the child. None but the nearest friends and relations can go before the child. An outsider can go before the child provided he takes with him some *nim* leaves and dips his right toe in a mixture of a cow's and donkey's dung, cow's urine, and *nim* leaves placed in an earthen vessel outside the screen. The shadow of a newly bathed person is also injurious, and therefore among low caste Hindus the members of the family do not bathe. High caste Hindus bathe outside the house. They are careful to keep the head dry and before they enter the house and go before the sick child to let their shadow fall on an outsider. Among some of the Rewa Kántha Bhils and Kolis the shadow of a stranger woman on the child is carefully avoided. Until the small-pox god is worshipped the child's parents, if not all the members of the family, scrupulously keep to certain rules and forms, some of which are general and others special varying with the nature of the vow. Under the general rules and forms a donkey is fed on cooked *juvár*; no part of the house is cowdunged; the women, particularly the mother, cannot dress or oil their hair or apply a browmark or wear new ornaments; the men, particularly the father, cannot have their head shaved; no clothes are washed and no clean clothes are worn, and if more clothes are required they are dirtied before they are put on; no

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article can be rubbed or pressed in the house; nothing, fire and flour particularly, can be given to others or received from others; no gifts are made to beggars or to Bráhmans; the ordinary house gods are not worshipped but in their place the small-pox god is painted on the house-wall with a mixture of earth and cowdung. The painting is in the form of a cross or of a man having cotton seed or *vál* in the place of eyes and his name is now and then uttered; the temples of no other gods than those of small-pox are visited for fear of exciting the jealousy of the small-pox god; guests or visitors cannot be courteously received or dismissed or given a special dinner; family disagreements and quarrels and wailings are forbidden; journeys are put off; both festive and mournful ceremonies are avoided; sexual intercourse is forbidden; *tuver* cajan pea and *vál* Dolichos lablab and such vegetables as brinjals *vegan*, elephant-foot *suran*, spinach *tándaljo*, and rat-tailed raddish *mogri* are not cooked; no article of food can be fried in a pan or otherwise seasoned; and among the lower classes liquor and flesh are avoided. When under a vow, till the small-pox god is worshipped, the mother sleeps on the bare ground, eats, sometimes only vegetables, standing or with her right or left hand under her right leg. She eats from a plate made of some metal other than brass or copper, or from the back of a leaf plate or from the bare ground. She has her right ankle or two of her right-hand fingers bound by a cotton thread. She foregoes her bodice or her petticoat and particularly among low caste Hindus daily visits a Bhangia's house and gives him two pots filled with water. She licks the street dust or lays on her head a pinch of dust from where four roads cross. When under a vow the father walks barefooted or bareheaded or instead of one wears two turbans, tied one over the other.

The image of the small-pox god is kept in a Mahádev temple, or in a niche in a private house, or near a reservoir, or under a *nim*, *samdi*, *vayana*, or *rukhada* tree on the outskirts of the village. In villages which have no image of the small-pox god, people offer prayers to the god with their face turned to a village where there is an image. Among Bhils, Kolis, and other wild tribes in south Gujarát the small-pox stone is always kept near their other objects of worship. The small-pox gods at Sádla, a village ten miles west of Kim on the Baroda Railway, and at Itola on the same line have a great name in Gujarát. Neither of these two villages has a temple, but a shed with a block of stone under it in charge of a Bráhman who acts as its servant. After worshipping with flowers and sandal-paste the representation of the small-pox god painted in the house, the mother, alone if the attack is light, or all the members of the family with music if the attack is serious, go to the temple of the village small-pox god. In a light attack the mother, dressed in clean clothes with her hair washed but loose and unoiled, goes with the child to the temple on a Tuesday or a Sunday from one week to four weeks after the first appearance of the small-pox on the child's body, pours a mixture of water and milk on the stone, and in a circle of cowdung-wash offers to the god all or a few of the following articles: red *kárena*, *sankhávali*, and jasmin flowers, *nim* and *kevda* twigs, spinach, hemp leaves, thorn,

parched *juvár* or gram, buns or *fadia* of wheat flour and coarse sugar, cinnamon, coarse sugar, a cocoanut, turmeric powder, a bundle of cotton thread, salt, butter, a piece of copper, lampblack, iron nails, shell lime, a silk cloth, glass beads, and a miniature cradle. The mother and the child bow to the image, and, after receiving a present of money the temple priest sprinkles water on the child. This sprinkling of water is called *amina chhanta* or a shower of nectar. The mother then presses her nose against the floor, coughs, and rolls herself on the ground. She applies to the child's eyes soot from a lamp specially lighted and fed with clarified butter. Without turning her back she leaves the temple and turns to her house without looking behind or letting anybody's shadow fall on herself or on the child. In an attack of small-pox, in parts of south Gujarát some people live in temporary sheds near the temple of the small-pox god, the small-pox-stricken child lying on a bed of *nim* leaves. In a serious attack the child's parents, particularly the mother, are under vows. According to the nature of the vow the mother goes to the temple sometimes weeping and wailing; sometimes in a series of somersaults; sometimes in a sitting posture; sometimes with her arms tied behind her; sometimes with wooden fetters on her arms and legs; sometimes tongue-tied and barefoot with a straw or an old shoe dipped in human ordure in her mouth; sometimes naked at night, bowing to the small-pox god from her house or from some yards off from the temple; sometimes with her body covered with *nim* and *ásopálo* leaves; sometimes in drenched clothes with a pot of live charcoal on her head; sometimes rolling on the ground with a cocoanut in her hands; sometimes she undresses before the temple and stands on her head before the god; and sometimes before the image she licks her finger dipped in ordure. Sometimes the mother keeps several cold Sundays on which, after visiting the temple of the small-pox god, she eats food cooked the day before. When under a vow she daily visits the temple for a fixed period. In a serious attack where there are complications special offerings are made in addition to those made in an ordinary case. Rolls of green and black paper are offered, if besides small-pox the child has fever; the apple of the *bel* or Ægle marmelos tree, or a knotted stick of *shami* wood if there have been swellings on the body; *kavach* or cowitch if there have been itchings; a silver wire or a bamboo stick if there has been vomiting; butter or a bit of silver-plate or a *sankhávali* flower if the eyes are sore; a live cock if there has been a contraction of the nerves; sugarcandy, fennel and cummin seed, and a mixture of water milk and sugar in a small earthen jar if the body has been much heated; two round heaps, one of a handful of *kodra* or Paspalum scrobiculatum and the other a handful of *methi* or fenugreek seeds, are made on the ground, or wheat flour paste is offered if there has been an attack of diarrhœa; a few pearls or parched *bájri* and maize are offered if the small-pox has spread over the body; the tongue of a goat if the child has been delirious; a miniature reeling machine or *rentio* if the child has been crying; an elephant's foot or miniature limbs of metal wood or wheat-paste if the child's limbs have

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narrowly escaped serious injury; wafer-biscuits if the child has been restless; jasmin flowers if the body has been fœtid; and rice stalks if the small-pox has been very close and in clusters. If there has been much coughing a mixture of *bájri* flour and coarse sugar and salt are offered to the stone image of Ái Thánsi the sister of the small-pox god. If the child's life has been despaired of, a goat or a cock is sacrificed or let loose or the goat's ear is chopped off and then let loose, or a likeness of the child in wood or carved on a silver-plate is offered; or the child is laid before the idol and then taken up in return for money; or the child is weighed in a scale against dry dates, salt, grain, coarse sugar, sugarcandy, or spinach, or if the child's parents are rich against silver or copper coins, or a clay or cloth horse is offered. In honour of the worship Bráhmans or friends and relations are feasted with a preparation of curds and cakes, and sometimes strolling players or Bhaváyás are engaged to play before the small-pox god. Except that they are less detailed the same ceremonies are performed when the child is attacked with measles and chicken-pox or when it is vaccinated. In a plague of cattle-pox the disease-quieting ceremony is performed by the villagers. At the end of the street or on the outskirts of the village an upright post supporting a yoke breadthwise is sunk in the ground. The yoke, the symbol of the yoke goddess or *jusri máta*, is decked with flowers, redlead is applied to it, and fire is lit before it. The owners of the cattle also worship the small-pox god of the village, refrain from washing their head and clothes, and offer to the small-pox god the likeness of the animal carved on a silver-plate. As a safeguard against the putrefaction of the diseased limbs of the animal one hundred and twenty-five rice grains cleaned with the entire finger nail and dammer are offered to the small-pox god.

ANIMAL WORSHIP.
The Cow.

Among high caste Hindus, except among Shrávak Vániás, the cow, as the representative of the heavenly cow or Kámdugha the giver of the heart's desire, is the most sacred of animals. The cow, particularly the black cow or Kapiládhenu, with a calf is particularly sacred. Because Vishnu in his eighth incarnation as Krishna reared the cows of his foster-father Nand Mer, some do not take their food before applying flowers and sandal-paste to the cow's forehead; and some always give part of everything that is cooked to a cow to eat. The rice balls offered to dead ancestors in the *shrádh* or memorial service are given to none but the cow. Her tail mouth and haunches are particularly sacred. In all watering places for cattle the water from a well passes into the receptacle through a brick-made cow's mouth. The tail of the cow, with the help of which all high caste Hindus hope to cross the hell river Vaitarni, is applied by passers to their eyes, or, instead of the tail, the passers put their right hand on the cow's haunches and apply their hand to both eyes. The five cow-gifts or *panch gavya*, milk curds clarified-butter urine and dung, are used in all religious ceremonies as purifying substances. A sip of cow's urine as the cow passes is generally taken by pious Hindus. Cow's dung is the favourite wash on the floor of every house, and dung-cakes

are mostly used as fuel in all sacrificial fires. Cowdung ash is the Bráhman's sacred dust or *vibhuti* for every-day appliance. The gift of a cow or *gaudán* is the noblest of gifts. It is made, or its equivalent in cash is given, to Bráhmans. The gift is generally made during the intercalary month or before a person's death. The cow is taken to the giver, who rubs sandal-paste and flowers on her brow. A waistcloth marked with a red cross is tied along with a cocoanut to her neck, and her body is covered with a woman's robe. Holding her tail in his right hand the donor gives her to a Bráhman. A brass pot, several copper coins, and if he can afford them, gold and silver hoofs and horns are given with her. After the dead body is burnt the cow is milked on the funeral pile or her milk is poured over the ashes. Among the Rewa Kántha Bhils and Kolis the milk of a cow that has calved in the month of *Ashád* (July) is not drunk or curdled without first offering a share of it to their gods. To guard against disease Bhils and Kolis let cattle leap over them on the first day of *Kártik* (November). Bhils, Kolis, and other wild tribes lay a clay cow near the stone set up for a dead woman to prevent her spirit from troubling the living. Six or twelve months after death or on the bright eleventh of *Kártik* (November) or on the occasion of procuring the salvation of the restless spirit of some dead ancestor, a black or steel-gray *nil* heifer and a black bull calf are married with full Bráhmanic rites. At the close of the marriage the person on whose behalf the ceremony is performed offers water to the spirit of the dead by holding in his hand and pouring water over the tails of the two animals. After the marriage the heifer, with some ornaments and cash, is given to the Bráhman priest. The bull calf is let loose, is never castrated, and is never broken to the plough or other work. On the thirteenth day after a death women rub flowers and sandal-paste on a cow's forehead and pour water on her tail. On the bright eighth of *Kártik* (November) cows are fed on *guvár* Cyamopsis psoralioides and by the Vaishnavs on sweet-balls and bread. On the *Makar Sankránti* (12th January) a cow's forehead is marked red and she is bountifully fed on boiled *bájri* and *juvár* stalks. On the dark thirteenth of *A'so* (October) cows are washed, their horns are painted with redlead, and several red hand-marks are made on their bodies with the palm of the hand. The most important ceremony connected with cow worship is the *gautrát* performed at least once by most high caste Hindu women, by a married woman for her husband's long life, and by a widow to change her lot in her next birth. The ceremony begins generally on the bright thirteenth of *Bhádarvo* (September) or sometimes on the dark third of *Shrávan* (August), and lasts five days. The ceremony begins by laying an earthen jar filled with water in the god room and keeping a lamp fed with clarified butter burning near it for five days. A betelnut is put into the jar and its mouth is closed by a cocoanut. After her morning bath the woman drops flowers and sandal-paste over the jar, and then goes to the house of the Bráhman owner of a spotless cow having a heifer. Flowers, sandal-paste, red-lead, red and white powder, and cleaned rice are rubbed on the cow's forehead. The woman feeds the cow on grain and spices and returns home. The cow is sometimes not allowed to go out to graze. When

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allowed to go out the woman again goes to see her start, and welcomes her on her return with the same rites as in the morning. The same rites are gone through for four days during which the woman fasts or lives on a cup of sugared milk. If the woman is too young or too weak to remain hungry for four days, her father or mother helps her by fasting one or two days on her behalf. On the fourth day the cow is not allowed to go out and is fed on barley. A few of the barley grains from her droppings on the following day are gathered, and are boiled in cow's milk, and the mixture is the only article that is eaten on the fifth day after the morning worship. Flowers and sandal-paste are offered to the lamp which as noted above has been placed in the god-room, the water in the jar is poured on the basil plant, the betelnut is swallowed by the woman, and the jar is removed. The cow is taken near a *pipal* tree where the woman pours water on its root while holding the cow's tail in her right hand, and the ceremony ends. The same rites are performed for four years. In the fifth year the completion ceremony is performed by dividing a six-feet square plot into twenty-one equal squares. The outlines of these squares are formed of rice, wheat, *kang, adad, mag, juvár* and *tuver* grains differently coloured. With these grains a head is formed to the north of the square, arms to the east and west, and legs to the south, so that the whole appears in the form of a human body resembling the image of Lakshmi-Náráyan. Five or seven brass pots, bamboo baskets, waistcloths, brass plates, lampsteads, a cup, and a pair of red shoes are laid over these squares. The woman applies flowers and sandal-paste to the image and bows to it. Thirteen married women are feasted, and the ceremony ends, the family priest taking away the articles used in the ceremony. During the month of *Shraván* (August), if not during the four wet months, women and girls every day worship the cow by applying redpowder and cleaned rice to the cow's forehead and by putting a flower garland round her neck. She then walks round the cow 108 or 1100 times, and drinks water into which the cow's tail has been dipped. The cow is worshipped with the same rites in the afternoon after her return from grazing. The woman then breaks her fast and feeds a street dog. On the last day the cow or her value in cash is given away to a Bráhman. The sight of a cow with a heifer is always lucky. It is particularly lucky if the cow is to the left of a man when he starts on a journey, and to the right if he is returning from a journey.

The Bull

The bull, called *nandi ákhlo* or *godho,* is Shiv's carrier, and is held sacred. In a Shaiv temple there is always an image of a bull which is worshipped along with Shiv. On the *Akhátrij* holiday in April when ploughing begins, on the last day of *Ashád* or *Shrávan* when the bullock's labour in the field ceases, and on the dark thirteenth of *A'so* (October) the Kanbi husbandmen mark their bullock's brows with red, put red cotton threads round their neck or horns, rub their horns with clarified butter, or paint them red, and feed them on grain and spices. The day sacred to the bull is the dark fourth of *Shrávan* (August). On this day which is called *Bol Choth,*

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some high-caste women fast until they have offered sandal-paste and flowers to, and walked four times round, a white cow and a red calf. Wheat, salt, anything that has been cut or pounded, and four of the products of the cow (milk whey curds and butter) may not be eaten by women who have made this vow. Regarding these prohibited articles the following story is told. There lived in a village an old woman, her son, and his wife. They had a cow and a male calf, which last from its wheatish colour was called *ghaulo*. One day while going to work in the field the old woman told her daughter-in-law to make ready *ghaulo* for home use. The wife mistook *ghaulo* the male calf for *ghaulo* wheat. As soon as the old woman's back was turned she seized the calf while the cow had been let loose for grazing, cut it to pieces, and with an iron-tipped pestle pounded the pieces in a mortar. The pounded pieces were laid in an earthen jar and the jar was put in the store-room. On her return the old woman asked her daughter-in-law to show her how much of *ghaulo* had been pounded, and when shown the jar containing the pieces of the calf her grief was unbounded. She severely rebuked her daughter-in-law for her stupidity, and told her to lay the jar outside the village. When the cow returned after grazing she loudly bellowed at not finding her calf and on she went to the spot where the jar was laid. She broke the jar through with her horns and out skipped the calf alive. The cow and the calf returned home to the great surprise of the family. The object of worshipping the cow and the calf on this day is to atone for any chance injury done to the cow. The sight of a white bullock or bull when a man starts on a journey is lucky.

The Buffalo.

Except as an offering to goddesses the buffalo is not held specially sacred. Dhedás and Khálpás worship it as the living image of Bhensásur the buffalo god. Kolis, Vághris, Dhárálás, Rabáris, Ráváliás, and others sacrifice a male buffalo to their goddesses Khodyár and Visot on the bright fourteenth of *Bhádarvo* (September), on Dasara Day in October, and on the dark fourteenth of *A'so* (October). Rajputs aud Maráthás, both chiefs and estate-holders, sacrifice a male buffalo on the *Dasara* and sprinkle its blood on the goddess and on the town gates. In north Gujarát the Cháran women meet together on the *Dasara*, worship a buffalo, and then kill it, one of the women drinking some of the blood. In an epidemic in some villages, four buffaloes are sacrificed, one at each of the four village gates, and their heads are buried where the animal is killed. The he-buffalo is the carrier of Yam the god of death. During the first fourteen days after a death, among some Osvál Shrávaks a he-buffalo is kept in the house and is plentifully fed on millet stalks and spices. The sight of a buffalo is unlucky when a man starts on a journey.

The Horse.

The horse is sacred. In parts of Káthiáwár the image of a stone horse is worshipped by some of the followers of Rámdi Pir who in the fourteenth century succeeded in spreading the Bij or Márgi sect. The seven-mouthed horse is said to have been one of the fourteen gems or *ratnas* yielded by the ocean when churned by

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the gods and the demons in Vishnu's second incarnation of the *kachh* or tortoise. The old warrior Kshatriyas as a challenge used to let loose a richly caparisoned horse. He who accepted the challenge took the horse to his stable and a war followed. If the horse was left to roam at large, it was an admission that all the neighbouring chiefs admitted his owner's supremacy. The horse is the carrier of Indra and of the sun, and Vishnu in his tenth or last incarnation of Kalanki will appear on a horse. As among mammals the horse is believed to be the only teatless animal, the horse and Arjun, one of the five Pándav brothers who had no teat, are classed among the bravest of the brave. On the *Dasara* festival (October), on the first day in *Chaitro* (April), and on the bright sixth of *A'so* (October) a Rajput washes his horse, marks its forehead with a red vertical line, and puts a garland of flowers round its neck. In the afternoon the animal is ridden several times round a *shami* tree. The blood of a goat or sheep is sprinkled over the horse, or the horse is made to set one of its feet on the body of the sacrificed animal. For a child's recovery some women offer a cloth horse prepared by a tailor to a Musalmán saint's tomb or to a goddess. The Bhátiás worship a clay horse on the sixth day after childbirth, and on the same day the Oja Kumbhárs bring a clay horse and make the child worship it. The clay horse often found under a tree outside of a village is the Kolis' Bhávádev and the Pateliyás' Godhádev or horse-god. On their holidays the Kolis and Pateliyás mark a clay horse with redlead, sprinkle it with liquor, and sacrifice a goat or sheep to it. The Bhils, Pateliyás, and Chámadiás offer a clay horse to their Okhadeo Devgaria and Chávánd Máta whose shrine is a lamp kept in a niche. Among Bhils, Kolis, and other wild tribes a clay horse is laid near a stone raised for a dead man to prevent his spirit troubling the living. The fumes of burning horse dung are believed to have great spirit-scaring power, and horse urine is a specific for ringworm. The neigh of a horse is a lucky sound for a man starting on a journey.

The Elephant.

The elephant is sacred. *Ganpati*, the god of wisdom, is shown with an elephant's head. It is also Indra's carrier. On the *Dasara* (October) festival, on the bright fifth of *Shrávan* (August), and on the first of *Chaitra* (April), the elephant is washed and richly dressed, flower garlands are hung on its trunk, and red threads are tied to its feet. The sight of an elephant sporting with his mate is particularly unlucky. Ivory bracelets are worn by all classes of married women. It is lucky to see an elephant when starting on a journey.

The Donkey.

The donkey is the carrier of the goddess of small-pox and is fed on boiled *juvár* in cases of small-pox. The milk of an ass is a specific for whooping cough, and the fumes of burning ass dung are used in all spirit-scaring rites. In an epidemic of cholera in Bhil villages small plots of ground are ploughed by donkeys. The braying of an ass behind a man is lucky. The sight of a braying ass to the left of a man when he starts on a journey and to the right on a return journey is a good omen.

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Camels are seldom seen except in Cutch and Káthiáwár. In Cutch each family of Rabáris has a she-camel called *máta meri* or mother which is never ridden, and whose milk is never given to any one but a Hindu.

The Goat.

Except when it is sacrificed the he-goat is not worshipped. Daksha, the father-in-law of Shiv, is represented with a goat's head, and no daily worship of Shiv is effective unless the worshipper makes a goat-like sound by striking his hand against his mouth. Most high caste Hindus do not sacrifice goats. When they want to offer a goat to their family goddess the animal, which is generally black, is taken to the temple and let loose, or its ears or the fleshy part which hangs from its neck are thrown into a fire lighted for the occasion. On the days sacred to their family goddess or to their dead ancestors, or during an epidemic blood-offering Hindus propitiate the goddesses and the spirits of dead ancestors with the flesh of a goat killed for the purpose. During an epidemic in some Bhil and Koli villages the main street is festooned with bits of goats' legs. Among Bharváds a goat that keeps aloof from the flock is worshipped on the second of every Hindu month, especially on the second of *Mágh* (February). The dung of a goat is believed to drive off spirits, and among Kanbis seven balls of goat's dung are used in a woman's pregnancy ceremony. The Jain ascetics or Jatis in Káthiáwár carry a fan of goat's hair. The sight of a goat while starting on a journey is unlucky.

The Dog.

The dog is unclean and his touch defiles a Bráhman when at worship. Men who die of hydrophobia are believed to become ill-minded spirits or *bhuts*. The dog is believed to see Yama or the god of death and his messengers or *duts*. Before the dead body is taken to the burning ground most middle and low caste Hindus give sweet balls to street dogs. The barking and howling of a dog with its face turned downwards or towards a man's house foretell the death of one of the occupants. Some Broach Kolis kill a dog and offer it to their goddess instead of a goat. Dog's dung is used in all spirit-scaring rites. At the time of starting on a journey the sight of a running dog is lucky. If the dog moves its ears it is unlucky.

The Cat.

A tame cat is kept in most houses. Even after a bath and while at worship the touch of a cat is not held to defile pious Bráhmans. The cat is fed in the house without any religious feeling, and as it eats with closed eyes it cannot bear witness to the man's good deeds on judgment day. Witches generally appear in the form of a cat. The lung of a cat is used to drive off spirits. If four persons sit on a cot and if a cat passes beneath it, one of the four is liable to a spirit attack. The sight of a cat crossing the road from right to left causes moroseness. It is unlucky to see a cat twitching its ears. The sight of a cat-eyed person when a man starts on a journey is also unlucky.

The Monkey.

The monkey or ape is sacred. In some temples monkeys are tamed and fed by pilgrims as a religious duty. Hanumán the monkey god is much sought after by people in distress. In spite of their ravages

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The Tiger.

monkeys are never killed. The fumes of burnt monkey's dung are supposed to drive away spirits.

The tiger or *vágh* is the carrier of Vágheshvari the patron goddess of the Sonis or goldsmiths. One of the Chodhrás' goddesses is Vághandevi. Among the Rewa Kántha Bhils and Kolis, to guard against the ravages caused by tigers, the village god is worshipped twice a year, in *Ashád* or July and in *A'so* or October. The headman raises a fund from the villagers out of which three goats, seven cocks, and a good supply of liquor are bought. On behalf of the villagers the headman worships the village god, fire is kindled, and the liver of the animal is thrown in the fire. The flesh of the animal is cooked and served among the villagers who make merry with the liquor. All high caste Hindus paint a tiger on the front of their houses on the *Vághbáras* or Tiger's Twelfth that is the dark twelfth of *A'so* (October) and worship a drawing of the tiger on the bright fourteenth of *Chaitra* (April), a day sacred to Vishnu in his incarnation of Narsinh that is the man-lion. A tiger's claw hung by a thread round the neck is worn by children to blunt the evil eye. The tiger's skin is sacred and Bráhmans use it when at worship.

The Deer.

The deer, who is the moon's carrier, is sacred. A Kanbi husbandman never kills a deer in spite of the loss it causes him. The old seers used to sit on a deer's hide, which is still held holy and is much coveted by Bráhmans when at worship. At the time of the thread ceremony a piece of deer skin is tied to the sacred thread. Under the Anhilváda kings, A.D. 1094-1143, the Dhedás used to wear a stag's horn tied to their waist. Deer's musk is used by Shrávaks in their temple worship and is also used as a medicine. The stag's horn is rubbed with water on a stone and the paste is a specific for whooping cough. A deer on the left and a bounding deer on the right are lucky.

The Bear.

The bear has little religious importance. A black ball called *bajár battu* like the seed of soapnut bush, which is tied round children's necks as a charm against the evil eye, is worn after putting it for some time in the mouth of a bear.

The Rat.

The rat or mouse is Ganpati's carrier. To call a rat a rat is held disrespectful, so the people call him *Undar Máma* or Uncle Rat. It is a sin to kill a rat. On the Ganpati festival in August-September an image or a painting of a rat is worshipped along with Ganpati and in the evening sweet balls are given to rats in the hope that they will not trouble the inmates of the house. The dung of a mouse is used by Kanbis in their pregnancy ceremony.

The Mungoose.

As a guard against snakebite the mungoose or *nolio*, the natural enemy of the serpent, is worshipped by all high caste Hindu mothers on the bright ninth of *Shrávan* or *Bhádarvo* (August-September). A live mungoose or the image of a mungoose made of wet wheat, *juvár* or *adad* flour, of clay, or of redpowder is laid on a cross-marked footstool, and flowers, sandal-paste, cleaned rice, and the leaves of the *asitra* tree or of the *ghalodi* creeper are thrown out. The mouth of the image is brightened with redlead and its eyes are blackened with lampblack. Milk, curds, oil, and *mug* are offered to it and fried *juvár* is strewed on

the ground. As all red articles and articles that are pounded or cut are avoided, the woman eats *juvár* or *adad* bread and milk but once on that day. The bread is eaten without breaking it into pieces. After dinner the woman cannot do any household work. A mungoose crossing the road from right to left is a lucky omen.

The Serpent.

The serpent, generally the cobra or *nág*, is much dreaded and worshipped by almost all classes. The spirits of those who die of snakebite are believed to become *bhuts* or ill-minded spirits. The spirit of the miser generally enters into a serpent; hence serpents are found guarding hidden treasure. Shiv is the lord of the serpents which entwine his body, hence the brass or silver serpent round the *ling* in a Mahádev temple. The earth is believed to be borne on the hood of a serpent called Shesh under whose expanded hood Vishnu delights to rest with his consort Lakshmi. Balrám, the elder brother of Krishna, was the incarnation of Shesh. In spite of his destructive nature the snake, particularly the cobra, is never killed. When a cobra appears in a house the people bow to it and pray it not to harm the inmates. If it does harm the snake is caught, put in an earthen jar and the jar is laid in a lonely spot. If a snake is killed by accident its dead body is rubbed with clarified butter and it is burnt with the same rites as a man. The serpent is said to be blinded by the sight or touch of a woman in her monthly sickness. In revenge the serpent causes barrenness to the woman or otherwise destroys her children. To make amends for a chance injury done to a serpent resulting in her barrenness and the death of her children, childless women worship an image of the serpent on the bright fifth of every Hindu month On that day she wears a blue robe and offers milk water and jasmin flowers to the image and fasts. If she is barren she wears serpent-shaped silver wires on one of her ankles and worships them on the bright fifth of every Hindu month. The worship of the serpent on the bright fifth of every Hindu month is performed for one year or for three years, at the end of which a grand completion ceremony takes place. On the day fixed for this ceremony a cobra is drawn on the ground with cleaned but unpounded rice and a silver cobra is laid on the drawing. The woman bathes with her husband, the two wearing one long white garment. After the bath the woman goes near the drawing, throws sandal-paste and flowers on the silver image, and offers it *mug*, milk, and water. Presents of black clothes are made to thirteen married women, and nine married couples are feasted. The woman, taking an iron image of the cobra, goes with music to the place where four roads cross and buries it. A white pumpkin is cut and offered to the image and the woman returns home. Some women who have performed this completion ceremony wear on their neck a silver plate carved with a cobra, and throughout their whole life feast on the bright fifth of *Shrávan* from three to nine women wearing these plates. Except by Shrávaks the day held most sacred to serpent worship is the bright or dark fifth of *Shrávan* (August) called Nágpanchmi or the Cobra's Fifth. On that day the head woman, if not all the women of the family, worships the cobra or its image. The sight of a live cobra is very lucky, and in some towns living cobras are taken by snake charmers from house to house to be

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worshipped and fed on milk. When they cannot get a live cobra the women content themselves by offering jasmin flowers, milk, and cotton thread to a silver cobra or to a painted cobra on a house wall or on a footstool. A centipede and a scorpion are also sometimes painted near the cobra and flowers are offered to them. After making the offering the woman bows to the cobra's image saying 'My children are your children, therefore pray do not frighten them.' On that day the women of the family, particularly the head, eat nothing that has been cut or pounded. The only food that is taken is a mixture of unpounded rice and split pulse or the flour of *bájri* or rice mixed with sugar and clarified butter.

The spirit of the snake is believed to enter into the body of the person it bites. When a person is bitten by a snake a professional snakecharmer or an adept in curing snakebites is called. The adept gives charmed cowdung ashes to be rubbed on the bitten part or while repeating some charm ties knot after knot on a thread. If the person is still restless the adept dashes seven handfuls of water on the eyes of the sick and otherwise tries to force the snake to leave the body. Under the influence of the water or charm the snake through the person bitten tells why he bit the man. If the injury which prompted the snake to bite was slight, the snake agrees to leave his body; if the injury done was heavy the snake persists in not leaving the body, and the patient dies. It is unlucky to see a serpent cross the road from right to left when starting on a journey.

The Spider.

When a person is wounded or bled the web of a spider is used to staunch the blood and cure the wound. The fall of a spider on a man is unlucky. Leprosy is known as the spider's poison.

The Frog.

The frog is sacred to the rain-god Indra. When there is a drought Bhil, Koli, Kanbi, and Vághri women make a clay frog and stick in it *daro* grass or three sprigs of the *nim* tree. The frog is laid on a board and the board is borne on the head of one of the women. The party move from door to door singing the praise of the god of rain. As they approach each house one of the women pours water on the frog and the party pass on after receiving a dole of grain. A copper or silver coin which has been laid between a male and a female frog when breeding is supposed always to bring luck to its owner.

The Alligator.

The alligator or *magar* is supposed to be the animal ridden by a witch or a witchscarer. One of the gods of Bhils, Várlis, Dublás, and other wild tribes is Magardev the alligator god.

The Lizard.

The lizard is much dreaded; its touch causes uncleanness. The saliva of a lizard is considered a deadly poison. Women use the tail of a chameleon as a charm for captivating lovers.

The Ant.

The ant is sacred and it is a great sin to kill ants. Pious Vániás and Shrávaks throw rice or wheat flour on ant-hills and into the hollows of trees.

The Cock

The cock is sacred to the goddess Behecharáji and is her carrier. Some followers of the goddess worship the image of a cock stamped on a metal plate and wear the plate either round the neck or on the

right arm. Because it is a two-legged animal the cock is a favourite sacrifice among blood-offering Hindus. High caste Hindus who do not kill animals offer a live cock to the goddess in whose temple it is let loose and reared.

The Dove.

Except by the Válmik Kayásths, among whom when a marriage takes place a male and a female dove are regularly married, the dove is not generally held sacred. The flesh of the dove called *lakka* is said to have been formerly offered in *shráddh* or memorial services in place of rice balls. The flesh is also used as a cure for paralysis.

The Peacock.

The peacock is the carrier of Sarasvati the goddess of learning and of Kártikeya the god of war. The peacock is Krishna's favourite, in his diadem or *mugat* is always set the eye of a peacock's tail. One of the tail feathers is the chief object of worship in a Rabári's shrine. On the *Dasara* some Hindus, particularly the Sathvárás, worship a peacock. In an attack of small-pox and sore-eyes the child wears a peacock's feather tied to his wrist. A man possessed by a spirit is brushed by a peacock's tail. To see a peacock with spread tail is lucky.

The Owl.

The owl is greatly feared by almost all Hindus. The owl is a spirit with the face of a man. If he sits on a house and hoots some one inside will die or some misfortune will befall the family. To prevent this calamity one of the inmates bathes and makes presents to Bráhmans. The owl is a spirit of evil omen. If on a Tuesday or Sunday a man goes to the place where the owl is hooting, uncovers his whole body, and knots a thread each time the owl hoots, the thread is believed to drive off fever when tied to the arm of a sick man. The sight of an owl to the left of a man when he starts on a journey and to his right on the return journey is lucky.

The Cuckoo.

The cuckoo or *koel* is held sacred by women and girls who sometimes for the four wet months, sometimes for one full month between the bright fifteenths of *Ashád* and *Shrávan* (July-August), and sometimes for the intercalary months of *Ashád* (July) and *Bhádarvo* (September) worship an image or a drawing of a cuckoo. The object of this worship is to secure wedded bliss and to lengthen the lives of the worshipper's husband and children. After killing herself in disgust through her father's rough treatment of Shiv her husband, Párvati is believed to have remained a cuckoo until her reunion with Shiv. For worship a clay or a wooden cuckoo is set on a plank or a cuckoo is drawn perched on a mango tree. The woman or girl bathes with cold water; if she bathes in a river she takes with her the image or the drawing and with it goes above and below the surface water one hundred and eight times. After bathing she applies sandal-paste and flowers to the image or to the drawing. She then throws flowers and sandal-paste on a neighbouring mango tree or in the direction of a cuckoo's nest. She listens for the note of a live cuckoo, and does not break her fast until she hears it. If the note is not heard for a day or two she deceives herself by making the sound herself. During the time the vow lasts some women avoid black articles, do not wear black robes, and do not eat *jámbhul* berries; some women on the other hand use black articles, wear black clothes, and use oil pressed from black sesame seed. At the end of the vow a silver and

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sometimes a gold cuckoo is given to the Bráhman priest. The sound of a cuckoo when a man starts on a journey is particularly lucky.

The Kingfisher.

The kingfisher called *nílkanth* or *chás* is, from its green throat, believed to be an incarnation of Shiv or Nilkanth whose throat was stained green by a dose of poison. The kingfisher is held particularly sacred by the Rajputs who consider the sight of a kingfisher a sign of their enemies ruin. On the *Dasara* festival, after the worship of the *sami* tree, Hindus find a kingfisher and after looking at it and bowing to it they distribute sugarcandy among themselves. Some Deccan women are also anxious to catch sight of a kingfisher on the bright thirteenth of *Shrávan* (August).

The Crow.

The Hindus believe that the spirits or one of the spirits of the dead pass into crows. On his return from the burning ground the chief mourner offers rice balls to crows on the roof of the house. Cakes are also offered to crows on a man's yearly death-day. All pious Bráhmans before taking their meals daily offer cooked rice to crows. Crows are believed to have a foreknowledge of the dryness or wetness of the year, and therefore in the month of May crows' nests are examined. If the nests of crows are on the top of the tree sheltered by leaves and branches, the rainfall will be heavy, if in the middle the rainfall will be moderate, and if on the side of the tree exposed to the westerly wind the rainfall will be light. The cawing of a male crow on the house roof is unlucky; the cawing of a female crow foretells a guest. If a crow alights on a man and strikes him on his head with its beak the man loses his health and sometimes dies. The sight of a crow to the left when a man starts on a journey and to the right on his return is lucky. To see a male and female crow having connection is so unlucky that the only means by which the seer can save his life is to send word to his friends that he is dead. The sense seems to be that the ancestral spirit in the crow is so enraged at being seen that he vows the death of the seer, but is pacified on hearing that the seer is already dead.

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The mango *ambo* Mangifera indica is sacred. On the bright or dark seventh of *Shrávan* (August) a young mango tree is planted in the hearth and is worshipped by women that their children may not be attacked by small-pox. A mango post is generally set up at a marriage before the worship of Ganpati. Mango leaves are used as festoons on all lucky occasions and in the *shánti* or disease-quieting ceremony mango branches are thrown into the fire. The young leaves and buds are held to have been one of the five arrows of the god Cupid or Madan and are offered in worship in the name of Shiv especially during the month of *Mágh* (March).

A'mli.

The tamarind *ámli* Tamarindus indica is said to be the wife of Brahma, and, as his wife, is worshipped during the month of *Shrávan* (August). Eating cooked food under the shade of the tamarind is believed to be as effective as the gift of a cow. The tree is said to be much haunted by spirits and is worshipped on the bright fourteenth of *Kártik* (November) by persons suffering from spirit possession. The day is kept as a fast. Among the Garásiás or Rajput land-holders the tamarind is worshipped at the time of marriage. To

prevent the tamarind tree spirits harassing them Bhils and Kolis fast on the bright eleventh of *Fágan* (March) and play round the tamarind tree.

A'nkdo.

The swallowwort *ánkdo* Calotropis gigantea is sacred to the sun and is sometimes worshipped by men who wish to make money. Most Hindus think it a sin to have three wives alive at the same time. A man wishing to marry a third wife goes through a full marriage ceremony with an *ánkdo* bush and then marries the woman who thus becomes the fourth and not the third wife. The marriage is called *arkviváha* or sun-marriage. A man suffering from rheumatism has his elbow bound with an *ánkdo* or a *pipal* leaf bearing mystic letters sacred to the Wind-god or Váyu. Swallowwort flowers are the favourite offerings to the monkey-god Hanumán and to Ganpati, but cannot be offered to Shiv, Máta, or Vishnu. A blow with a swallowwort stick is believed to disarm a witch. Its loppings are thrown into the fire lighted for the *shánti* or spirit-quieting ceremony.

A'sopálav.

The *asopálav* Polyalthea longifolia is believed to have been worshipped by Sita in the hope of being re-united with Rám when she was separated from him. In order that they may not be separated from their husbands, women throw flowers and sandal-paste on this tree and lay a cotton thread on its trunk. Newly married girls do this on Mondays in the first *Shrávan* after marriage, and others during the four wet months, particularly during three days immediately before the *A'so* (October) fullmoon. Its leaves are much used as festoons on all lucky occasions and are offered to Vishnu.

Asindro.

The *asindro* Bauhinia parviflora is worshipped by women on the bright ninth of *Shrávan* (August). Its leaves are offered to the image of the mungoose which is worshipped on that day and to the small-pox god. On Dasara Day people give each other *asindro* leaves calling them gold. That they may not be attacked by any disease, Dublás and Chodhrás worship this tree on Sundays and Tuesdays and on the bright ninth of *Shrávan* (August).

Bábul.

The bábul *bával* Acacia arabica is believed to be a favourite spirit haunt. It is worshipped whenever a person suffers from spirit possession.

Bel.

The bael *bili* Ægle marmelos is often planted near shrines and other holy places and is believed to be the home of Párvati after whom it is called *shrivraksha* or Párvati's tree. Offerings made to the *bel* are believed to pass to Párvati. In the first *Shrávan* after marriage and on the bright ninth of *Bhádarvo* (September) married girls throw flowers and sandal-paste on a *bel* tree. The leaves are the favourite offerings to Shiv, and before the leaves are lopped sandal-paste and flowers are thrown on the tree. Bráhmans gain merit by repeating prayers sitting under its shade. The *bel* is seldom cut except by the lowest classes. The astringent rind of the fruit is valued in diarrhœa and dysentery.

Chámpo.

The *chámpo* Michelia champaka is worshipped to secure the king's favour. The worship of this plant is particularly sacred on the bright sixths of *Bhádarvo* (September) and *Márgshirsh* (December)

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provided the day falls on a Tuesday. On these two days the sun is first worshipped and then the *champo*. *Champo* flowers cannot be offered to Shiv.

Chandan.

The sandal tree *chandan* Santalum album is a sacred tree. The tree is not worshipped, but paste made from its wood is used in every-day worship and for brow-marks.

Darbha.

The *darbha* grass Poa cynosuroides is much used in all religious ceremonies, both lucky and unlucky. A blade of *darbha* grass is held by the bride and bridegroom just before their hands are joined; and a blade of this grass represents the dead in the *shrádh* or memorial service. This grass is cut only on the last day of *Shrávan* (August) when the year's supply is stored. Before it is cut sandal-paste and flowers are offered to it.

Daro.

The *daro* grass Cynodon dactylon is Ganpati's favourite offering. The day sacred to it is the bright eighth of *Bhádarvo* (September) when women particularly barren women drop water, flowers, red-powder, and rice on it. Kanbi women on that day do not cut grass or any other vegetable. The day is kept as a fast day. This grass-worship is believed to set at rest the spirits of the uneasy dead.

Kákadi.

The fruit of the cucumber or *kákadi* is worshipped by widows on the day the *Kark Sankránti* begins provided that day falls on a Monday and in the month of *Shrávan* (August). To change her lot in her next birth the widow fasts on that day, does not sleep during the night, feasts a Bráhman on the second day, and presents him with a gourd.

Kadamb.

The *kadamb* Nauclea kadamba is believed to be an immortal tree because the eagle, Vishnu's carrier, perched on it with the nectar that was obtained when the ocean was churned. The tree is sacred to Krishna with whose love sports with the milkmaids of Vandrávan it is associated. As the milkmaids got what they wanted by worshipping this tree, women worship it in *Kártik* (November) to gain what they wish.

Karen.

The oleander *karen* Nerium odorum is worshipped on a Tuesday by unmarried and childless men who trace their ill luck to the evil influence of the planet Mars or *Mangal*. It is also worshipped by those wishing to gain the favour of a female spirit or *jogani*. The flowers of this tree are favourite offerings to goddesses and to the sun. Among the Máthur Káyasthas, on the marriage day the bride and bridegroom strike each other with an oleander twig.

Kel.

The plantain *kel* Musa sapientum is worshipped in the month of *Shrávan* (August) by barren women and by unmarried men. The fruit is the favourite food on all fast days.

Khákharo.

The bastard teak *khákharo* Butea frondosa is believed by some to be the home of Brahma the creator and is worshipped in the month of *Fágan* (March). Others believe it to be the home of a goddess before whom in fulfilment of a vow boys have their heads shaved for the first time. A bough of this tree is held by the boy at the time of the thread ceremony, when some Bráhmans worship the tree.

The bastard teak is held sacred by the Rajputs who throw flowers and sandal-paste on it before and after marriage and before the first head-shaving. Its favourite offering is barley flour mixed with sugar and clarified butter. Its leaves are the proper covers for offerings made to Vishnu, and the middle leaf of a bunch of three leaves is used as a wrapper in all spirit-scaring rites.

Kharsáni.

The milkbush *kharsáni* Euphorbia tirucalli is worshipped only by those who want to secure the favour of a spirit named Bhánumati who is believed to live in it.

Limbdo.

The *nim* or *limbdo* Melia azadirachta is regarded as the home of Vishnu in his form of Jagannáth. It is worshipped in an attack of small-pox by women who bow to it and lay a lamp fed with clarified butter near its trunk. A child attacked with small-pox is laid on *nim* leaves and fanned by *nim* twigs. In the *shánti* or spirit-quieting ceremony the twigs are thrown into the fire. A man possessed by a spirit is cured by having *nim* twigs brushed over his face. The juice pressed from its leaves is drunk especially by Deccan people on the first day of *Chaitra* (March-April).

Nálieri.

As there are very few cocoa palms or *nálieri* in Gujarát the tree is seldom worshipped. As an emblem of the family goddess the nut is much worshipped by all classes. A cocoanut is also a favourite offering to other goddesses.

Pálaspiplo.

The *pálaspiplo* Thespecia populnea is worshipped by those wishing success in any undertaking. The tree is also called *nandi vraksha*. Shiv or Nandishvar, that is the lord of the bull, was once so badly used by his father-in-law, who was performing a great sacrifice, that in anger Párvati killed herself. After this Shiv went to the *pálaspiplo*, bowed to it, and again went to his father-in-law who received him civilly.

Piplo.

The *piplo* Ficus religiosa is believed to be the emblem of Vishnu, and the haunt of Munja the spirit of a thread-girt and unmarried Bráhman lad. To quiet Munja water is poured on the *pipal's* roots, sometimes daily sometimes during the whole or part of *Kártik* (November), *Chaitra* (April), *Shrávan* (August), *Bhádarvo* (September), and the intercalary months which are sacred to Vishnu and to the performance of after-death rites. The *pipal* is worshipped on the day of the month and the day of the year on which a man died, and from the third to the twelfth day after a death *shrádha* or memorial services are performed under its shade by the eldest surviving male child of the deceased. The tree is also worshipped on the elevenths of every Hindu month. On the no-moon day of each month, especially when the no-moon falls on a Monday, high caste Hindu women hold it meritorious to throw flowers water and sandal-paste on its roots and to walk 108 times or more round it, giving a plantain or *jamrukh* or any other kind of fruit to a Bráhman each time the round is completed. After the rounds are over the woman throws a cotton thread or a waistcloth on the tree. The rounds are also made on Saturdays when in the hope of growing rich people tear off scraps of the pipal bark. Among Bráhmans particularly a girl cannot

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Piplo.

remain unmarried after she has come of age. A grown girl who remains unmarried owing to some natural defect is married with full rites to a *pipal* tree, so that any violation of the rule is avoided. As the *pipal* is believed to be the emblem of Vishnu, it is married to the basil or *tulsi* plant. Some childless persons who trace their misfortune to the influence of some evil spirit cause the Bráhmanic thread ceremony to be performed for a *pipal* tree and have a brick platform built round its trunk. Bhils and Kolis worship the *pipal* on the bright eleventh of *Fágan* (March) which is among them a day sacred to spirit-worship. The tree is on no account uprooted or destroyed and except for sacrifice its wood is not used as fuel. The leaves are used in all spirit-scaring rites.

Sákarkolu.

On the dark fourteenth of *Vaishákh* (May), pumpkin or *sákarkolu* seeds are dropped in the house-yard and from that day the husband and wife daily worship the seedlings for six months. By worshipping the pumpkin people hope to see their children prosper.

Shami.

The *shami* Prosopis spicigera, also called *aparajita* that is the Unbeaten, is regarded as Shiv's wife and is called Vijayádevi. The tree is held sacred by all classes of Hindus but chiefly by Rajputs, because on it the Pándavs hung their arms when they were banished. The arms were turned into snakes and remained untouched till the owners came back to claim them. By worshipping this tree on the *Dasara* festival in October, Rám conquered Rávan, Váli conquered Sugriv, and the Pándavs conquered the Kauravs. *Shami* worship on Dasara Day (October) is held so lucky that after the *Dasara* worship the Rajput chiefs used to go to war even in an unlucky hour. On Dasara Day people go to a *shami* tree, sprinkle it with milk curds sugar clarified butter and honey, wash it with water, and hang garments upon it. They light lamps, burn incense, make red marks on the tree, sprinkle it with rose-coloured water, set wheat-stalks betelnuts and offerings of food before it, and walk round it. As they walk they repeat verses telling how the *shami* tree purifies from sin, destroys enemies, cures diseases, and ensures success. Then turning round they worship in order the ten *dig-páls* or guardians of the ten points of heaven beginning with Indra the god of the east. They then break and throw from them the silken wristlets which were tied on the Balev festival in *Shrávan* (August). After the *shami* worship the people return home taking with them a few *shami* leaves, some earth from near its roots, one or two betelnuts and a few of the wheat-stalks that were offered to it, some of which they fix in their headdress. Of these articles they compound a ball called *sukaniu* or the peace-maker which the worshipper keeps with him for luck and takes with him when he starts on a journey. Next Dasara Day the ball is laid near the tree and a fresh one is made. Besides on the *Dasara*, the tree is worshipped on marriage occasions when one of its branches is cut and turned into a post to be planted in the marriage booth. It is unlucky for a man to have married three wives. A man wishing to take a third wife marries a *shami* tree in the same way as some men marry the *ánkdo* or swallowwort, and afterwards marries the woman who thus becomes his fourth wife. In

castes among whom widow marriage is allowed a bachelor cannot marry a widow. Such a marriage can take place only if the bachelor first marries the *shami* tree and then the widow.

Sopári.

No betel-palms grow in Gujarát, but betelnuts are used in all sacrifices as the representatives of the different gods. In some families a betelnut is placed in the god room along with the house gods and is worshipped every day. Betelnuts are also offered in disease-quieting or *shánti* rites.

Tulsi.

All classes hold the common sweet basil or *tulsi* Ocimum basilicum sacred. A demon named Jalandhar used to harass the gods whose joint efforts to put him down were of no avail because of the chastity of his wife Vranda. Vishnu diguised himself as Jalandhar and slept with Vranda and so was able to kill Jalandhar. Vranda cursed Vishnu who went to live in the stone, which is still worshipped under the name of *Sháligram.* Vishnu in turn cursed Vranda and forced her to go into the basil plant. While the two were under the curse they married and hence the basil plant is regarded as Vishnu's consort. Almost all Vishnavs have a basil plant in their houses. Dhedás and Khatri weavers also hold the basil sacred, keep it in front of their houses, and, it is said, when sworn by it will not tell a lie. The worshipper thinks he gains merit if he bows to the basil just after leaving his bed or after washing his face. Before taking their morning meal women throw water in the basil pot, burn a lamp near it, and bow to it. If the woman is a Vaishnav she takes the image of Vishnu to the plant, lays the image down, joins the image and the plant with a cotton thread, and worships them together. She then walks several times round the two and bows to them. During intercalary months, all of which are sacred to Vishnu, this worship is very common. The water in which Vishnu has been bathed is generally poured into the *Tulsi* pot. On the bright eleventh of *Kártik* (November) high caste Hindus, particularly Vishnavs, think they gain merit by having the marriage between the image of Vishnu and the basil plant regularly performed. When the ceremony is to be on a small scale the image of Vishnu is richly dressed, and is taken in the evening to the basil plant over which a booth of sugarcane cuttings is raised. The family priest officiates at the marriage ceremony which is conducted by the family headman and the house-mother. Marriage verses are chanted and the plant and the image are united by the marriage garland. The plant is covered with a woman's robe and an iron ring and a wristlet are tied to one of its branches. Some women fast for three days after the eleventh, keep a lamp continuously burning, and on the fourth day break their fast. The night of the fourth day is kept as a vigil or wake. Some well-to-do pious and childless persons celebrate this marriage on a grand scale. When this is done the childless pair who own the basil plant act as the bride's parents; the image of Vishnu belongs to a friend who with his wife acts as the bridegroom's parents. On the bright eleventh of *Kartik* (November) or on a day fixed by an astrologer the image is taken with music to the basil plant. The male owner of the image with the image in his hand and the female

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Tulsi.

owner of the plant with the basil pot near her then go regularly through all the Bráhmanic marriage rites. The owner of the plant presents gold and silver ornaments to the image the owners of which also receive cash presents as the bridegroom's parents. Vishnu's marriage to the basil plant on the bright eleventh of *Kartik* (November) begins the yearly marriage season. Besides on the bright eleventh of *Kartik* the basil plant is held sacred on other occasions The sesame seed is the emblem of Vishnu and some women for four years during the whole of *Shravan* (August) or during its latter half worship sesame seeds or plants and the basil plant together. During this period they wear on their neck a cotton thread of thirty knots, eat only once a day, avoid cooked vegetables, and before eating utter and cause a friend to utter the words *Tal Tulsi*. On the last day of the month the basil plant is covered with a woman's robe. To get rid of barrenness women sometimes walk 108 times round the basil and the *pipal* planted together. *Tulsi* leaves, Vishnu's favourite offering, are believed to have great sin-cleansing power, and a basil leaf is put in the mouth of the dead. The dry wood of the *tulsi* plant is always added to the fuel with which a dead body is burnt.

Umbar.

The *umbar* Ficus glomerata is believed to be the resting place of the sage Bhrigu. It is a common belief that a hidden stream runs near every *umbar*. The tree is much worshipped during the *Navratri* holidays in October by people wishing to make money and to learn.

Vad.

The Indian fig *vad* Ficus indica, from its matted air roots, is believed to be the emblem of Shiv who wears matted hair. With the object of lengthening their husband's and their children's lives, married women worship the Indian fig tree on fullmoon days. The fullmoon of *Jeth* (June) is particularly sacred to the Indian fig. On that day married women throw flowers, sandal-paste, and a cotton thread on the roots of the *vad*. Some women in honour of the *vad* take their meal on the night of the bright thirteenth, at noon on the fourteenth, fast on the fullmoon day, and sup on the night of the dark first. Some married girls for four years after marriage worship the *vad* on every fullmoon day. During the fullmoon days of the first year they eat but once, during those of the second year they eat uncooked articles, during those of the third year they live on fruit roots and vegetables, and during those of the fourth year they fast. The branches of the fig tree serve as fuel in all fire sacrifices.

HILL WORSHIP.

Sacred Hills.

Hills are held sacred by Bráhmans because their crests are like the *ling* and because Shiv's consort is Párvati the hill spirit; by Vaishnavs because the hill top is the abode of Vishnu, and because Krishna is believed to have supported the Govardhan mountain on his little finger; and by Bhils, Kolis, Chodhrás, Gámtás, and other wild tribes because they regard hills as the dwellings of Ahidodungar, Kavádiogadh, Mediogadh, Dungri, and other hill-gods. Shrávaks or Jains also attach a special holiness to hills. Some Hindu gods and goddesses have their temples on the upper slope or on the top of a hill, and the pilgrims to the shrines hold it meritorious to climb to the temple on foot or to walk round its base. The hill near the Mahi Kántha village of Sátlasan is much frequented by women who cannot suckle their infants. In a

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cavern on the top is a stone called Dudhel Máta or Milk Mother through which milk-white water oozes. A woman who cannot nurse her child goes to the cave taking a white bodice, and allows a few drops of the milky water to fall on that part of the bodice which covers the breast. After laying it on the stone the woman puts on the bodice and finds that her supply of milk has increased. In south Gujarát at the marriages of low caste Hindus flowers and sandal-paste are offered in the name of seven hills, among them the Násik hills of Sálher and Mulher. On the first day of *Kartik* (November) and sometimes on the bright eleventh of *Kartik* and the dark eighth of *Shravan* (August) a heap of cowdung is made in Vaishnav temples opposite Krishna's image. On the first day of *Kartik* some Koli and cultivating Rajput women sweep their houses in the morning, gather the dirt in a pot, and lay the pot at the place where four roads cross. On her return before entering the house she lays a lump of cowdung on the finger of a cowdung image of Krishna. Miniature flags are stuck in the lump which is called the Govardhan mountain, and toy cows are set near it. The woman then bathes and after her bath throws sandal-dust and flowers on the image and on the dung lump, and offers them cooked food. This mode of worship continues till the twelfth day, on which, after making them an offering of rice and split pulse, the image and the lump are thrown into a well or a pond. Instead of making the image some, for the safety of their cattle, make a four-cornered dung-heap on the veranda and drop over the dung-hill a few *juvár* grains. A lamp fed with clarified butter is kept near the heap in the evening. It is allowed to remain till the *Holi* holiday, on which day it is taken and thrown into the fire. Bhils, Dhankás, and other wild tribes on the no-moon day of *Bhádarvo* (September) play, dance, and sing at the foot of a hill. They offer clay horses, a cocoanut, and the flesh of a goat to a hill and walk round its base. In fulfilment of a vow taken to cure family sickness or cattle plague they worship the hill by offering it cleaned rice, betelnuts, *moha* or palm-juice liquor, and the flesh of goats and fowls. If the hill is far off, a small heap of rice is made, a betelnut is stuck on the top of it, and redlead is applied to it. A childless husband or a bachelor sometimes goes to a hill and says 'Father Hill, if I get a child or a wife I will bathe thee and others.' If he succeeds in getting the child or the wife he bathes as many hill sides as he promised, that is he burns them with fire. Some Maráthás in south Gujarát worship the hills as an appeal to the rain-god for a heavy rainfall.

Grain Worship.

Over the whole of Gujarát ripe grain is worshipped at harvest time, and in south Gujarát Koli and Dubla cultivators sacrifice a cock on the occasion. No new grain is taken into use without first worshipping it or giving some of it to Bráhmans. In some native states on the no-moon day of *Shrávan* (August) a small quantity of each grain and vegetable crop is gathered in a miniature booth. The chief of the state or the headman of the village throws flowers and sandal-paste on the heaps, and the grain is distributed among the villagers. In Rewa Kántha, in the month of *Bhádarvo* (September) when the early crops are reaped, the Bhil and Koli cultivators of the village meet and on an appointed day the headman offers

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twelve buffaloes, twelve goats, and twelve cocks to their gods, Báva and Chamunda, whose homes are in rough round stones set under a teak tree. The villagers drink liquor and milk. On the *Dasara* festival in October the main gate of a temple is sometimes festooned with the ears of as many grains as are available. On the *Makar Sankránt* in January grain is worshipped and given to Bráhmans. On the first day of *Kártik* (November) preparations of almost all local grains are offered to Krishna in Vaishnav temples. The bright fifth of *Bhádarvo* (September), called *Rishi Pánchem* or the Seer's Fifth, is set apart for the worship of grain. On this day, particularly among the agricultural classes, no woman who is of age eats salt or any grain that has been grown in a ploughed field. They eat the seeds of a grass called *sámo*, and a coarse rice called *namár* which grow in wastelands or in ponds. These grains are supplemented with vegetables grown in the houseyard or in an unploughed garden. On this day women neither grind nor thresh corn. By eating these coarse grains women hope to have a regular monthly sickness, to increase their fruitfulness, and to get rid of their womanhood in their next birth.

Harvest Forecasts.

The following rites are performed to ascertain whether the next harvest is to be good or bad. On the bright second of *Vaishákh* (May) a miniature booth is made outside of the village, and in it a pot filled with water and with its mouth covered by a cake is laid. Small heaps of different grains are piled round the pot and some cotton wool is set near it. A copper coin is also laid to represent the chief, and a betelnut to stand for the minister. On the morning of the third the villagers examine the booth. If the ants have interfered much with any kind of grain during the night the people think that that grain will be scarce during the coming year. To whatever direction the cotton has been moved there they believe cotton will be in demand. The chief or the minister will suffer misfortune if the coin or the betelnut has been carried away; he will prosper if the coin or the betelnut is allowed to remain. If the cake has been eaten or removed by some animal, the people will starve, and if the booth has been injured by cattle, the village to which the cattle belong will be visited by some grievous evil. A north-west wind at dawn on the third foretells a good harvest. At seven on the night of the *Chaitro* (April) fullmoon the wagon-shaped cluster of stars called *saptarushinu gádu*, the English Great Bear or Charles' Wain, is examined. One star among them, which is believed to change its place, is called *vepári* or the merchant. If the merchant is in front of the cluster grain will rise; if he is in the rear prices will fall; and if he is at one side prices will remain steady. If slight rain falls within four hours after the fire is lit on the *Holi* holiday (March), the rupee price of the staple grain of the district will be ten pounds. The crops will be injured by a frost if rain falls on the bright seventh of *Shrávan* (August). If the bright sixth of *Mágh* (February) is cloudy, there will be a considerable fall in the price of cotton during the season. If there is a downpour of rain on the dark thirteenth of *Ashád*, castor-oil,

if on the dark fourteenth, sesame oil, and if on the no-moon day, clarified butter will be cheap.

Section XIV. GRAIN WORSHIP. *Rice.*

Rice is the most sacred of grains. The cultivators worship the rice plants in *A'so* (October), and on its fullmoon pounded rice is offered to the house gods and eaten with milk. Rice is offered to Shiv and Ganpati in their daily worship, and is used in all religious ceremonies. In the *shrádh* or memorial service rice balls are offered to the spirits of the dead. The favourite offering to goddesses is cleaned rice boiled in milk. Rice, both husked and unhusked, is stuck on brow-marks on all lucky occasions, husked rice forms a part of the payments which are then made to potters and gardeners. It is sacred to Shiv and to the moon and is much used on Mondays. Curds and cooked rice are the favourite offerings to Shiv after an attack of fever.

Wheat.

Wheat is sacred to Ganpati and to the planet Mars or *Mangal*. Sweet balls of wheat flour are Ganpati's favourite offering, and those who are under the evil influence of the planet Mars eat nothing but wheat. It is worshipped along with Ganpati on all lucky occasions and on the *Makar Sankránt* in January. Wheat is used along with rice in all religious ceremonies. In some villages two *bábul* trees are festooned with blades of *darbha* grass. In the evening the village cattle, among them a red cow belonging to the headman, are driven under the festoon. If the red cow runs ahead of the rest, the wheat crop will be injured by rust.

Indian Millet.

To ensure a good harvest the cultivators worship millet stalks in the month of *Bhádarvo* (September). Married women also worship the plants on the bright fifth of *Shrávan* (August). The grain is worshipped on the *Makar Sankránt* in January.

Maize.

The Rewa Kántha Bhils and Náikdás worship the maize plant before cutting it, and in the hope of a rich harvest, offer a goat to their village god through their headman.

Barley.

Barley is a sacred grain, and is used in all religious and memorial ceremonies. On certain fast days barley cakes or barley boiled in milk is the correct food.

Gram.

Gram is sacred to the planet Venus, and is much used on Fridays. Boiled gram is a favourite offering to goddesses, and on the *Makar Sankránt* in January gifts of gram plants are made to Bráhmans.

Adad.

Adad Phaseolus mungo is sacred to the planet Saturn and to Hanumán. To get rid of Saturn's evil influence people make gifts of *adad* to Bráhmans. Though it is unlucky to look at, *adad* is much used in all spirit-scaring rites. To prevent the spirit of a man who has died in an unclean state from troubling his friends, and to sever all connection with a man who has become a pervert or has renounced his religion and caste rules, an image of *adad* flour is made and over it death rites are performed.

Sesame.

Sesame seeds are believed to be the emblem of Vishnu, to whom they are mostly offered. The seeds are worshipped along with the basil plant, and are much used in all memorial services. The effects

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of a bad dream are said to be averted by worshipping sesame and giving it to Bráhmans. On the *Makar Sankránt* in January the gift of sesame balls is so meritorious that the day is known as Til or Sesame Sankránt.

Wheat, barley, *tuver, vál,* sesame, rice, and *juvár* are also worshipped together as a goddess. On the first of the *Navrátri* in *Mágh* (February), *Chaitra* (April), *Asháḍ* (July), and *A'so* (October), a corner of the god-room is covered with a layer of earth and cowdung three or four inches thick. On the surface grains of wheat, barley, *tuver, vál,* sesame, rice, and *juvár* are dropped. The earth is kept moistened with water, and flowers and sandal-paste are laid before it. By the tenth day the seedlings, which are about a foot high, are worshipped as representing the goddess. A lamp fed with clarified butter is kept burning near them for nine days, and an unsheathed sword is laid close by the lamp. When these plants are grown by an exorcist in his own house he becomes possessed by the goddess on the eighth day. He walks about the streets followed by women singing songs, one of whom bears a basket containing the seedlings. People suffering from spirit seizures sit on the road and are believed to be cured if the exorcist leaps over them. The basket containing the stalks is thrown into a well or into a river. On all marriages, thread-girdings, and pregnancies these grains are sown in bamboo baskets and the family goddess is asked to come into the seedlings. The seedlings are worshipped every day, and some days after the ceremony is over the baskets are thrown into a well.

PLANET WORSHIP.

Gujarát Hindus reckon nine planets or *grahas* literally seizers. These are the Sun *Surya,* the Moon *Chandra,* Mars *Mangal,* Mercury *Budh,* Jupiter *Brihaspati,* Venus *Shukra,* Saturn *Shani,* the Earth *Ráhu,* and the Comet *Ketu.*[1] Each of these planets has a friendly or unfriendly influence on every man, according to its position at the time of his birth. All or some of them are worshipped by almost all classes of Hindus generally with the object of warding off their evil influence and sometimes with the object of securing blessings. High caste Hindus, that their influence may be friendly, worship all the planets at thread-girdings marriages and pregnancies, and also to remove sickness. When the planets are to be worshipped a low four-legged wooden stool is set in a square marked with lines of quartz powder. The stool is covered with a white cloth and on the cloth heaps of rice are piled. On the rice heaps an earthen jar full of water is set with its mouth stopped with mango leaves and a cocoanut and a cotton thread is wound round it. At a marriage the parents of the bride and bridegroom, at a thread-girding the boy's parents, and at a pregnancy the husband and wife facing east or north strew flowers and sandal-paste on the earthen water jar

[1] *Ráhu* is generally held to be the head and *Ketu* the trunk of the giant Ráhu who stole a share of the ocean-won lifekeeping nectar. The sun saw Ráhu in the act of stealing the nectar and cut him in two with his discus. But the sun was too late, the parts of Ráhu were deathless and ever since they at times attack the sun and the moon and dim their light. The belief that Ráhu is the earth suggests that Hindu astronomers knew that the earth's shadow was the cause of moon-eclipses.

and sprinkle over it a mixture of milk, curds, clarified butter, honey, and sugar. A fire is lit near the water jar and into the fire are dropped clarified butter, barley, sesame, and nine-inch long sticks of the mango, *shami* Prosopis spicigera, *khákahro* Butea frondosa, *umardo* Ficus glomerata, and *ánkdo* Calotropis gigantea trees.

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Almost every high caste Hindu house has copper masks or round polished stones of the size of an egg representing one or more of the seven planets, that is all except the earth and the comet. These are daily worshipped along with the house gods. To please the planets gifts are made to Bráhmans, hymns are chanted in honour of Shiva or Máta, or milk or water is poured over Mahádeva's *ling*.

The Sun.

Among the nine planets the Sun or *Surya* holds the first place. The sun is a red man, with a quoit and sometimes a lotus in his hand seated in a car drawn by seven horses. The sun is the father of some of the heavenly beings, and, among men, of the Kshatriya or warrior race. He is the eye of God or God himself, Brahma in the morning, Vishnu at noon, and Mahádeva at night. He is worshipped by almost all classes of Gujarát Hindus immediately after washing the face in the morning, at prayer time, or on leaving the house. The sun is worshipped under several forms. Sometimes the sun in heaven is worshipped; sometimes a three-cornered copper-plate called *surya yantra*; and sometimes a stone found at Broach in the Narbada near the hermitage of the sage Bhrugu. Among all high caste Hindus the sun is one of the five house gods or *Pancháitan Devs.* In addressing the sun the worshipper holds before him his joined hands and either stands on his right leg or lies on his front on the ground. The sun's favourite flowers are the rose, the shoeflower, and the oleander. These flowers are laid before the sun or his image along with a handful or a potful of water called *arghya* and sandal-paste. Sunday, known as Ravivár, Áditvár, Bhánuwásar, or Bhánuvár, is sacred to the sun. Some Bhils, Chodhrás, and other wild tribes of south Gujarát worship the sun either solely or before any other god. Among Solar Rajputs the sun is the special object of daily worship and is saluted before the morning meal. On a cloudy day a Solar Rajput will not break his fast till he catches a glimpse of the sun. On very cloudy days when there is little chance of catching a glimpse of the sun a copper or brass plate full of water is sometimes set in the open air in the hope that a reflection of the sun may be seen in the water. Bráhmans and other high caste Hindus consider no daily worship complete without saluting the sun. The *gáyatri* or sun-hymn, which none but Bráhmans may say, 'Let us think the worshipful light of the sun, may it lighten our hearts!' is repeated by all Bráhmans in the morning, and by a few thrice a day, at morning noon and sunset. The Káthis worship the sun and use it as a symbol in all formal papers. The symbol is much like a spider, the rays forming the legs. That there may be no mistake underneath it is written 'The witness of the holy sun.' They adore the sun and invoke its protection and aid in all their undertakings.

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The Sun.

Besides the every-day salutation the sun is worshipped on various occasions to secure his favour or with the object of warding off his evil influence, which the sun acquires in certain star-chambers or when he is affected by other planets. To ward off the sun's evil influence people wear a coral ring or engage a Bráhman to repeat a prayer to the sun in a Shaiv temple seven thousand times. To secure the sun's goodwill every woman worships him on the twelfth day after childbirth. Women to ensure male offspring, and widowed girls that they may not be widowed in the next life, worship the sun on Sundays, sometimes for twelve years. In worshipping the sun they dress in white or in red, fast during the day or eat only what is white, milk and rice. Sometimes a woman vows to worship a silver image of the sun for one year beginning from the first Sunday in *Mágh* (February), in *Vaishákh* (May), or in *Shrávan* (August). During the year of her vow the woman keeps all Sundays as fast days and undergoes special penance on the first Sunday of each month. On the first Sunday of the first month she eats nothing but a mixture of cow's urine and dung; on the first Sunday of the second month nothing but milk; on the first Sunday of the third month nothing but curds. On the other days of the week no food can be taken before the sun has been seen and worshipped. During the rainy months the sight of the reflection of the sun in water is enough. If the weather is so cloudy that for three days not even a reflection can be seen the people in Native States on the fourth day look on their ruler and break their fast. At the end of the year the vow is fulfilled by worshipping the image of the sun, by feasting twelve couples of married Bráhmans and by presenting them with twelve brass or copper ladles called *áchmanis*, twelve woollen bags called cow-mouths or *gavmukhis* in which rosaries of *rudráksha* that is beads of the *aksha* tree are kept, and twelve woollen covers of wooden stools called *ásaniás*. Another sun-vow or *surya vrat* with varying practices is kept four years both by men and women. A person who has taken the four-year sun-vow sometimes daily worships the sun and the *pipal* Ficus religiosa, and takes food but once a day. Sometimes he worships the sun every day during the first year, a *pipal* tree every day during the second year, a Bráhman every day during the third year, and a cross of cleaned rice every day during the fourth year. The twelfth of January, when the sun enters the sign of Capricorn or *makar*, is called the *makar-sankránt*, and as the sun then first clearly passes to the north it is also called the *utráyan* or northing *sankránt*. On this day jujubes, sugarcane, plantains, gram Cicer arietinum plants, a mixture of rice and *mag* Phaseolus radiatus, balls of white sesame and coarse sugar, and a copper coin are given to at least thirteen Bráhmans. Besides these gifts the well-to-do make presents to the poor and take vows to feed the cows of their Bráhman priests for one year on boiled *juvár* or *juvár* stalks, and the street dogs on a mixture of cooked rice and *mag* or on milk. Barren women call thirteen pregnant women and present each with a cocoanut; women who have no children alive call thirteen children and present each with a cocoanut; and both barren and childless women sometimes present clothes to thirteen married

couples. Sometimes also they call thirteen Bráhmans, feed them on milk, and present each with cocoa-kernels, coarse sugar, a pound of *mag*, a ball of *mag* flour with a coin hid in it, and a pot of whey and butter. Beginning with this day married girls sometimes vow for a year to apply *kanku* marks every morning to the brows of at least thirteen married women or *gornis*. Other girls vow on each day of the coming year to take to the priest's house a handful of rice, a betelnut, and a pot of water. Among Nágar Bráhmans the marriage season begins from *Makar Sankránt*. Among these Bráhmans all unmarried girls to be married during the year are taken to a river bank, have some of their hair washed with water, and have a flower garland thrown round their necks.

Eclipse.

Except Shrávak Vániás all high caste Hindus hold the sun and moon in special reverence during an eclipse or *grahan* that is a seizure. The practices at solar and lunar eclipses are almost the same. In both cases the day of the eclipse and a day before and a day after the eclipse are deemed unlucky. For twelve hours before a sun eclipse begins and for eight hours before a moon eclipse begins no cooked food is eaten. Frequent eclipses are believed to foretell grave political dangers. An eclipse of the sun and the moon happening in the same month is also dangerous. An eclipse on the *Chaitra* (April) fullmoon foreshows an earthquake. If the moon is eclipsed in *Vaishákh* (May) the year will be one of dearth, particularly if the eclipse falls on a Tuesday or a Saturday; and if the eclipse falls on a Monday or a Friday sugar and butter will be specially scarce. If the sun is eclipsed between six and ten in the morning of a Tuesday or a Saturday in *Vaishákh* (May) there will be a general dearth. A total eclipse of the sun on a Monday Wednesday or Friday in *Vaishákh* (May) foretells a cheap year.

In every high caste house before an eclipse begins all water jars are emptied and the stores of pickles and wafer biscuits are carefully locked. The family priest visits the house and leaves a blade of *darbha* grass on the threshold of the house, of the god-room, and of the room in which pickles and wafer biscuits are stored. Immediately before the eclipse begins some bathe. All including the household gods are held to be impure so long as the eclipse lasts. The people explain this impurity by saying that Ráhu was a Bhangia or sweeper and that his touch defiles the sun and moon. During the eclipse gifts are made to Bhangiás. Some spend the whole time of an eclipse in prayer. Exorcists and charmers count the beads of a rosary, burn incense, and repeat charms. Some make gifts of fried *juvár* or rice, of a mixture of rice and pulse, and of clothes and copper coins to low caste beggars, especially to Bhangiás who, men women and children, go from door to door begging grain copper silver gold and clothes, and shouting *Do dán chhute grahan* that is Give gifts and the seizure will be loosened. Some visit Vaishnav temples which are kept open during eclipses, and look at the gods who are dressed in their plainest robes, and some of the young in spite of being impure make merry. A woman far gone in pregnancy is locked in a room and every entrance to her room is close covered so that no ray of the dimmed sun or moon may reach her. While thus locked up the woman cannot do any work. She cannot

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dress vegetables or even break a straw or she may maim the limbs of the child in her womb.

If she sees any of the eclipse the child will suffer from eclipse-madness or *grahan-ghelu*. When the eclipse is over every one bathes either at home or in a river or in the sea. They fetch fresh drinking water, purify the house-gods by going through the regular daily worship, take a meal, and present gifts, grain and copper or silver coins to the family priest.

Sunday is sacred to the sun. Except that a child is lucky whose sixth day falls on a Sunday, Sunday is unlucky and a cause of evil. A year that begins on a Sunday is disastrous. In a month with five Sundays some epidemic is sure to break out and if *Mágh* (February) has five Sundays the king is sure to suffer. If the bright fifth of *Kártik* (November) falls on a Sunday a Tuesday or a Saturday there will be cholera in Málwa, war in the Deccan the Konkan and Rajputána, and uneasiness in Gujarát. If a Sunday falls on the bright eleventh of *Kártik* (November) there will be cholera or some other calamity; if on the *Kártik* fullmoon within the period when the moon is in the *kratika* star-chamber there will be forty-three rainy days in the year; if on the bright fourteenth of *Chaitra* (April) there will be disunion among kings; if on the bright third of *Vaishákh* (May) there will be a scanty rainfall, and if on that day the wind blows from the south the drought will become famine. If a Sunday falls on the bright second of *Ashád* (July) the year will be extraordinarily hot and the rains will be late; if on the bright eleventh of *Ashád* (July) there will be an epidemic, a general panic, or a flood; and if on the fullmoon of *Fágan* (March), on the bright fifth of *Shrávan* (August), or on the no-moon of *Ashvin* (October) there will be war, panic, and poverty. It is very unlucky if the ninth or the twelfth day after a man's death falls on a Sunday. If a man becomes a widower on a Sunday he will hardly find a second wife. On Sundays barren women in the hope of becoming mothers get hold of some neighbour's or friend's infant child and lightly brand it on some part of the body with a needle which the mother is not likely to notice. If on a Sunday night a man takes cotton threads and goes to a place where an owl is hooting, strips himself naked and makes a knot on the threads each time the owl hoots, the thread, if tied on the right arm of a fever patient, will drive away the fever. A cloth worn for the first time on a Sunday will be burnt. To set out on a journey northwards on a Sunday is unlucky and no journey in any other direction should be attempted without first chewing betelnut.

The Moon.

The Moon is a male deity, large gentle and kindly, young and sweetfaced, a warrior with four arms, a mace in one and a lotus in another, seated on a white antelope. The moon has more influence on man than the sun. He is hailed and respected by all Lunar Rajputs who daily worship a representation of the moon. The Bhils, Kolis, Dublás, and other wild tribes of south Gujarát worship the moon after the sun and before any other god. A Panch-Mahál Bhil swears by *bárbij* or *bárábij*, that is the moon, saying 'May *bárbij* eat me if I lie.' High caste Hindus do not rank the moon among

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the house gods who are daily worshipped. The moon is the lord of all vegetable drugs or *aushadhipati* and is so styled by old Sanskrit poets. The moon has a more powerful influence on diseases than any other planet. Lunacy that is moon-madness, hydrophobia, consumption, and other diseases are believed to be keener in the bright fortnight than in the dark fortnight, and are at their highest when the moon is in opposition, that is on the bright fifteenth or in conjunction that is on the dark fifteenth of every Hindu month. The sun and the moon appear on deeds of gift with the expression *Yávachchandra diwákarau* that is so long as the sun and the moon endure. On all festive occasions the sun and moon are painted on the house wall, one on each side of Ganpati. Shiv is represented with a crescent moon on his forehead and is called *Chandra mauli* or the moon-crowned. Monday which is sacred to the moon is also sacred to Shiv. The Hindu month is a lunar month of 29½ days during which the moon completes its revolution round the earth. Every Hindu month therefore begins on the first day after the no-moon day. All classes especially traders look with special interest on the first day of each month and year. The goodness or badness of the first bargain on the first day foretells the character of the month or the year. The last or no-moon *amás* of each month is unlucky for all undertakings and is kept as a day of rest by traders, shopkeepers, and craftsmen. If the last day falls on a Monday the day is sacred and people bathe in a river or pool and make gifts to Bráhmans. The days of the month sacred to the moon are bright seconds, all fourths but especially dark fourths, and bright fifteenths. On the bright seconds the moon is hailed by most high caste Hindus, particularly by traders and shopkeepers. People when they look at the moon on this day uncover their heads and feet and join the palms of their hands, so that the two first fingers may touch the space between the eyebrows. They then bend their heads, mutter some words, loosen their hands and gently press their cheeks. They throw a cotton thread towards the moon, hoping to get a silver thread in return, eat something sweet, and, on turning from the moon, take care that the first person they look at is one who is innocent or lucky. If their neighbours are neither lucky nor innocent they look at a rupee. The moon is held particularly sacred on the bright second by all who belong to the Bij and Márgi sects which have many followers among the Áhirs, Bhávsárs, Bábariás, Bhangiás, Chárans, Darjis, Dheds, Golás, Káthis, Kolis, Luhárs, Mochis, Rabáris, Rajputs, and Sathvarás. Among the followers of the Bij and Márgi sects the bright second of *Mágh* (February) is specially holy. On this day the Rabáris and Áhirs never turn their milk to butter, but either drink it or give it away. Other bright seconds are also sacred. Some fast all day and break their fast by a meal of rice and milk after hailing the moon. Some Kolis bow to the new-moon and ask three blessings, a cooking pan that is daily bread, a pair of bullocks, and a cow.[1] In some parts of Gujarát Kolis are sworn on a two-day-old moon. If the new moon

[1] The Gujaráti runs: *Bij mávadi, Chule távdi: Be ghodha, ne ek gávdi.*

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when first seen on the bright second of *Kártik* (November) is red or if the right horn is thinner than the left horn on the bright second of *Vaishákh* (May) the year will be rainy. If on the bright second of *Jeth* (June) the moon is first seen in the west the year will be middling, and if it is first seen in the south-west the year will be bad. If it thunders on the bright second of *Jeth* (June) the year will be dry. If the bright second of *Ashád* (July) falls on a Sunday or a Tuesday the rains will be late, if on a Thursday the year will be ra'ny, if on a Wednesday or Friday the rainfall will be good, and if on a Saturday dire evil is in store.

The bright fourths are called *Ganesh chaturthi* or Ganpati's Fourths and the dark fourths are called *Sankasht chaturthi* or Trouble-clearing Fourths. On the bright fourths women generally eat wheaten bread and avoid salt. The moon is not worshipped. Of bright fourths the most sacred is in *Bhádarvo* (September). On this day Ganpati is worshipped with much ceremony and wheaten balls mixed with sugar or molasses are eaten. Though the bright fourths are sacred to the moon, the sight of the moon on this night is unlucky. Any one who sees the moon will be falsely charged with theft. After sunset people shut all windows. If by chance any one happens to see the moon, he throws stones on his neighbour's roof till, which is not usual, some one in the neighbour's house gets angry enough to abuse the stonethrower, when the risk of a false charge of theft passes away. From this stone-throwing the day is called *Dagada Choth* or the Stone Fourth. On dark fourths men and women, especially women, fast all day long and at moonrise at nine in the evening worship the moon, and break their fast either by drinking a cup of milk or by taking a supper sometimes with wheat balls mixed with sugar or coarse sugar as a chief dish. Besides fasting during the whole day some forego water and some stand all day on one foot or on both feet in an attitude of prayer. Of dark fourths four are held particularly sacred by different classes, the dark fourth of *Margshirsha* (December) by traders and craftsmen, of *Fágan* (March) by young boys and girls, of *Vaishakh* (May) by husbandmen, and of *Ashvin* (October) by most high caste women. All of these fourths are kept as complete fasts and nothing is eaten until the moon has been seen and worshipped. On the dark fourth of *Ashvin* (October) women fast all day and drink no water till the moon has been worshipped. After worshipping the moon some take only seven morsels of cooked or uncooked food, some take only a cup of milk, and some eat a full supper of wheat balls, sugar, milk, and the common gourd *galka* Cucumis sulcatus. Sometimes because water is poured out to the moon from a spouted jar and sometimes because water is drunk from a spouted jar, the day is called *Karavda Choth* or the Spouted-jar Fourth. Because the common gourd forms one of the necessary dishes, the day is also called *Galka Choth* or the Gourd Fourth. The bright fifteenths or fullmoons, called *Punems* are sacred to the moon and to all goddesses or *Mátás*. On particular fullmoons the temples of the different goddesses are thronged by pilgrims. Goddess

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worshippers fast all day and after moonrise worship an image of the goddess and the moon. If the *Kártik* (November) fullmoon falls on a Sunday there will be forty-three rainy days in the year, if on a Tuesday sixteen rainy days, if on a Saturday eight rainy days, and if on a Monday Wednesday or Friday one hundred rainy days. On the *Paush* (January) fullmoon unmarried Bráhman Vánia and Kanbi girls fast all day and at night make a millet or a wheat cake. A round hole is cut through the middle of the cake and the moon is looked at through the hole. The cake is afterwards eaten. The *Paush* fullmoon is worshipped to secure long life to the worshipper's mother.[1] From the fullmoon of *Mágh* (February) to the fullmoon of *Fágan* (March) some women bathe early in the morning in river or well water. After bathing the clothes are changed and food is eaten only when they are asked to do so by friends. During the whole month gifts of sesame are made to Bráhmans; if the wind is changing and blows from all the quarters of the heaven, it is a sign of the king's unsafety and of a civil war. If the day falls on a Sunday Tuesday or Saturday there will be general poverty and far-reaching danger. On the *Asháď* fullmoon (July) if the wind blows from the east all new crops will be blighted and if there is a dead calm there will be an earthquake.

The *Shrávan* fullmoon (August) is kept as a holiday by all classes of Hindus. On this day sisters tie silken threads called *rákhsha* or guardian on their brothers' right wrists and present them with sweetmeats.[2] The brothers in return make money presents to their sisters. On this day all the Bráhmanic threadwearing classes change their thread after worshipping Vishnu and offering handfuls of water to deceased ancestors. The object of this worship is to be freed from sin arising from irregularity in performing the strict Bráhmanic rituals. The river god or the sea god is also worshipped by all, particularly by traders, by throwing in the river or sea flowers and cocoanuts. If on this day the sky is clear, sesame oil will rise in price. The *A'so* (October) fullmoon is also kept as a holiday by all high caste Hindus who take their supper in open moonlight. As the rice crop is reaped before this time, pounded rice and milk, after they are offered to the moon, form the chief articles of supper. Because the moonlight on this night is peculiarly cool and refreshing, or because if a rain-drop on this night falls into the mouth of an oyster it is believed to turn into a pearl, the day is called *Mánekthári Punem* or the pearlmaking fullmoon. On the other hand clouds on this day are believed to injure the standing crops. On all bright fifteenths some women keep a day-long fast, and, when the moon is seen, break the fast by a supper from which all yellow articles such as pulses of all kinds are excluded. A white circle or *jalkundu* round the moon on this night or on any night in the year is a sign of heavy rainfall.

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1 The Gujaráti is: *Je kare poshi teni nahi doshi:* Who performs the *posh* (worship) her mother will not die.

2 These threads are kept on the wrists till Dasara Day (October) when they are untied and thrown on the *shami* Prosopis spicigera tree.

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Besides on the bright seconds fourths and fifteenths, the moon is worshipped on other occasions. For ten days from the bright tenth to the dark fourth of *A'so* (October) some high caste married women, to lengthen their husbands' lives, fast during the whole day and avoid drinking water till the moon is worshipped by offering him among other things ten kinds of clay, ten kinds of flowers, ten kinds of pigments, and water from ten wells. After the worship is over the women break their fast by a supper of rice and wheat bread. Salt is not eaten. On the last day, that is on the dark fourth of *A'so*, twelve shallow bamboo plates or *chhábdi* each containing a piece of silken cloth, a cocoanut, a white pumpkin, a tubular copper-spouted jar, a looking glass, a comb, a collyrium box, and a box with lac forehead marks, are given away to twelve Bráhmans. On the last day the mother-in-law or some other married woman is given a rich dinner. This mode of worship called *dasatáli* is performed for ten years with the same details. The vow ends on the eleventh year when ten women are feasted and presented each with a bamboo plate filled with the abovementioned articles. The mother-in-law is also feasted and presented with a copper plate containing the same toilette articles made of silver. To curb desire some widows, and all devout members of the Svámináráyan sect, vow once in a year for a full month in *Márgshirsh* (December), *Mágh* (March), *Vaishákh* (May), or *Shrávan* (August) to eat only egg-sized morsels of wheat or barley flour mixed with sugar and clarified butter on the condition that during the first fortnight the number of morsels on any day should correspond with its number in the fortnight, that is one morsel on the first day, two on the second, three on the third, and so on till the number reaches fifteen on the fullmoon day. During the dark fortnight of the month the series is in a descending order, that is fourteen morsels on the first day of the dark fortnight, thirteen on the second day, twelve on the third day, and so on to one morsel on the fourteenth day and a complete fast on the last day of the month. As under it the number of morsels keeps pace with the motion of the moon, the vow is called *chándráyan* or going with the moon. Some women take a vow for one year never to eat food till they have seen the moon, and as the moon is not seen at all on the last day of each month, the last day of each month is kept as a fast day.

Persons to whom the moon is unfriendly, to ward off his evil influence, wear a white diamond or a pearl ring or engage a Bráhman to repeat a prayer to the moon eleven thousand times. A man dying under the moon's evil influence worships the moon in the sky before death, saluting it, and throwing flowers and sandal-paste towards it. The practices observed during moon eclipses are the same as those described for sun eclipses.

Mondays, which are sacred to the moon, and, from the crescent moon on Shiv's forehead to Shiv, are kept as fast days by all high caste Hindu men and women. The Mondays of the four rainy months, particularly of *Shrávan* (August) are generally kept as fast days. Except on *Márgshirsh* (December) Mondays when the eating of food cooked on the previous day is meritorious, people who are under this

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vow eat but once at sunset after worshipping Shiv. On each of the sixteen Mondays of the four rainy months the Maráthás in south Gujarát make three equal sized balls out of 1¼ or of 5¼ *sers* of wheat flour. Of the three balls one is offered to Shiv, the second is presented to a beggar, and the third is eaten by the maker. All the Monday nights are spent in hearing holy recitals. On the sixteenth Monday Bráhmans are feasted. On the first Monday of *Shrávan* (August) some married women tie on the right elbow a cotton thread with five, seven, or eleven knots on it. Some women on *Shrávan* Mondays eat only a handful of rice cooked with milk and sugar, the number of handfuls corresponding to the number of Mondays in the month, that is one handful on the first Monday, two handfuls on the second Monday, and so on. When a *Shrávan* Monday falls on the thirteenth of the bright or of the dark fortnight the Maráthás in south Gujarát make two clay images, Shrimantani and Chandrángat. After they are worshipped the images are thrown into a river or a pond. All the Mondays of the year are lucky for wearing new clothes, and if a man is childless for shaving. On Mondays childless men and women squeeze out and drink juice drawn from the leaves of the *bel* Ægle marmelos tree. If the bright second of *Ashád* (July) falls on a Monday the rainfall will be seasonable. Among the wild tribes of south Gujarát all marriages and remarriages are performed on Mondays and Wednesdays. It is unlucky on Mondays to set out on a journey towards the north-west; in other directions at the time of setting out looking at oneself in a mirror or eating a few grains of rice or barley will make the journey prosperous.

Mars.

Mars or *Mángal*, who is sprung from the sweat of Mahádev's brow and the earth, is four-armed, short, and fire-coloured. He is a warrior, quick-tempered, overbearing, and fond of excitement. He is more feared than respected. Except by those who are under his evil influence he is not generally worshipped like the sun and the moon. His evil influence, unless balanced by the good influence or friendly planets, ruins a man. His obstructiveness makes all human effort fruitless and makes women barren. Tuesday, called Mangalvár or Bhomvár, is his sacred day. To ward off his evil influence and to quiet him people worship him in the form of a three-cornered copper-plate on Tuesday mornings. As red articles are sacred to him, people put on the plate red flowers and red pigments, and eat wheaten articles and coarse sugar only once a day in the early morning. Gifts of wheat and coarse sugar are also made to Bráhmans. Barren women worship Mangal's plate every Tuesday morning for one year beginning with the first Tuesday in *Mágh* (February), *Vaishákh* (May), or *Shrávan* (August). On Tuesdays they wear red clothes and offer red pigments and red *karena* or oleander flowers to Mangal's three-cornered copper-plate. During the whole year of the vow they never leave their town or village. At the end of the year the plate is laid on a heap of wheat and worshipped with the same rites as on Tuesdays and twelve married women are feasted. People who are under the evil influence of Mangal also wear a ruby or a coral ring, and engage a Bráhman to say a prayer to him ten thousand times. Tuesday is an unlucky day for shaving, for

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wearing new clothes, and for journeying north-west; a journey in other directions will prosper if before setting out a few grains of wheat or coriander seed are eaten. A month with five Tuesdays especially if that month is *Mágh* (February), or a month or a year beginning on a Tuesday foretells loss by fire. If the bright eleventh of *Kartik* (November) is a Tuesday there will be an outbreak of cholera; if the bright third of *Vaishákh* (May) is a Tuesday and the wind in the morning blows from the east or north-east, there will be a drought in the early part of the rainy season, and if the wind blows from the south there will be a famine. If on the first Tuesday of *Ashád* (July) the sky is clear at sunrise the year will be a famine year; and if the bright eleventh of *Ashád* (July) is a Tuesday there will be a flood or a dire calamity. If the last day of *A'so* (October) or the *Fágan* fullmoon (March) falls on a Tuesday there will be general poverty.

Mercury.

Mercury or *Budha* is the son of the moon and a star. He is middle-sized, young, clever, pliable, and eloquent; he is dressed for battle and is seated in a lion-drawn car. He is not an object of general worship. The day sacred to him is Wednesday called Budhvár. Those who are under his evil influence wear an emerald ring or engage a Bráhman to say a prayer to him four thousand times. Wednesdays are unlucky for a journey towards the south-east; in other directions the journey will prosper if coarse sugar or a few grains of *mag* (Phaseolus radiatus) are eaten at starting. A man who is in debt gets himself shaved on Wednesdays, in order that he may be free from debt, and therefore Wednesday is called *bandhivár* or bondsman's day. Among Bhils and Dhánkás in south Gujarát marriages and remarriages must take place on Mondays or Wednesdays. If on the first Wednesday in *Ashád* (July) the sun rises in a cloud there will be fifteen days of continuous rain before the end of the month. If the bright second of *Ashád* (July) falls on a Wednesday the coming year will be extraordinarily cold.

Jupiter.

Jupiter, called *Guru* or *Brahaspati*, is the teacher of the gods. He is a wise old Bráhman, large, yellow-skinned, and four-armed, seated on a horse. Thursday, called *Guruvár* or *Brahaspatvár*, is sacred to him. To secure his friendly influence over young children a lamp fed with clarified butter is kept burning in the house on Thursdays and is worshipped by throwing flowers and sandal-paste over it. If his influence is unfriendly adults wear a yellow topaz ring, eat gram flour but once on Thursdays, make gifts of gram, yellow clothes, and gold to Bráhmans, and engage a Bráhman to say a prayer to Guru 19,000 times. As Jupiter is the teacher of the gods, children are first sent to school on Thursdays. Thursdays are also lucky for going to a doctor for the first time; they are unlucky for shaving and for a journey towards the south. If curds and split gram are eaten at the time of setting out in other directions the journey will prosper.

Venus.

Venus or *Shukra* is the Bráhman teacher of the giants. He is gentle, ease-loving, and middle-aged. He has four arms and is seated on a horse; but is not worshipped much. Friday called *Shukarvár* or *Bhraguvár* is sacred to him. Those to whom his

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influence is unfriendly wear a white diamond ring, or engage a Bráhman to say a prayer to him 16,000 times, or on Friday evenings eat milk and rice without salt. The grains sacred to him are sesame and fried gram; his favourite dish is boiled milk mixed with sugar and raisins. On Friday a journey towards the south-east is unlucky. Friday nights are also unlucky for any new project. Among high caste Hindus no marriages can be held during a year in which a transit of Venus occurs.

Saturn.

Saturn or *Shani*, who is a Chándál or Máng by caste, is four-armed, tall, thin, old, ugly, and lame, with long hair nails and teeth, riding a black vulture. He is sour-tempered and bad, the patron of evildoers, who on Saturdays make offerings at his shrine. Like Mars Shani is very cruel. The day of the week sacred to him is Saturday called *Shanivár* or *Mandavár*. Shani's great friend is the monkey-god Hanumán, and therefore Saturday is also sacred to Hanumán. People to whom Saturn's influence is specially unfriendly wear a black diamond ring or engage a Bráhman to say a prayer to him 23,000 times. At times when his influence is peculiarly deadly people on Saturdays make gifts of black *adad* Phaseolus mungo and black sesame, or throw on the monkey-god *adad*, redlead, sesame oil, and *ánkdo* Calatropis gigantea leaves. When Saturn is in the first second fourth eighth or twelfth mansion from that occupied by the planet which was in the ascendant at the time of a man's birth, the influence of Saturn is most deadly. This deadly influence called *panoti* lasts sometimes for a number of months. A man who comes under this specially evil influence eats nothing on Saturdays but *adad*. He visits Hanumán's temple and offers the monkey-god *adad* redlead and *ánkdo* leaves, and pours on the image a cup of sesame oil. He also engages a Bráhman to repeat a prayer to the monkey-god 21,000 times. He feasts a number of Bráhmans and presents his priest with a she-buffalo or her equivalent in cash, and with *adad*, iron, sesame and sesame oil, and black flowers. On Saturday, which is called *chiknovár* or the sticky-day, it is unlucky to shave, to journey east, or to visit a doctor. A person starting in any other direction will prosper if before setting out he looks at himself in a mirror. If it rains on a Saturday, it will continue to rain for a week, and if the west is cloudy at sunset it will rain within three days. A month with five Saturdays, or a year or a month beginning on a Saturday will be marked by epidemic a fire or plague. Five Saturdays in *Paush* (January) foretell a famine. If the bright eleventh of *Kártik* (November) falls on a Saturday there will be an epidemic of cholera; if the bright third of *Vaishákh* (May) falls on a Saturday there will be a drought, if the morning wind blows from the east and south-east and a famine if the wind blows from the south; if the bright second of *Asház* (July) falls on a Saturday the year will be disastrous; if the bright eleventh of *Asház* (July) falls on a Saturday there will be panic, war, uneasiness to kings, poverty, or a flood, and if the *Falgun* fullmoon (March), the bright fifth of *Shrávan* (August), or the no moon-day of *A'so* (October) fall on a Saturday there will be general poverty and panic.

Earth.

The planet Earth is called *Ráhu*. Those who are under the evil

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influence of the planet Earth on Wednesdays or Saturdays engage a Bráhman to repeat prayers to her 18,000 times, or wear an emerald ring. The Earth or Ráhu is not separately worshipped as a planet, but as one of the five elements of the universe she is held in high reverence by all classes of Hindus. As the nourisher of life she is looked upon as a mother. She is a type of forbearance and long-suffering, pure and holy herself, yet allowing both the pure and the impure, the just and the unjust to live on her. It was to lighten her burden of evil that Vishnu underwent his nine incarnations. When the weight of the accumulated sins of the wicked is too much for her the earth quakes. An earthquake therefore is a sign of wide-spread sin and wickedness. The material body is regarded as a lump of earth or *matti* destined to be united with the earth of which it forms a part. The earth is also regarded as the king's consort. On rising from bed before setting their feet on the ground all religious-minded Hindus say a prayer of forgiveness to the earth. Before the daily worship of the household gods and before the *shrádh* or memorial service the earth is sprinkled with water and strewn with flowers. Bráhman men immediately before meals sprinkle water on the ground all round the dish or on the right-hand side of the dish and drop three pinches of cooked rice on the ground. Before a Bráhman ascetic or a Dheda or Bhangia is buried a copper coin is dropped into the earth. Before the foundation stone of a house or a temple is laid, the earth is sprinkled with water and flowers are strewn over it. In the spot where the foundation stone is to be laid, a copper-pot containing a piece of coral, a pearl, a silver coin, a betelnut, red cotton thread or *náda*, some moss, and a few blades of *daro* grass are laid. The pot is covered with earth and the earth is wetted by ten or fifteen pots full of water. The happiness or misery of the dwellers in the new house is known by the time the earth takes to soak up the water poured on it. When the ground is completely dry the foundation stone is laid and the superstructure begun. This is called *khátpuja* or earth worship. When a high caste Hindu dinner is given the articles are cooked in pots laid not on the ordinary hearths but in trenches called *taven*. When these trenches are dug, they are strewn with flowers dipped in sandal-paste. On the booth-erecting day, from three to eight days before a marriage, or a thread-girding day, the parents of the bride and bridegroom or of the boy who is to be girt with the thread with the help of the family priest, worship the ground near the front veranda by sprinkling it with water and strewing it with flowers dipped in sandal-paste. A twig of the *khichda* tree with an iron ring or a red thread tied to it is planted under ground near the veranda. When at the bride's house the inner square or *chauri* is raised, in the marriage hall the ground is also similarly worshipped. In some parts of north Gujarát among Bráhmans Vániás and Kolis, when the parents of the bride and bridegroom live in the same village, on the night before the marriage day the bridegroom goes on horseback with friends and the family priest to the boundary-stone between his and the neighbouring village. When the boundary-stone is reached the bridegroom alights from the horse, sprinkles water on the ground beyond the border of his own village, and strews it with flowers dipped in turmeric-paste. When

this worship is performed by the bridegroom, the people of the village within whose limits the worship was performed cease to encroach on the land of the bridegroom's village.

Earth.

All husbandmen worship the earth on the bright third of *Vaishákh* (May) by sprinkling their fields with water and by strewing them with flowers. Ploughing begins on a day fixed by the village astrologer. When the day is fixed before taking it to the field an unwidowed woman of the family rubs the plough with turmeric and unhusked red rice, applies *kanku* or red marks to the bullock's brows, wraps red cotton threads round their horns, and feeds them with spices. In a corner of the field chosen by the astrologer the husbandman digs a hole with a hand hoe, lays in the hole a betelnut a copper coin and some rice, and covers them with earth. After bowing to the earth the husbandman begins to plough from the corner of the field where the hole was dug. Except that some Bráhmans are feasted after the crops are reaped, and that a small quantity is given away in charity among Bráhmans and other dependants, the better class of husbandmen perform no other field rites. Among Bhils, Kolis, Dublás, Dhánkás, Náikdás, and other early tribes, field rites are performed after sowing, at weeding, and before and after reaping. After the seed is sown in a corner of the field four or five clods of earth are heaped and encircled by a cotton thread. A wheat or millet cake is laid over the clods and near them wheat is spread in the form of a cross. A lamp fed with clarified butter is kept burning. In the Rewa Kántha when the maize crop is to be weeded the Bhils and Náikdás through their headmen kill and offer a cock to the village god. Those Dhondiás Dublás Chodhrás and other wild tribes in south Gujarát who work in the fields, before the grain is reaped throw on the field or on the boundary of the field rice and redlead and make offerings of betelnuts and the flesh of a cock. In the Rewa Kántha after the grain is reaped the Bhils, Kolis, and Náikdás of the village meet on any day in *Bhádarvo* (September), and through their headman, offer to Báva Dev and Chámunda Dev, represented by round stones under a teak tree, earthen or wooden horses and the flesh of twelve goats and twelve cocks, and sprinkle over them blood from the ears of twelve buffaloes. All the milk in the village is boiled with rice and drunk. *Moha* liquor is also drunk. Before taking the grain to the threshing ground a cross is marked with cowdung ashes that the grain may not be removed by some unfriendly god or spirit. Before removing the grain from the threshing yard for sale or for private use or in fulfilment of a vow taken to avert some calamity to the crops, offerings are made to the boundary god or Simádiádev and to certain goddesses. These offerings consist of a lighted lamp, a cocoanut, redlead, pounded rice, dates, split gram, coarse sugar, flags, the flesh of a goat or cock, and *moha* or palm liquor.

Comets.

The comet or *ketu* is not generally worshipped. The day of the week sacred to him is Saturday. When his influence is unfriendly people engage a Bráhman to say a prayer to him 17,000 times. A comet is destructive to the *munchálás* or mustache-wearers that is to men, if its tail is downward, and to the *punchhálás* or tailwearers that is to animals, if its tail is upwards.

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PLANET WORSHIP.

Stars.

All stars are considered divine beings who have risen to this position by meritorious acts and who will keep this position for a destined period. Meteors or falling stars are also considered divine beings. Some religious-minded people utter the word Shiv! Shiv! when they see a meteor fall. Some women after looking at a star take a vow to bathe for one month every morning. Newly married couples on the night after the marriage are shown the pole star by the Bráhman priest. The appearance of new stars or the disappearance of old stars foretells dire calamity.

OFFERINGS.

Blood Offerings.

Almost all the gods and goddesses who are worshipped daily or on special days have offerings made to them. Offerings are either bloody or bloodless. Blood offerings are made to goddesses by A'hirs, Bharváds, Bháts, Bhils, Bhois, Chárans, Dhánkás, Dhedás, Dhárálás, Dublás, Khavás, Khálpás, Káthis, Kolis, Ods, Rabáris, Rajputs, Rávaliás, Vághris, and sometimes by Pársis and Musalmáns. The goddesses to whom blood offerings are made are Amba, Avad, Bahuchara, Bhaváni, Bhut, Chámunda, Chond, Devli Máta, Gel, Gováldevi, Jhámpdi, Jogni, Káli, Khubad, Khodiyár, Kumáni Máta, Matri, Meladi, Pádardevi, Posri, Radhli, Shikotari, Verái, and Visot. Blood offerings are made even by high caste Hindus, sometimes at regular intervals on pain of incurring divine wrath and sometimes in fulfilment of a vow taken to avert or to cure family sickness or cattle plague or to secure the favour of some goddess. Blood offerings are also made for general good health and agricultural prosperity by villagers as a body or by some wealthy or respected villager. The offerings are made on the days or periods sacred to the goddess who is worshipped on the bright and dark fourteenths of *Bhádarvo* (September), on the dark fourteenth of *A'so* (October), and during the whole of the Navrátri or Nine Night festival, but chiefly on the bright eighth and the *Dasara*. Sundays Tuesdays and Thursdays are also sacred for making offerings and in native states the dark thirteenth of *A'so* (October) is set apart for offering a goat to the state banner. The animals offered are male-goats buffaloes and cocks. The particular animal to be sacrificed is determined by the nature of the vow, by the taste of the goddess, and by the opinion expressed by a holy man or *bhagat* while possessed by the goddess. The mode of making the offering is not uniform; it is elaborate with the more advanced tribes and simple with the more primitive tribes. Among the more advanced tribes when a goat or buffalo is to be offered the animal is taken in front of the goddess' niche or temple. Its forehead is marked with redlead, some *bel* leaves, red *karena* or oleander flowers, and a pinch of cleaned rice are laid on its head, a flower garland taken from the body of the goddess is put round its neck, some water or *moha* or palm-juice liquor is poured on its body, and a white cloth is thrown over its back. It is fed on some preparation of wheat and *adad*, and stands with its face turned to the east within a circle drawn by a mixture of *moha* liquor and palm-juice. Exorcists sing the praises of the goddess, play on musical instruments, and with loosened hair shake their body to and fro. If the animal moves out of the circle it is unsuited for an offering and is let loose; if it keeps within the circle the

moment it shakes its head or body it is thrown on its side and its head is cut off with a single sword-stroke. At the temple of Bahucharáji a different mode is used for testing whether the animal is acceptable to the goddess. There the animal stands in front of the goddess near a stone called *cháchar*. Over the stone is set a lamp which is supplied with clarified butter from one of the lamps burning near the goddess and brought lighted from inside the temple. If the animal, generally a buffalo, when let loose goes and smells the lamp it is considered acceptable to the goddess; if it refuses to smell the lamp it is let loose after one of its ears has been cut and a drop of the blood offered to the goddess on a flower. The neck of the sacrifice is cut by one of the exorcists, or by the chief, or by the village headman, or by the man who has offered the animal, or by Dubla Chodhra or Náyaka hirelings, or by a temple servant, or by a *pagi* that is a man born feet foremost. The first gush of blood is gathered in a jar and some of it is sprinkled on the goddess, and on the floor and door-posts of the temple, and, if the offering is made for general welfare, on the gates of the city or town and of the chief's palace or visiting hall, and on the foreheads of bystanders. One of the exorcists and one or more barren women drink a cup or two of the blood and a cupful of the blood is taken home by the person who has offered the animal. In the cup of blood which is taken home some *jovár, mag, math, tuvar*, and *chola* grains are dropped, and the grains are scattered in the different rooms of the house and in a corner of a field. This blood is the sure source of strength and good luck, and even Bráhmans at Bahucharáji keep cloths steeped in the blood of a victim as spells against natural and spirit-sent diseases. The head and sometimes the legs are buried deep in the ground where the animal is offered or where four roads meet. The remaining parts of the body are taken by Dhedás or by the exorcists, or the flesh is cooked and after offering it to the goddess is served among the assembled people. If the offering is accompanied by a fire sacrifice the animal is killed after the fire worship at which a Bráhman sometimes officiates. The animal is forced to walk up to a lighted lamp and as it looks down and smells the lamp its head is cut off. Some blood is poured out, its tongue ears and liver are dropped into the fire, and its head is buried deep near the fire-place.

Some high caste Hindus who scruple to kill an animal simply lay before the goddess a live cock, sometimes with one of its legs cut off, or an ear-bored goat and allow the animal to roam at large. With a sword they also cut a pumpkin, or sprinkle on the goddess the blood that oozes out by having the animal's ear lopped off or its body scratched with a knife.

Among such early tribes as the Bhils, Kolis, Chodrás and Gámtás, blood offerings are made to their gods and goddesses, as well as to the spirits of their dead ancestors who are supposed to dwell in the rude or dressed stones called *khatrás* and *paliyás*. Blood offerings are made to each of these guardian gods and goddesses at least once a year on days sacred to them or when a vow

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taken in their name is to be fulfilled. On a Sunday or Tuesday fixed for making the offering which is kept as a fast day the floor on which the stone is laid is freshly cowdunged. Milk is poured on the stone, redlead is applied to it, and a lamp is kept burning near it. The holy man or *bhagat*, through whom the offerings are made and of whom each caste has one, then steps in. He mutters some words, makes some small heaps of rice, and lays a betelnut on each heap. A cocoanut is offered and the animal, which is a cock for a less powerful and a goat for a more powerful guardian, is brought close to the stone. The holy man himself kills the animal, and takes out its liver which is baked on the fire and then minced. The worshippers hold a pinch of rice in their hands, and together bow to the stone over which the pieces of the liver are dropped and *moha* or palm-juice liquor is gently poured. The worshippers then break their fast and with friends and neighbours all sit in a row and along with unfermented palm-juice and *moha* liquor eat bread and the cooked flesh of the sacrificed animal. The holy man then hands to the worshippers the betelnut and the cocoanut which were offered to the stone. The cost of making an offering among these people is about Rs. 4, including what is spent in eating and drinking.

Bloodless Offerings.

Bloodless offerings consist of grain, fruit, flowers, and tree leaves. These offerings which are made both in every-day worship and on high days differ for different gods. To the stone image of Shiv are offered all flowers except *kevda* or *ketaki* sweet pandanus Pandanus odoratissimus, *champo* Michelia champaca, and *ánkdo* or *rui* Calotropis gigantea. Of these the *kevda* flower which is under Shiv's curse is offered only on the bright third of *Bhádarvo* (September). On that day all women worship the *kevda* flower and the cow, do not eat vegetables that have seeds or the products of the cow, and offer the flower to Shiv. Shiv's pet flowers are the *dhantura* Dhatura hummata, the water lily *kamal* Nelium speciosum, the sunflower *surajphul*, and the *agathio* Agati grandiflora; of the leaves offered the most favourite are those of the *bel* Ægle marmelos, *ámli* Tamarindus indica, *nagod* Vitex bicolor, *damro*, *pado pándadi*, and the young shoots of the mango. The only grass offered is the *daro* grass Cynodon dactylon. In temples where the surface of Shiv's stone is carved into five human faces, one on each of the four sides and the fifth on the top, water lilies and the leaves of the basil plant are offered to the northern face, *daro* grass to the western face, red *karena* or oleander flowers to the southern face, all offerable white flowers to the eastern face, and *bel* leaves and other offerable flowers to the top face. The other offerings are cleaned rice, cocoanuts, betelnuts, curds, milk, water, and cowdung ashes, and in the hot season sugared hempwater or *bháng*. Some Bráhmans object to use the food offerings made to Shiv which are eaten by the temple servants, Gosávis and Tapodhans. Among household gods is the conch shell from which water cannot be poured on Shiv's image. The day most sacred to Shiv is the dark thirteenth or fourteenth of every Hindu month called

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Shivrátri or Shiv's Night. Of these twelve days in the year the dark thirteenth or fourteenth of *Mágh* (February) called *Mahá Shivrátra* is the most sacred. On that day besides the usual offerings, slabs of congealed clarified butter in the form of water lilies are laid over Shiv's *ling*. To Devi or Máta, Shiv's consort, all red flowers are offered especially the oleander *karena*, the shoeflower *jasus*, the rose, and the *gulbás* Mirabilis jalap. *Dhantura* and *galgata* flowers and the leaves of the *bel* and *khichodo* or *shami* tree are also offered. The leaves and flowers of the *ánkdo* swallowwort, the *bhángaro*, and the *daro* grass cannot be offered. The other ordinary and special offerings, in addition to blood offerings if made, are redlead or *sindur*, vermilion or *hinglok*, red turmeric powder or *kanku*, cocoanuts, clarified butter for the lamp, boiled rice and milk, cooked gram, fried *adad* cakes, wheat flour mixed with clarified butter and sugar, lemon syrup, and a woman's silken robe or *ghátdi*. The use of sesame and castor oil in some of the goddess' temples as at Amba is strictly forbidden and in cooking and oiling their hair, pilgrims are forced to use nothing but clarified butter.

To Vishnu in his form of Krishna are offered all white flowers. The special flowers offered are sweet pandanus *kevda* Pandanus odoratissimus and *gulchhadi* French marigold, and on the *Dasara* young barley shoots; the special leaves are those of the basil plant *tulsi* and the *padopándadi*, *ásopálav* Polyalthea longifolia, and *kadamb* Nauclea kadamba trees. The other special offerings are sugarcandy, *chároli* Buchanania latifolia nuts, and peacock's feathers. *Ketaki*, *dhantura*, *ánkdo*, and *muchkund* flowers, and *daro* Cynodon dactylon and lemon grasses are never offered to Vishnu.

To Ganpati are offered the rose, jasmin, oleander, and shoeflower, and the leaves of the mango, *bhángaro*, *bordi*, *dhantura*, *shami*, *agathio*, *sadado*, *piplo*, *ámli*, *bel*, and *nagod*, and the *daro* grass. Wheat and coarse sugar are Ganpati's favourite offerings. The leaves of the basil plant are offered only on the bright fourth of every Hindu month by women under a special vow.

The offerings made to Hanumán are *ánkdo* and *dhantura* flowers, the leaves of the *bel* tree, and redlead, sesame oil, turmeric, and *adad* Phaseolus mungo.

To the sun are offered all red flowers, among them the rose oleander and shoeflower. The *dolar* flower and the leaves of the *bel* tree cannot be offered to the sun. To the moon all white flowers and to the planet Mars all red flowers are offered. The offerings made to the spirits of the dead and used in all *shrádh* or memorial services are sesame, barley, cleaned rice, sandal-paste, and the leaves and flowers of the *shami*, *agathio*, *bhángaro*, *tulsi*, and *ámli*. Of cooked articles the spirits' favorite is fried *adad* cake.

Omens.

Almost all classes of Gujarát Hindus believe that the result of every undertaking is foreshadowed by certain signs and hints. The business of the day will prosper or fail according to the nature of the object first seen after waking. The objects which the people

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are most anxious to begin the day by looking at are the household god, the *pipal* tree, the basil plant, a Bráhman, a cow, or a lucky man. Traders and shopkeepers are very particular about the first bargain of the day and in the first bargain a troublesome customer is avoided as much as possible. Sonis, Chárans, Rajputs, Kolis, Dhedás, and Bhils have particular faith in the truth of omens, which are much looked for when one starts on a journey, or when one leaves the house on important business. Omens are not much heeded when one goes out for every day work. Bráhmans, Vániás, and other high caste Hindus hold noon or a thunderstorm to be the best time for going out, as bad signs are believed to be then powerless. Unless the signs are favourable no new work is undertaken. If the first signs are unfavourable Bráhmans sit down, repeat the sun hymn or *gáyatri* eight times, and then start. If the signs are still unfavourable they again sit down and repeat the prayer sixteen times. If the signs are still unfavourable the business is given up for that day or is taken in hand at noon. Vániás and other high caste Hindus sit down on the appearance of bad signs and await the appearance of good signs. Dhedás, Ghadvis, and Koli and Bhil highwaymen are very careful about omens and wait the appearance of good signs on the village outskirts. Before they start on a new undertaking or on a plundering raid sometimes as many as fifteen days pass.

Good.

The goodness or badness of the signs is determined by the appearance of certain living and lifeless objects in a particular form, in a particular way, and in a particular state. The following objects are considered good omens to a person leaving his house. These are grouped into two main classes, men and animals. Under the head of lucky men come a chief; an armed man; a cavalier; a macebearer; an old man, if a hundred years old the better; a friend; parents; a newly married pair; a forehead-marked and head-covered Bráhman or a group of Bráhmans, if the family priest or an astrologer so much the better; a schoolboy, a merchant, a trader, a shopkeeper, a banker or a moneychanger if with some articles of his calling so much the better; a cultivator returning from the field with his plough; a weaver; a barber with his bag or with his looking glass or after shaving; a musician with his instruments; a Bharvád with a stick in his hand; a washerman with a pack of clean clothes or on his way to the washing-place; a gardener or Máli with a tray or basket of flowers; a fisherman with fish; a butcher with flesh; a snakecharmer with snakes in his basket; a Dhed with a stick in his hand or with a pack of clothes; a Bhangi with a basket and a broomstick or with a basket containing human ordure; an unwidowed woman provided she wears a bodice, has a forehead mark, hair smooth, and is not barren; a woman, if a daughter so much the better, with two red earthen pots filled with water on her head and with her hands by her sides; or a woman with a load of green grass on her head, or one leading a she-buffalo from the river bank; a milkmaid; a dancing girl seen to the left; a virgin with a fresh earthen jar on her head and some *juvár* grain in her lap. It is also lucky to meet a Musalmán corpse, a man

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or a woman carrying curds, fruit, sugar, a bag of all grains except *adad*, cooked articles, cocoa and betelnuts, a hubble-bubble, liquor, a leathern waterbag, flowers, red clothes, diamonds, pearls, rubies, silver, gold and copper coins or plates, a lighted lamp, smokeless fire, a looking glass, a shield, a kettledrum ; a flag, a flyflap, a litter, an umbrella, a conch-shell, fragrance, paints, a basket filled with cowdung or earth, and a woman or man sneezing if behind or to the left. Under animals come a cow on the left ; a bull, if pushing with his horns so much the better ; white bullocks yoked to a grainladen cart or to a driving cart ; a caparisoned horse or a horse neighing to the right ; an elephant ; a running black or red dog or a dog barking to the left ; a cat to the left of a man and to the right of a woman, or a cat crossing the road from right to left ; a donkey passing or braying to the left or behind ; a herd of deer moving to the right ; a swarm of monkeys whooping and jumping to the right or to the left ; a fox or a wolf howling or passing to the left; a mungoose passing from right to left ; a serpent passing from right to left or moving on in front ; and a frog croaking to the left. Under birds come a calling or a flying peacock with its feathers outstretched ; a crow croaking to the left or while perched on a green tree ; a lark or *bháradváj* singing to the left ; a crow pheasant or *kákario kumbhár* ; a calling cuckoo ; a kingfisher or *chás* moving from left to right in the morning and from right to left in the afternoon ; an owl hooting to the left ; an owlet or *chibdi* hooting to the right ; a partridge or *tetar* moving to and fro or making three sounds at a time ; and a stork or *sáras* moving to the right. Before undertaking any new business some keep their hand under their nostrils and it is considered very lucky if the air breathed out passes through the right nostril. Eating of curds before going on a journey is also lucky. A journey is avoided to the north on a Sunday, to the north-west on a Monday, to the west on a Tuesday, to the south-west on a Wednesday, to the south on a Thursday, to the south-east on a Friday, and to the east on a Saturday. Except in the forbidden directions, the journey will prosper if the traveller before starting eats a betel-leaf on a Sunday ; eats rice and barley or looks into a mirror on a Monday ; eats wheat or coriander seed on a Tuesday ; eats coarse sugar and *mag* on a Wednesday ; eats split gram and curds on a Thursday ; eats gram, sesame, and raisins on a Friday ; and eats *adad* or looks into a mirror on a Saturday. Other signs of good luck on occasions unconnected with a journey are making an ink blot while writing ; oversetting an inkstand or a pot of sesame oil ; black or snuff-coloured moles or *lánchhán* on a part of the body unseen by the person himself ; and the throbbing of a man's right and of a woman's left eyeball. The luckiest present for distribution is coriander seeds and raw sugar, and the luckiest dinner is wheat flour mixed with sugar and clarified butter.

Bad.

Besides the contraries of the good omens the bad omens are : A group of three men ; a man who is bareheaded, naked, or who has the ends of his turban loose ; a man who is baldheaded or who has his head freshly shaved ; a man who is cat-eyed, or who has no hair

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on the breast[1] or upper lip, or who has a reddish mustache; a man who has a scar near the mustache; a man who has no brow mark; a traveller; a physician; an ascetic; a miser; a drunkard; a spendthrift; a goldsmith; a carpenter with saws; a blacksmith; an oil-presser; a potter; a Gáruda; a woman who is untidy[2] or who has her hair dishevelled, or who is pregnant, or who is in her monthly sickness, or who is barren, or who is a widow, or who has on her head three black earthen pots filled with water; a Vágri woman with a toothbrush; a man or a woman who is deaf, dumb, blind, lame, harelipped, slit-eared, hungry, or famished; a leper; a lunatic; or one yawning, vomiting, coughing, or sneezing to the right and in front; or one in black green or wet clothes; or one weeping, quarrelling, or stumbling; or one carrying wet earth, a black earthen-pot, coals, fuel, ashes, hay, match-boxes, lampblack, *adad*, sugarcane, coarse sugar, sesame seed and oil, castor oil, cotton seed, chaff, flour, water, milk, whey, clarified butter, salt, medicine, house-sweepings, thorns, honey, lemon, soap, lime, knife, bones, hide, and blood. Besides the animals in a state contrary to that given under good omens, there are bellowing or fighting bulls or buffaloes, a goat, a ram, a camel, a tiger, a bear, a hare, fighting cats, a howling dog twitching its ears, a squirrel crossing the road, the sound and flight of a ringdove, a crow croaking with its face to the south, and a falling lizard. It is unlucky to go out while it rains, and after eating milk, macaroni, a mixture of rice and split pulse, or any article of food that is offered to a goddess. The omens dreaded by thieves and highwaymen are the sound of a trumpet at sunset, the hooting of an owlet or *chibadi*, and the finding of cooked articles as the first booty. To see a broomstick, a lamp post, and a heartless and childless man or woman immediately after waking is held particularly unlucky. It is also unlucky if one quarrels while eating or leaves off food in anger or if one finds gold and loses silver. Mixtures of salt and milk and of curds and raw sugar are held unlucky by some Bráhmans. It is unlucky after nightfall to sell catechu or to look into a mirror or to comb the hair. It is unlucky to gaze at one's shadow; to daub with coal; for a married woman to sleep with her bodice on; to place the sole of one's foot upon the foot of another; to wave the legs to and fro; to laugh in a dream; to sleep at sunset, or with the head turned to the north. To pass salt from hand to hand is followed by a quarrel between the persons who passed it and the quarrel is heightened by turning back an old shoe. A man is afflicted with boils if he thrusts his head into a sieve or into a winnowing fan or if a lighted lamp is passed over his body. If a man walks over the body of another, the person crossed becomes stunted unless he is re-crossed. If a man or woman stumbles it is because somebody is abusing them; if one finds a hair

[1] The Gujaráti saying is: *Mákadmuchho ne mánjro jene haiye nahi vál; te nar jo sámo male, to nishchae jivno kál,* that is Know that it is a sure sign of ruin if on the way you meet a man who has a reddish mustache, who is cat-eyed, and who has no hair on his chest.

[2] The Gujaráti saying is: *Phuad nári male, lanme jájhi linkh: evo shukane chálso, to ghar ghar mághsho bhikh,* that is You will beg from door to door if you go out after meeting a slattern with undressed hair.

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mixed with some cooked article it is because somebody remembers him; if a female crow croaks on a roof or if two persons utter by accident the same word at the same time a guest will visit the house; if one belches it is because he has eaten something stealthily; if one does not succeed in carrying a lighted lamp after several attempts it is because his body is not clean. A dream in the early dawn will come true if one gets up after the dream is over. To build a house, to set up a central rafter or *mobh* on the roof or to make a terrace or a water cistern, is believed to be followed by the death of one of the family.

EPIDEMIC SCARING.

Except by Shrávaks epidemics are believed to be caused by a goddess or Máta, that is mother, whose wrath requires to be appeased by offerings. The ceremony with which these offerings are made by high and middle class Hindus is called the *shánti* or quieting rite. Besides to stay epidemics, *shánti* ceremonies are performed when fires are unusually frequent or destructive, when the rainfall is scanty or excessive, when the fields are attacked by locusts, when a child is born under an unlucky star, and when any lucky occasion such as marriage is beset with obstacles. In all these cases the rites are almost the same. The *shánti* or quieting ceremonies are generally performed by a whole caste, by the chief in a Native State, or by the people of a street or of a village. The ceremony takes place near a goddess' temple, in the street, or where four roads cross, in the village market, or on the village border. After the outbreak and before the ceremony has begun Bráhmans daily offer prayers to the goddess, and the village headman or the chief in a Native State takes a vow to wear a bracelet and cover his head with a woman's silk robe or *ghátdi*. The ends of the street or of the market are festooned with cocoanuts, and *nim*, *ásopálo*, and mango leaves, with at each end of the festoon two earthen pots one over the other. At the spot set apart for the quieting ceremony is built a three-feet square altar or chamber of plastered and whitewashed brickwork. Near the chamber an earthen mound or altar about two feet square is raised. On the appointed day the people meet near the chamber and a Bráhman, generally either the village priest or *ghámot* or the caste priest or *niátgor*, is called to officiate. The headman of the caste, the chief, the man who has subscribed most to the ceremonial fund, or the village headman or accountant, acts as leader of the ceremony. If the ceremony is to be performed according to strict Vedic rites none but a Bráhman can act as leader. On the mound or altar small heaps of rice of various colours are piled as homes for the influences of the planets and while the leader worships them prayers are offered by the Bráhman priest. Except when the ceremony is held near a temple, a cocoanut or a silver image to represent the Máta or mother is laid with an unsheathed sword near the chamber, prayers are repeated, and flowers and sandal-paste are laid before the image. A fire is lighted in the chamber, and to the sound of music rice, sugar, barley, rapeseed, sesame, lotus-seed or *kamalkákdi*, twigs of the *ánkdo*, *piplo*, *umar*, *kher*, *khákhro*, *samdo*, and *janjeto* tree, sugarcane cuttings, pomegranates, guavas, custard apples, *bel* apples, raisins, betel leaves, dry dates, aloes, sandalwood, milk, and curds are

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offered. Clarified butter is poured into the fire, a cocoanut and a bangle wrapped in a silk robe are set before it and lighted camphor is waved round it. The leader of the ceremony then sits under a jar from a hole in the bottom of which water trickles on his head. When no animals are sacrificed the leader pours into the fire a few drops of blood drawn from the ear of a goat, or cuts with a sword a pumpkin rubbed with redlead and laid near a wet flour saucer with a wick burning at each of its four sides. Formerly in Káthiáwár a Bhangia's tongue was cut and blood from it was dropped into the fire. After the ceremony the guardians of the ten quarters of heaven are invoked and the villagers leave their homes and live outside the village feasting and praying and feeding the village dogs.

Besides by *shánti* or quieting rites a village is cleared of cholera and other plagues by performing a car ceremony. In a Bhil, Koli, Dubla, or Dhánka village, that is in a village whose people belong to the early tribes, the headman or other leader takes a vow not to wear a turban, or shave his head, and sometimes to put on a woman's dress. He calls on the exorcists or *bádvás* and the holymen or *bhagats* to say which of the gods or goddesses are offended and what should be done to quiet them. One of the exorcists hits upon the offended goddess and to her shrine the exorcists and people go. The exorcist offers rice and turmeric to the goddess and throws them on the people round. He directs the people to choose the animal to be offered to the goddess. The animal chosen is generally a goat, and sometimes a buffalo. The exorcist tosses his head, lets loose his braid of hair, shakes all over, beats himself with his hands or with a chain bristling with iron spikes, mutters some words, and is believed to be possessed with the goddess and therefore with the plague. Near the goddess is laid a four-wheeled car about a foot long with a bamboo canopy to the outside of which several small flags are stuck. In the car is a cocoanut or a lighted lamp. The chosen goat or buffalo is then brought, its brow marked with redlead, its neck adorned with a cocoanut and a flower garland, and its body covered with a red silk robe. The plague is believed to pass from the exorcist in some places into the goat and in other places into the car. The plague is believed to pass into the goat when the exorcist lays his hands on the goat's head; the plague is believed to have entered into the car if the car begins to move of itself while the exorcist mutters prayers. When the plague has entered into the goat or into the car, the exorcist lifts the car and the goat and leaves the temple. Sometimes the car is yoked to the goat with a red cotton thread and the exorcist leads the goat nodding as he goes. Overjoyed at the idea that the plague is leaving their village the people follow, most of them dancing shouting and drumming, and a few bearing liquor and other offerings for the goddess. The procession passes through the centre of the village from one end to the other. Whenever the car stops the exorcist propitiates the place-spirit with lemonjuice and a cocoanut. Along the road which the car takes sick people are brought, some in their cots. As the procession passes the exorcist rubs from head to foot the bodies of those attacked with cholera, and leaps over the bodies of those who are suffering from other

diseases. The procession halts on the north-east border of the village and the people go to their homes. The exorcist takes the car and the goat within the limits of the next village and is accompanied by a few musicians and others bearing offerings. Hearing the noise of music the people of the next village come with music to join them and take charge of the animal and the car. If no people come from the next village the first villagers leave the car and the animal and this village then has the plague in it. This rarely happens. The people of the second village take the animal and the car to a third village and so on till the animal and the car are left in a forest or in a deserted village. In this way the animal and the car are often taken forty or fifty miles from village to village. After handing their charge to the people of the second village the first party return to their own village. The offerings which they took with them are eaten by the exorcist and others who drink liquor. As an additional offering a goat or a cock is sometimes killed and its flesh is eaten. Before re-entering his village the exorcist pours round it a mixture of milk and water or drops a mixture of wet *mug* and gram and encircles the village with a doubled cotton thread.

A village may be cleared of a plague in various other ways. In parts of Rewa Kántha a buffalo is gaudily decked, is paraded through and round the village, and is then turned loose. Some Rewa Kántha Bhils and Kolis leave their village in a body and offer a goat and liquor to a wooden image underneath a tree. They drink liquor and return home. Some Bhils make clay horses and clay images of their goddess and take them in a body to their village temple. In some Chodhra villages in South Gujarát the doors of the huts are festooned with mango leaves. The Chodhrás make merry for two or three days, consult the village exorcist, offer cocks to the stones which are the homes of their *simádiádev* or boundary-god and *khatra* or their ancestor-god, sprinkle liquor over the stones, and tie charmed plant roots to the wrists of the sick. In some Bhil Koli and Dhánka villages two opposite houses on the main road are joined by a string from which hang either five or seven cocoanuts, the legs of sacrificed goats, and a bunch of *nim* leaves. At the ends of the string a small earthen pot and a saucer are tied one over the other. Under the string all the sick people are taken. In some Koli, Dubla, or Rajput villages four buffaloes are killed one near each of the four city gates, or one goat or buffalo is killed for the whole village. The head of the sacrificed animal is buried at the village border and the blood of the body is allowed to trickle into a brass plate. Turmeric water and *juvár* are mixed with the blood in the plate and the mixture, which is called *amikupa* or nectar shower, is sprinkled over the houses. In parts of Mahi Kántha as a preventive against cholera the caste or village people, on the first Monday of *Shrávan* (August), present a Jogi with clothes or offer cocoanuts during the four wet months to the goddess Kálka.

Spirit Possession.

If a person causelessly keeps on crying, laughing, or weeping; if he speaks wildly with staring eyes; if he falls on the ground foaming at the mouth; if he suddenly grows dumb, faints, eats nothing for days or over-eats without indigestion; if he shivers,

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tosses his arms, and appears to have lockjaw; and if he feels pain in the side or is attacked with fever, jaundice, rheumatism, or epileptic fits, the person is believed to be possessed by a spirit. All people are at all times liable to spirit attacks, but spirit seizures are less common among men than among women and children. They are least common among Bráhman men who are believed to be spirit-proof because they daily repeat the sacred sun hymn or *gáyatri*, because they wear the Bráhmanic thread, and because they mark their brows with cowdung ashes. Men of the lower classes do not escape spirit attacks particularly if they visit unclean or spirit-haunted places bareheaded on a Tuesday Saturday or Sunday. Women are specially open to spirit attacks during their monthly sickness, in pregnancy, and in childbed. A woman during childbirth when her hair is not properly tied is particularly liable to a spirit attack. As a safeguard her head is tightly covered by a piece of black cloth and a line of whitewash is drawn round her. Sometimes halves of lemons daubed with redlead are scattered about the lying-in room and a nail is driven into the floor. Children are apt to be seized by a spirit if they are taken to any empty open space at sunset. Those who die a sudden or violent death, by suicide, by hydrophobia, by lightning or fire, by a fall from a high place, or by drowning; those who are gored to death by horned cattle; who die with some wordly desire ungratified; or those among high caste Hindus whose after-death rites, particularly the twelfth day rites, have been neglected or carelessly performed, become unfriendly spirits.

Spirits.

Spirits are of two classes, males or *bhuts* and females or *pisháchnis*. The males or *bhuts* are the spirits of dead men, the females or *pisháchnis* are the spirits of dead women. These are again classed into *gharnu bhuts* or *pisháchni* that is family spirits and *báhárnu bhuts* or *pisháchnis* that is outside spirits. The influence of the house or family spirit is confined to the house or family to which it belongs. They do not trouble outsiders. A family spirit is generally the ghost of a member of the family who died with some desire unfulfilled or whose after-death ceremonies were neglected or improperly performed. As they retain the nature of the persons whose ghosts they are, some family spirits are quiet and others are troublesome. The quiet spirits tell their wishes to some members of the family in a dream and have them satisfied. The troublesome spirits harass the family, terrify them, and create much mischief in the house. Married women are very liable to be possessed by the spirit of a husband's former wife. To guard against this kind of seizure the man's second wife always wears round her neck a charmed cotton thread or a gold ornament called *soyakpaglu*, the former wife's footprint, which is sometimes marked with mystic letters or figures. Among high caste Hindus all troublesome family spirits are quieted by performing special after-death rites. Among Bhils, Kolis, Dublás, Chodhrás, and other wild tribes each dead member of the family should have a stone or a stone figure under a tree outside the village. These stones are called *khatris* that is warriors and *páliyás* that is guardians. If a stone is not raised the spirit proves troublesome. On the death days of the persons for whom they have been raised and on holidays the stones are rubbed

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with redlead and sometimes goats and fowls are sacrificed to them. If these offerings are neglected the spirits harass and plague the members of the family, destroy their cattle, and bring on sickness. The chief outside spirits are among males Bhensásur, Bhimadio, Brahma, Gatrad, Jhámpdo, Jin, Khavis, Mámo, Rákshas, Shikotar, and Vir; and among females Chudel, Jhámpdi, Jogni, Meladi, Pari, Shikotari, Vantri, and Visot. Of these female spirits Jhámpdi, Meladi, and Shikotari are the favourite goddesses of most low caste Hindus who avert their evil influence by offerings.

All these spirits live on phlegm, food-leavings, human excrement, urine, and human entrails and brains. Their favourite haunts are empty and tumbledown houses, cesspools, burning grounds, *pipal* or *bábul* trees, wells and other places for drawing water, the crossing of four roads, the roofs and thresholds of houses, and hills. They enter the bodies of those who annoy them by visiting their haunts with their hair hanging loose; by committing a nuisance in or otherwise defiling their abodes; by uprooting or otherwise destroying a *pipal* tree; by swearing falsely in their name; by leaping over the circle within which offerings are laid for them at the crossing of four roads, and by working with an exorcist for their discomfort or ruin. Men and women who are fond of using scents are liable to be seized by the Jin, a Musalmán spirit who lives in mosques and who appears on newmoon days and Thursdays in human form or in the form of a serpent; fine-looking children are liable to be seized by *paris* or Musalmán spirits, who live in the hills, water, and gardens. The days most favourable for spirits entering human bodies are the Navrátri festival which lasts for nine days in October, the dark fourteenth of *A'so* (October), and all Tuesdays and Sundays; the hours of the day when they are most likely to enter are sunset and midnight. For fear of spirit attacks some parents do not take out handsome children during the Navrátri holidays as this is the busy season of the Vághri and Bhoi exorcists. The dark fourteenth of *A'so* (October) is the greatest spirit day of the Gujarát year. On that day all high caste married women rise early, wash their hair with soapnut, rub their eyes with lampblack, and going to a road crossing make marks with salt and husked rice. Fried *adad* or Phaseolus mungo cakes form the chief article of food on that day.

Exorcism.

Dumbness and a vacant look are warnings of a spirit attack. The first thing done on the appearance of these symptoms is to put a bellmetal plate in cowdung, chillies, mustard, an iron nail, hair, and live charcoal. Over these articles a bellmetal cup is turned with its rim down, and over the bottom of the cup a mixture of cowdung and water is poured. The plate is then waved over the head of the sick seven times by a woman. If after some time the cup sticks to the plate the spirit is believed to have left the man and to have gone inside of the cup. Sometimes a fire is lighted and over the fire human hair, gum-resin, and a little hog dung or horse hair are dropped and the head of the sufferer is held over the fumes for a few minutes. Sometimes also charmed threads are tied to his right wrist or to his neck, or a cupful of charmed water is given him to drink. Bráhmans are

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engaged to repeat sacred verses in a goddess temple. If the spirit is a weak spirit it gets frightened by one or more of these processes and makes off. If it is a strong spirit and cannot easily be got rid of or when the disease does not yield to medical treatment, an exorcist or spirit-scarer is consulted. The exorcist, who is called *bhapo, bhopo, badvo,* or *bhagat*, may belong to almost any class and any faith. He may be a Bráhman, Khatri, Hajám, Rabári, Bharvád, Vághri, Saravia, Dharála, Gámta, Bhil, or Bhoi; he may be a Shrávak priest or Gorji; or a Musalmán Maulvi or Mulla. The power of scaring spirits is not hereditary. Some gain it by studying spirit-scaring books; others, though the practice is fast dying out, by mastering a spell, which, in the hands of a man proof against ghostly threats and terrors, forces a spirit to become his servant. To gain control over a spirit the Hindu exorcist goes to a burial ground alone at midnight on the dark fourteenth of *A'so* (October), unearths the dead body of a low caste Hindu, and bathes in the river. After bathing, while still naked, he carries the body within a circle cut with a knife or formed by sprinkling a line of water. Outside of the circle he drops some *adad* Phaseolus mungo beans, drives a few nails into the ground, and lays near the body halves of lemons daubed with redlead and some offerings. Marking his brow with redlead the exorcist sits on the body with his legs folded under him and mutters charms.

As he mutters his charms fantastic and horrid spirits of all kinds, male and female, appear outside of the circle, eat the offerings, and by every means in their power try to draw the exorcist out of the circle. If the exorcist's heart fails him and he tries to run away he is devoured by the spirits as soon as he leaves the circle. If he remains calm in the midst of these dangers and continues to repeat his charm without a mistake at daybreak, the spirits retire baffled, and one of them, the spirit required by the exorcist, binds himself to be the exorcist's servant. An exorcist who has a familiar that is a servant-spirit always keeps his forehead marked with redlead, abstains from eating brinjals radishes carrots and snakegourds, and fasts for twenty-four hours, if, while eating he hears the voice of a Bhangia or sweeper, or if the lamp goes out. On eclipse days and on the dark fourteenth of *A'so* (October) he mutters charms, and during the Navrátri holidays in October makes special offerings to his familiar spirit. The low caste Hindu exorcist is believed to be the favourite of one of the local goddesses, Bahucharáji, Khodiyár, Ghadachi, Shikotar, or Meladi in whose honour he keeps an altar furnished in his house. Before he ventures on a spirit-scaring performance he consults his patron goddess by throwing dice or by counting grain in front of her altar. Among Bhils any one who has learnt to repeat certain charms can become an exorcist or *badvo*. To control the Musalmán spirit Jin a Musalmán must be employed who has to perform certain rites on the twenty-seventh day of Ramzán.

When he is consulted the exorcist's first care is to ascertain whether the sick person suffers from spirit-possession or from some other disease. This is done either by the Hindu method of counting grain or by the

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Musalmán method of examining the reflection of a lighted lamp in a liquid. To ascertain the presence of a spirit by the grain test the Hindu exorcist gives a member of the sick person's family some rice, wheat, *juvár*, maize or *adad*, a nail, a piece of charcoal, seven clods of earth, seven particles of salt, the middle of the three leaves in a *khákhra* Butea frondosa twig, and a copper coin. These are wrapped in a cloth, are silently waved seven times over the sick, and the bundle is laid under his pillow or is tied to his sleeping cot. On the next day, which must be a Sunday or a Tuesday or the bright eighth or dark fourteenth of *A'so* (October) or one of the nine days of Navrátri (October), the bundle is opened and the exorcist takes a pinch of one of the kinds of grain. The grains in the pinch are ranged in twos on the lower half of a handmill, or on a footstool, or on a *pipal* leaf. If when so ranged one grain remains over it is called *vadhávo* and shows that a spirit is in the sick man's body; if no grain remains over it is called *vácha* or *ven* and shows there is no spirit in the sick man. When the exorcist is satisfied of the presence of a spirit he names a spirit and arranges a fresh heap of grain to find if that is the spirit with which the man is possessed, and goes on counting fresh heaps until he comes across a heap with an odd number of grains. Sometimes instead of laying the bundle under the sick man's pillow the exorcist waves seven times over the head of the sick who sits with his face turned to the east three and a half handfuls of *juvár* or a basket containing wheat, *adad*, salt, earth, and an iron nail, and determines whether the sick man is possessed by a spirit by ranging the principal grain, *juvár* or wheat, in twos. The lamp-reflection test which is called *hájrát* is practised by all Musalmán and by some Hindu exorcists. It is also performed to discover stolen property and to ascertain how and by whom it was stolen. The nights of all week days except Wednesday and Saturday and the bright seconds of every Hindu month are suited for the lamp-reflection ceremony. The usual way of applying this test is to wash with cowdung the floor of a quiet room, generally the god-room, and on a footstool, a cross, or a green cloth to lay a plain brass or glass plate. A potful of water drawn from a well and brought to the spot without uttering a word is poured into the plate. A lamp fed with clarified butter or with sesame, jasmin, or rapeseed oil is lighted and so placed that the flame is reflected in the centre of the plate. Some fragrant flowers, fruits, and a cocoanut are laid near the plate and aloes and frankincense are kept burning. When his preparations are completed the exorcist calls his medium, a Khatri or a Dubla, or a *pagi* that is a man or woman born foot foremost, or a young boy or girl. Sometimes the medium drinks charmed water and has his ears and eyes smeared with sulphate of antimony. The medium sits before the plate and is asked to look intently on the reflection or the flame in the plate. The exorcist repeats charms, as he repeats them throwing jasmin flowers one after the other into the plate, and asking the medium if he sees anything in the plate. After some time the medium begins to describe a palace in a grove. A Bhangia is sweeping the yard and a Bhisti watering it. The reception hall is open, seats are arranged in it, and lamps are

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lighted. The courtiers begin to step in one after the other and last of all comes the king riding a richly caparisoned elephant. He alights, enters the hall, and sits on the throne while the courtiers stand round. He is fanned by attendants, and flywhisk-bearers and mace-bearers stand near him. When the king is seated the exorcist tells the medium to ask the king to produce the spirit who has been troubling the sick man. The ceremony then ends. Money is given to the exorcist and to the medium and offerings are made to the spirits at a place where four roads cross. Sometimes several Musalmán beggars are feasted. Other modes of employing the lamp-reflection test are in use. Sometimes the medium is seated in a circle drawn with a black substance and looks at the flame reflected in a looking glass, or in a blot of ink or lampblack marked on a finger nail, on the palm of the hand, on a *pipal* leaf, on a brass or glass plate, or on a blank sheet of paper. Sometimes the medium looks intently at an oiled finger nail or at the palm of his hand; sometimes at a small heap of cowdung ashes on the palm of his hand; sometimes at mystic words or signs written on a leaf or on a paper with the help of a lamp whose wick has been rubbed in the ashes of the nut of the *midhal* or Randia dumetorum tree; and sometimes at a mixture of milk sesame oil and lampblack in a cup.

When by one of these processes the exorcist has ascertained that the sick man is possessed by a spirit he at first recommends mild measures. A fivecoloured (black, green, yellow, white, and red) woollen silken or cotton thread, with several knots in it, is held over the fumes of resin or frankincense. This thread and a roll of paper bearing mystic letters and cased in a copper or iron plate, is tied on a Tuesday or a Sunday to the sick man's right elbow, wrist, or neck. These charms must on no account be either wetted with water or be laid on the ground. A charmed lemon is also tied to the sick man's cot or to his right elbow or his neck, or the sick man is fumigated with a roll of paper called *palito* bearing Persian letters. Bráhmans are engaged to sit opposite the sick man, especially on Sundays and Tuesdays, and pray without ceasing to Vishnu or to the goddess Chandi. When mild measures fail to dislodge the spirit harsh measures are tried. The exorcist ties charmed threads all round the house; he sprinkles round it charmed milk and water; and drives a charmed nail into the ground at each corner of the house and two at the door. He then purifies the house and sets a Dev in it beside whom he lays a drawn sword, a lamp of clarified butter, and an oil lamp. Thus fortified he begins to drive away the spirit. Before a spirit can be forced to leave him the sufferer must sway his body from side to side and must speak. To make the sick man sway his body three devices are in use. First, among high caste Hindus a Bráhman who is learned in the book of Durga is engaged on a Sunday or a Tuesday. He bathes, dresses in freshly washed clothes, and sits on a carpet. He lays a new red cloth on a wooden stool, and with grains of wheat traces on the cloth the eight-leaved *yantra* or charmed figure composed of eight circles round one circle. In each of these nine circles he writes Durga's nine names and

makes a small heap of wheat. Upon the nine grain heaps he sets a vessel filled with water and a cocoanut or sometimes merely a cocoanut. On the cocoanut he lays flowers and red and white powder, and in front of it burns gum-resin and lights a lamp of clarified butter. The sick man dressed in clean clothes is taken and seated opposite the Bráhman. The Bráhman repeats the charm of nine letters, holding rice or water in his hand with which when it is charmed he sprinkles the possessed until he begins to tremble. According to the second mode the exorcist goes on a Sunday or a Tuesday night to the sick man's house. He drives an iron nail into the threshold of the house, jumps over the sick man, or drinks water after it has been waved over the sick man's head with his face turned to the east, the sick man sits opposite the exorcist within a circle drawn with a knife or within a square, covered with *nim* leaves and twigs and its boundaries formed of cleaned rice or *juvár* coloured with redlead. Five copper coins are laid, four at the corners of the square and the fifth in the middle. The exorcist then gently brushes the sick man's face with a *nim* Melia azadirachta, an *umar* Ficus glomarata, or an *asindra* Bauhinia racemosa twig, or a peacock's feather, or sprinkles water over his eyes with a *nim* twig. This he does till the sick man begins to move his body to and fro. According to the third mode the exorcist goes on a Sunday or a Tuesday night to the sick man's house accompanied by an assistant who is generally a Vághri. The exorcist orders a small footstool to be brought to him, covers it with a cloth, and draws a turmeric or redlead cross in the middle of the cloth. Several heaps of rice, wheat, and *adad* are made near the cross and a copper pot filled with water with a cocoanut in its mouth is laid near it on the stool. A lemon waved over the sick man's head is cut in half and the pieces covered with redlead are laid on the stool. Gum-resin or frankincense is burnt and a lamp fed with clarified butter is lighted. When these arrangements are completed the exorcist drinks liquor or palmjuice. The sick man is taken near the footstool and is seated on another stool opposite the exorcist who begins to sing in a loud voice songs composed in honour of his patron goddess. While he sings his Vághri assistant strikes with a wooden roller the rim of a bellmetal plate placed on an earthen jar containing some *mag* or *adad* grain. When much excited the exorcist still sitting opposite the sick man begins to shake his body to and fro to produce the like effect on the sick man. The exorcist continues to wave his body to and fro till the desired effect, which is sometimes long of coming, is produced. Sometimes a whole night passes without any result; and as the night is the best time for spirit-scaring the same process has to be repeated on the next night.

When the sick man has begun to move to and fro the exorcist's next anxiety is to make him speak. When the sick man plainly answers every question put to him the exorcist's task is easy. When no answers are given or where the answers are not satisfactory the exorcist is forced to adopt harsh measures. The sick man is made to chew charmed *adad*; charmed water or *juvár* or *adad* is dashed in his eyes; a roll of paper bearing mystic letters is burnt; a fresh lemon

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is cut; a piece of cloth is coiled round; and the spirit is threatened with the help of Agio Vaitál or the Fire Demon that he will be reduced to ashes. An image of *adad* flour is held over aloe fumes and pierced with a needle. A drop of honey is poured into its belly and the image is buried. Holding the hair of the sick man's head with one hand the exorcist beats him with the other or sometimes with an iron rod. His hair is tightly tied with a thread, the little finger of his right hand is squeezed or screwed, and his eyes are smeared with an irritating ointment. A fire is lighted, a few chillies, mustard and cumin seeds, turmeric, salt, *vál*, the dung of a dog horse monkey and donkey, and a piece of leather are dropped into the fire and the fumes blown through the sick man's nostrils into which sometimes pepper powder is puffed through a tube. To impress the sick man with his superhuman power the exorcist beats his own back with an iron chain. Sometimes he prepares a torch, dips it in oil, lights it, sucks it while burning, and allows a few drops of burning oil to fall on his hand. Sometimes, especially among Bhils, an old broomstick dipped in oil is lighted and is held so near the sick man that a mouthful of water poured over the broomstick throws out a number of sparks which burn the uncovered parts of the sick man's body. When the sick man is thus teased and annoyed he begins to speak with an accompaniment of spirit-like nods. He replies to every question put by the exorcist, gives his name, explains why and how he entered the sick man's body, what he wanted, and after receiving a solemn promise from the sick man's relations and friends to satisfy his demands he agrees to retire to his old haunts, promising unless provoked never again to harass the man. If his demands are exorbitant the exorcist cajoles the spirit to moderation. If the spirit has been very troublesome or if he breaks his promise, the exorcist confines him in a glass bottle. The mode of confining him in a bottle varies greatly. Sometimes a tuft of the sick man's hair is put in an airtight bottle and the bottle is shaken; sometimes one end of a thread is put for some time in a bottle and the other end is tied to the sick man's hair; sometimes the little finger of the sick man's right hand is so pressed into the mouth of the bottle that it is blistered and the water of the blister is dropped into the bottle; and sometimes a charmed cork held over the sick man's head while his hair is tightly squeezed is forced into the bottle. A small lemon is also sometimes put into the bottle. The mouth of the bottle is stopped by a leaden cork, or is sealed. The bottle is taken by the exorcist and is buried deep outside of the village. Sometimes the exorcist orders the spirit to pass into a lemon which the exorcist, by a horse-hair fastened to a stick, makes to hop about the room. When the sick man sees the lemon moving he leaves off trembling, being satisfied that the spirit has left his body and gone into the lemon. The exorcist makes the lemon turn out of the house by the eastern door, and whenever it goes off the road puts it right with his stick. Mustard and salt are sprinkled on the track of the lemon and in this way it is taken to the border of the village lands. Here a pit is dug ten and a half feet deep and in it the lemon is buried, over it are thrown mustard and salt, and over these dust and stones, the space between the stones being filled with lead. At each corner the exorcist

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drives in a two-feet long iron nail which he has previously charmed. When the spirit has without trouble told who he is and has promised to go the sick man is taken to a crossing of four roads or to the border of the village with an old shoe or a blade of grass in his mouth, the exorcist leading the way and friends and relations following. On reaching the crossing of the four roads of the village border the sick man is made to stand within a circle of water. The exorcist draws the blade of grass or the shoe from his mouth, and the sick man falls prostrate, a proof that the spirit has left him. The man is given cold water and when he regains his senses he asks his friends why he was brought there and is, or seems to be, amazed to hear all that has passed. To guard against a second attack, before entering his house the patient puts an iron ring on his right wrist. Six nails are driven, four into the ground one at each corner of the house, one into the threshold, and one into the door-post. The exorcist and the Vághri receive cash presents besides all the articles used in the ceremony. The exorcist is also given a hen which has been waved over the sick man's head. Among some Kolis, Vághris, Rajputs, and Sathvárás, after the spirit has agreed to leave the sick man's body, the exorcist becomes possessed of the spirit by knotting together a lock of his own and of the sick man's hair. When the spirit has left the sick man and entered the exorcist, the friends and relations of the sick man call some Rával musicians and other exorcists of the village. Torches are lighted, music is played, and the assembled exorcists begin to move their bodies to and fro. Four members of the sick man's family bear the possessed exorcist on a bamboo bier, or in a litter, to the crossing of four roads, or to the village border, or to the burning ground, the musicians beating cymbals and singing, and the other exorcists walking and shaking before and behind the bearers. On reaching the appointed place the possessed exorcist is laid on the bier within a circle drawn with water. The bearers and others who accompanied the procession retire leaving in the circle eatables as offerings to the spirit. The other exorcists continue to move their bodies to and fro round the circle, which brings into their bodies and by so doing lessens the strength of the spirit in the possessed exorcist. All the exorcists then eat the offering and go to their homes.

After the sick man had been freed from the spirit steps are immediately taken to satisfy the wishes of the spirit which the members of the family pledged themselves to carry out. What the spirit generally wants is an offering, and if it is a family spirit, a memorial service in a holy place. The offerings are generally made on the next Sunday or Tuesday. Until they are made the nearest relations of the sick man abstain from milk, curds, and sugar, and from wearing new clothes and new ornaments. On the morning of the day fixed for making the offering an unwidowed woman, provided she is not pregnant, is feasted. In the evening the head woman of the family waves the offerings three, four, or seven times over the head of the sick man while he sits on the threshold of the house, and lays them within a circle made with water at the spot where three or four roads cross, or

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in the village market, or at the village border, or in the burning ground. High caste Hindus do not pass close to these offerings or step into the circle for fear of catching disease. Five kinds of offerings are made: The first kind consists of boiled rice and gram, buns, fried *adad* cakes, sweet-balls, milk, curds, a copper coin, an iron nail, a clod of black earth, a piece of coal, several half lemons, a flower chaplet, ash-balls, and, among blood-offering Hindus, flesh and wine. The whole is covered by a *pipal* leaf-plate. In addition to these a wet wheaten flour saucer is laid with a wick burning towards each of the four quarters of heaven. All these are set in the shallow bottom of a broken earthen vessel the outside of which is marked by four lines of redlead and four lines of lampblack. The second kind of offering consists of a mixture of boiled rice, *juvár, bájri, mag, adad,* and *tuver.* The mixture is waved over the sick man's head, is liquified with curds and water and ashes, and is made into three balls, which are offered. The third kind of offering consists of a man-shaped image of wet *adad* flour. The image has its forehead marked with redlead, is covered with a white cloth, and is waved by the exorcist seven times over the sick man's body from head to foot. It is then buried deep within a circle of water at a road crossing or on the village border. The fourth kind of offering consists of a log of *biya* wood of the length of the sick man's height. The log is marked red, is wrapped in a black cloth, and along with other offerings promised to the spirit is laid within a circle marked by water. The fifth kind of offering consists of a small earthen pot filled with water and with five or seven red marks on the outside and with a cotton thread tied round its mouth. The mouth of the pot is closed by an earthen saucer in which burns a wick fed with clarified butter. As she goes with the offerings and as she returns, the woman neither speaks a word nor looks behind. Before entering the house she washes her hands and feet and rinses her mouth with water. The offerings are sometimes taken and eaten by low caste exorcists, by low caste Hindus, or by animals. When a family spirit asks to have memorial rites performed one of the following places is generally chosen for the performance of the rite. Prabhás Pátan on the south coast of Káthiáwár, Sámláji in Máhi Kántha, Sidhpur in the Gáikwár's territory in north Gujarát, Chánod, Kaniyáli, and Loteshvar on the Narbada, Mora a small village in the Olpád sub-division of Surat, Násik and Trimbak in north Deccan, and Allahabad in North India. To obtain release from a Musalmán spirit the patient is taken to the Pirána Roza in Ahmedabad or to the Daria Roza near Virpur in Rewa Kántha. Sometimes the sick is taken to the shrines of the goddesses Bahucharáji and Ambáji. Of the holy places mentioned above, Prayág or Allahabad and Gaya are particularly suitable for rites in honour of male ancestors seventy-one degrees remote. Gaya is therefore called Pitrigaya as opposed to Sidhpur in north Gujarát which is similarly called *Matrigaya,* because it is particularly suitable for the performance of *shrádh* rites in honour of dead mothers or of women generally. Each of these places has days of special spirit-cleansing power, at the same time at all of them two sets of days, the last five days of the bright half of *Kartik* (November) and *Chaitra* (April) are particularly suitable for perform-

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ing memorial rites. After the spirit has gone from the sick man's body a cocoanut is kept in the god room and is worshipped daily along with the household gods. Some of the vows promised the spirit are also rigidly kept for fear of displeasing him. According to the nature of the spirit and according to their convenience the members of the sick man's family go with the sick man and with the spirit-cocoanut to one of the sacred places mentioned above. The party proceed on their journey shoeless or bareheaded, or in whatever other way their vow may direct. At Pátan, Chánod, Kaniyáli, Násik, and Trimbak, the party are received by Bráhmans who claim them as their guests and patrons, on the ground that their ancestors had at certain times visited the holy place and appointed them or their fathers their priests. In proof of their statement they produce books containing entries in the writing of some relation or ancestor of one of the party. Next morning the male head of the party has his mustache shaved, bathes in the sacred river or pool, the husband and wife, if such be their vow, wearing one long garment. Before they and others of the party begin bathing the Bráhman priest mutters prayers. After bathing the party make cash presents to some beggar Bráhmans and go to a *pipal* tree round which they walk and lay the spirit-cocoanut near its roots. When the person who was formerly possessed beholds this tree, through the spirit's influence he begins to tremble and roll his eyes. The Bráhman priest addresses him and says, 'Now do you remain here, and whatever good deeds you may wish shall be done for you.' A promise to feast 108 Bráhmans or to marry a bull and a heifer is solemnly given, and the spirit is coaxed and flattered into promising that he will never leave his cocoanut and his *pipal* tree. Rice balls are offered to dead ancestors, and the bull and heifer are married with the same rites as if they were human beings. At the close of the marriage ceremony one man takes in his hand the tails of the two animals, and the family make offerings of milk, water, and sesame seed. In the evening the pilgrims, who on high days generally number thousands, offer flowers, milk, cocoanuts, and copper coins to the sacred river or pool. Lamps of clarified butter are placed in leaf pots and the pots are set afloat on the stream so that the whole river is brilliantly lighted. This completes the pilgrimage and the party return home. Low caste Hindus do not go through all these ceremonies. They content themselves with bathing in the sacred pool, with offering rice balls and throwing them into the well or river, and with eating and drinking. The spread of European ideas and of European medicines is slowly weakening the belief of high caste Hindus in evil spirits; among Bhils, Kolis, and other wild tribes the belief is as strong as ever. One of the popular reasons given for the decline in the number and in the power of evil spirits is the sound of the English drum. Its pig-skin end, so they believe, scares the Musalmán and its cow-skin end scares the Hindu spirits.

WITCHCRAFT.

Dákens or witches are either born with the power of bewitching people or gain the power by performing certain rites. Born witches are women whose birth happens either when the moon is in the *Chitra* (October 8th to 20th) and *Uttará* (January 9th to 21st, March 15th to

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27th and September 11th to 23rd) *nakshatras* or star-mansions, or on the dark fourteenth of *A'so* (October). Made witches are those who have propitiated the spirit called Vir that is hero. To gain the favour of Vir on the night of the dark fourteenth of *A'so* (October) the woman goes to a river or pond containing alligators. By some mystic worsd the woman calls an alligator to the river bank, and sitting on his back, repeats the name of Vir a certain number of times, and thus becomes possessed by Vir and commands his services. The glance of a woman possessed by Vir is one of the acutest forms of the evil eye.

Among high caste Hindus the envious woman whose glance is believed to cause loss or damage is regarded as a witch, while among all classes women skilled in sorcery or the black art are looked on as witches. In reference to her knowledge of sorcery Bhils, Dublás, and other early tribes say of a witch that she has studied three and a half letters. All hags or withered old women are also suspected of being witches. To find out whether she is a witch the suspected woman was, and in wild parts of the country still is, subjected to a number of ordeals. She is hung by the arms or legs commonly by the heels to the branch of a tree and rocked to and fro. While she hangs if the branch breaks or if her body suffers serious injury such as dislocation of the arm, she is not considered a witch. But if the branch is not broken and the woman suffers no injury she is considered a witch. Sometimes powdered chillies are rubbed on her face, and if she suffers no harm she is held to be a witch. Sometimes with the rolling pin of a hand-mill fastened to her neck and a long rope tied round her waist the woman is gently lowered into the village well. If she floats she is a witch; if she sinks she is an honest woman. Sometimes she is thrown into a fast stream and if she is not carried away by the current and without much exertion comes safely to the opposite bank she is a witch. In some Native States the common ordeal is to take the woman to the elephant which is specially worshipped on the Dasara festival in October. At the sight of the woman, if she is a witch, the elephant roars if he is tethered, and runs wildly away if he is loose. If she comes close to the elephant he will turn on her and cut her in two. If the woman is not a witch the elephant remains quiet. According to the Bhil belief witches alone are able to eat fowls. No right-minded Bhil woman will eat a cock, or hen, or eggs, or even any article brought in a vessel along with a fowl. A woman whose eyes point in a direction different from that in which she is looking, the Bhils consider a witch. In all these ordeals if the woman is adjudged a witch she is severely punished; if she is adjudged no witch she is set free and is given presents.

Witches are found in almost all castes, but they are specially numerous among low caste Hindus: Bharváds, Bhils, Chárans, Dhedás, Dublás, Garodás, Hajáms, Kamáliás, Kolis, Konkanás, Mochis, Náyakás, Rávaliás, Vágadiás, and Vasávás. Chodhra, Náyaka, and Dubla witches are so dreaded that for fear of them some Panch Mahál moneylenders will have no dealings with these early tribes. The headquarters of witchcraft in Gujarát are in the Panch Maháls and Rewa Kántha; the town of Godhra is noted for its witches.

Witches work mischief either by their glance or by seizing people. The influence of the evil eye is not confined to witches. Children are so liable to this evil influence that they are believed to sicken under their own glance or under the glance of their nearest relations whenever their mind is filled by a feeling of affection, admiration, and surprise at the child's conduct. The influence produced by the mixture of these feelings is called *mithi najar* or sweet look and is by no means wholesome. The glance of an inveterate witch of the Dhánka, Náyaka, Dubla, Chámadia, or Dongri Bhil castes, particularly when she is under excitement, is believed to be very deadly. Kindly feelings lessen but never entirely remove the poison of her glance. Even her own children and husband do not escape unhurt. Whenever they fall under the influence of jealousy, the sight of an ordinary witch or of any ill-bred or envious woman or of any unclean and idiotic person is always more or less hurtful. If the glance of an ordinary witch falls on a handsome richly-dressed child the child sickens; if it falls on a man's head he also sickens, unless his head is completely shaved; if it falls on rich clothes they are soon torn to pieces; if it falls on a fine vessel or other household article it gets broken or otherwise destroyed; if it falls on eatables such as grain, milk, condiments, or wafer biscuits, they are so spoiled as to become useless. If the articles do not at once become uneatable under the influence of the glance they prove more hurtful after they are unknowingly eaten. The eater cannot digest them, purges or vomits them, and falls sick. The glance of a witch is so far-reaching that the part already eaten becomes indigestible if on her approach the uneaten part of any food is hidden from her gaze.

The two chief guards against the evil eye are iron articles and black articles. To turn aside the evil eye, handsome and beloved children also generally wear a necklace of square copper or silver plates. On these plates numbers are marked whose total when counted horizontally vertically or diagonally always comes to the same either fifteen or twenty. Sometimes the child also wears a *vajargota* that is a lightning guard or a *bajarbatu*,[1] or a tiger's tooth or claw set in gold and hung by or strung through a thread. Sometimes he wears a bison horn bracelet, or a horn of rhinoceros ring of *khadagpatra*, and sometimes an iron ring is tied to one of his neck ornaments. Whenever he goes out and when he is richly dressed, a lampblack mark is made either on his right cheek or behind the top of his right ear; and if he is old enough to wear a turban a lemon is thrust into it. Sometimes also a picture of Hanumán's, his banner bearing mystic numbers and words is drawn on a birch-bark *bhojpatra* Betula bhurja. The picture is plated with copper or silver and is either worn on the neck or is tied to the right elbow. Sometimes five silken threads red, black, green, yellow, or white, or cotton threads spun by an unmarried girl, are given to an exorcist, who on the night of the dark fourteenth of *Ashvin* (October-November) or on any Sunday or Tuesday ties seven knots on the threads, and the threads are then plated with copper or silver. Some

[1] The *bajarbattu*, which is in the form of a soapnut, is sold by persons in charge of bears led round the country for play or show. The *battu* is placed in the bear's mouth before it is given to the person who wants it.

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persons beat into a ring an iron nail found by chance near a burning ground or purposely buried on a Tuesday night and kept under ground for eight days. On the dark fourteenth of *Ashvin* (October-November) or on an eclipse day this ring is taken to an exorcist who holds it for a time over the fumes of frankincense. By these means the ring gains great power and is worn on the arm either unchanged or after it is plated with silver or gold. The influence of the evil eye is prevented from entering into eatables by a piece of coal, or by a nail or lemon being laid on or near them; into grain by waving a pinch of the grain over the hearth and throwing it into the fire; and into house furniture and clothes by tying a black thread round them.

Except when it is the work of acknowledged witches the cause of sickness is generally unknown to the sick child and his relatives. Two modes are used to determine whether a particular sickness is the result of the evil eye or is due to some other cause. According to the first mode live charcoal is put in a bellmetal plate. Seven mustard seeds, seven particles of salt, seven *adad* grains, a pinch of clay, a piece of black cloth, and some *vál* are waved seven times over the child's head and thrown into the plate. On the plate a cup of bellmetal is turned rim down and when it becomes red-hot, the mother prays that the evil eye whether it belong to the child itself, its parents, members of the family, strangers, or thieves of the road, the place where four roads meet, the village or its boundary, or a mad or unclean woman, a witch or any one else may confine itself within the cup. After muttering these words a pot of cowdung and water is waved round the child's head and poured over the cup. If the cup sticks to the plate the evil eye which caused the child's sickness has gone into the cup; if the cup does not stick, the child's sickness was due to some other cause. According to the second mode of testing the existence of the evil influence, a copper or brass pot filled with water is waved round the child's head and the water is poured into a plate. A bundle of lighted hay is thrust into a fresh earthen pot and the pot is turned rim down on the plate containing the water. If the water from the plate rushes into the earthen pot, the child's sickness was due to the evil eye which is now being burnt out; if the water does not enter the pot, the child's sickness is not due to the evil eye. Besides destroying it by these two modes, the influence of the evil eye is removed by waving a pinch of salt and mustard seeds over the child's head and throwing it into the fire. The influence of the evil eye is also destroyed by putting live charcoal and a red-hot iron nail into a fresh earthen jar. Salt is thrown into the jar which is then turned rim down in a bellmetal plate or in an earthen saucer. A pot filled with water is waved round the child's head and the water is poured over the jar. The evil influence is destroyed as the water dries on the outside of the jar. Except the eatables which are laid in a space enclosed by a circle of water where four roads cross the various lifeless objects which were under the influence of the evil eye are given to the witch. Unless these are given to the witch or laid at a road crossing, the sick person grows worse and sometimes dies. The sick also recovers if the witch from whose glance he has suffered gently rubs his body with her hand or commands the sickness to leave him.

When stirred by jealousy or a grudge witches generally enter the bodies of children and women. When seized by a witch, the victim cries, laughs, sways her body to and fro, feels heaviness in her sides head backbone and ankles, yawns, thirsts, faints, vomits blood, becomes feverish, refuses food or longs for rich dishes, and grows paler and leaner day after day. The witch delights to feed on her victim's liver, which she is said to draw from her victim's body by merely heating oil in a caldron in her own house. In place of the liver she imperceptibly puts husks or other refuse which people say do not take fire when the body of her victim is burnt. In a witch-stricken village people always rub redlead or clay on the left side of the upper part of the body or tightly pin the clothes which cover that part of the body. The first sign of witch-seizure is numbness in the victim's backbone or a heavy sweat. Fever, heaviness of the neck, and heaviness of the whole body regularly follow one after the other. When signs of possession begin to appear the victim's friends and relations bring an earthen or a copper vessel and fill it with water and drop into it the leaves of the date-palm, *asitra* Bauhinia racemosa, *bordi* Zizyphus jujuba, and *nim* Melia azadirachta trees. Seven pebbles and a little salt are added to the mixture and the pot is waved seven times round the victim's body. The pot is then set on a brisk fire and the victim is warmed with the steam of the boiling water. If this process brings no improvement an exorcist is called. The exorcist must like the witch have propitiated the Vir spirit by riding an alligator. The exorcist comes, and puffs while holding a lighted torch over the victim's backbone. He beats the victim with a cane, presses the little finger of her right hand, knots her hair, burns a roll of paper bearing charmed letters, passes the fumes of chillies turmeric horsedung and *val* into her nostrils, a worn-out shoe or some dog's dung into her mouth, and lays an earthen saucer containing live charcoal on the village boundary. Among some of the early tribes in south Gujarát a clay woman is waved over the victim's head and laid at the crossing of four roads. By one or other of these means the witch if mild and yielding leaves her victim's body and disappears in the form of a cat. Offerings are made to the witch at the crossing of four roads after driving an iron nail into the spot, or the woman who is believed to have caused the injury is made to drink the warm blood of a buffalo or a goat out of the vessel in which it was collected when the animal was killed. Among the Mahi Kántha Dongri Bhils the woman whom the exorcist points out as having done the mischief is seized, chilly powder is rubbed on her eyes, and her head is put in a bag. She is tied to a tree head down and is swung by the assembled people, sometimes for two or three days together, during which the swingers take no food but drink liquor. For some time a hardened witch does not mind this treatment and sings death songs. But when much pressed she asks forgiveness. On giving a solemn promise that she will never harass the victim or do any mischief in the village she is taken from the tree, and the assembled people run for their lives as the first man she looks at after undergoing this treatment dies instantly.

Besides by her glance and by seizure a witch has several ways of working mischief. She sometimes appears before her victim when asleep, puts a bridle in his mouth, and by the power of certain spells forces him to carry her long distances. Of all this the victim is unconscious, but when he wakes he finds his knees bruised, and knows that he has only a short time to live. The witch is also said to put rice husks and bones into her victim's body. She assumes horrid forms, terrifies her victims, drinks up or spoils the supply of milk, and plays the nightmare. She makes women barren, interferes with the milk-yielding power of cows and buffaloes, destroys standing crops, and lurking within the churn prevents butter from forming. Small worms and insects in curds and whey are believed to be due to a witch or to the spirits of dead ancestors.

Her supernatural powers bring gain as well as trouble to the witch. Through fear of offending her the village people supply the witch with all articles of every-day use. As even things praised by a witch do not thrive, presents are made to her to secure her absence from marriage and other festive occasions. She is also free from a share of the articles collected for the use of travellers and money-lenders. To take away her power of doing mischief, the witch's head is completely shaved or shorn, she is beaten with an *ánkdo* Calotropis gigantea twig, and water out of a tanner's jar is poured down her throat. Her nose and ears were, and in some native states still are, chopped off. She is rebuked by the village headman, is excommunicated, and is debarred from holding intercourse with the village people. The village community force her husband to divorce her and she is sometimes driven to desolate forests to die of hunger or to fall a prey to some wild animal. Formerly she was put to hard work, was drenched with hot spring water, or was burnt to death by hanging her from a tree above lighted hay. In the Panch Mahále, where the belief in witchcraft is universal, high caste women have several times suffered cruelly on suspicion of being witches. In some Rewa Kántha villages the dread of witches is as strong as ever and the people are dissatisfied that the old strong measures are no longer allowed.

APPENDIX A.

THE FOREIGNER.

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THE FOREIGNER.

A CHIEF point of interest in the history of Gujarát is that from being a holy land it fell to be a land of strangers and again recovered its ancient honour as a land of virtue.[1] To what inflow of evil was the darkening due: by what outflow of virtue has the goodly land regained its brightness. The darkening seems to have been due to Buddhism and to the success of Buddhism in gaining as converts the Yavanas, Pahlavas, Śakas, Kusháns, and Kedáras who conquered in western India from about B.C. 250 to A.D. 400. The brightening has been since the fifth century when the great White Húna, Juán-Juán, or Gujar horde, and in the sixth and seventh centuries the immigrant Turk in tribes and in driblets, aided the Bráhmans to regain their long-lost ascendancy over Buddhism. These services the Bráhmans freely rewarded by admitting the newcomers to the highest position and honours among Bráhmanic Hindus. Kindliness to foreigners is so opposed to the received views of Bráhman policy as to make it seem impossible that Bráhmans ever adopted a system of honouring strangers. In spite of this objection there seems no reason to doubt that, until advances to Musalmáns were found to be hopeless, Bráhmans were ready to welcome strangers to positions of honour. It was by admitting the local population in detail by marriage and in mass by adoption that Bráhman ascendancy was originally established throughout India. Though it was not always at work and through long periods may have lain forgotten, the kindly and discreet fiction that warlike neighbours are rusty and easily polished Kshatriyas is a rule of practical wisdom as old as the earliest struggles between the Bráhman and the fighting fringe in Bengal and the north Dakhan. To enable newcomers, whose names did not appear in the old lists, to take their place as Kshatriyas nothing but Bráhman teaching was wanted. Neither Buddhist nor Jain found it difficult to admit foreigners to the highest places in their communities. And by adapting their ideals to the gay and life-loving Yavanas Śakas and Kusháns they seem, in spite of the popularity of the young Krishna, to have more than held their own against Bráhman effort. In the leaders of the great horde which entered India during the second half of the fifth century the Bráhmans at last discovered keen proselytes filled with a hatred of Buddhism and a devotion to the worship of Fire and of Siva. The discovery of these long-sought qualifications led the Bráhmans to make the Húṇas and the Mihiras their champions and freely admit them to the highest place among Kshatriyas. The special champions were the tribes who passed through the fire-baptism on Mount A'bu, an initiation which the Húṇa respect for fire would make pleasing and which would add to their ill-will to the Buddhist who according to Musalmán accounts had recently prevented the worship of fire.[2] The initiation of these foreign tribes to

[1] Compare Dr. Bhagvánlál's Early History of Gujarát, Bom. Gaz. I. Part I. 13.
[2] Gladwin's Ain-i-Akbari, II. 43.

Appendix A.

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Bráhmanism has the special interest that all seem to be branches of the great Gujar horde which, for the reasons submitted in the following Gujar note, seem to be Khazars, and therefore the same as the White Húṇas and Mihiras the names by which the great fifth century horde is generally known.

Among Bráhmans.

If it can be shown

(*a*) that even during the period of Buddhist rivalry, that is from B.C. 300 to A.D. 700, Bráhmans were admitted to be the highest class in India; and

(*b*) that during those thousand years foreigners were admitted to be Brahmans,

it may fairly be held to follow that during that period foreigners were welcomed into the general mass of the Hindu population. Buddhism has always respected the high position and character of the Bráhman. At first admission to the Buddhist order was confined to Bráhmans and Kshatriyas.[1] That even during Buddhist ascendancy special honour was paid to Bráhmans is proved by the account given in A.D. 560 by a Buddhist embassy from Udyána or Swát to China. The embassy described the Bráhman as the highest class among the Indians, versed in astronomy and in calculating lucky and unlucky days. Without consulting his Bráhman no king could do anything.[2] A century and a quarter later (A.D. 630 - 643) the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang[3] notices that the Bráhmans, from whom India is called the land of Bráhmans, are famous for nobility and purity. Hiuen Tsiang found the Bráhmans of Ohind near Attok[4] of high renown for their talents, well informed, of vigorous intellect. At Hidda near Jelálábád Bráhmans were in charge of Buddhist records.[5] In a forest near Lahore Hiuen Tsiang met a Bráhman of divine understanding and superabundant reason, 700 (perhaps 170) years old, of first class form and complexion looking about thirty.[6] In the tenth century the Arab writer Al Masudi (A.D. 915) speaks of the Bráhmans as the noblest class of Indians.[7] These passages may be accepted as establishing the high place which the happy owner of the birthright of Bráhmanhood, whether or not he was a Buddhist by religion, continued to hold during the Buddhist ascendancy.

Before bringing direct evidence in support of the second point, namely that during the Buddhist period Bráhmans admitted outsiders to be Bráhmans, it is advisable to note what has been the practice regarding the admission among Bráhmans of foreigners both before and since the rise of Buddhism. Before Buddhist times no strict rule was enforced against the admission of outsiders into the class of Bráhmans.[8] Through the wide gate of mindborn sonship passed the demons or foreigners Rávana and Vrttra, the Kshatriya Vishvámitra, and the royal Rishis Venà Pururavas and Janaka.[9] The history of Vishvámitra's sons shows how easily the position of Bráhman could be assumed and abandoned. One of the sons founded a tribe of Bráhmans, a second was a Kshatriya

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[1] Rockhill's Life of Buddha, 55 note 4. [2] Sykes in Jour. Roy. As. Soc. VI. 279.

[3] Beal's Buddhist Records, I. 69 : Life, 75. [4] Beal's Buddhist Records, I. 115.

[5] Beal's Buddhist Records, I. 96. [6] Beal's Life of Hiuen Tsiang, 75.

[7] Masudi in Reinaud's Mémoire Sur L'Inde, 48.

[8] Compare Muir's Sanskrit Texts, II. 372.

[9] Muir's Sanskrit Texts, I. 21, 297, 305, 306, 310, 427. The Harivansha (Langlois' Edn. I. 123) describes Vishvámitra as a mine of penitence instruction and patience who became a Bráhman and raised himself to the dignity of a Rishi. Manu refers to Vena the eminent Royal Rishi as causing a confusion of caste. Muir's Sanskrit Texts, I. 997.

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Among Bráhmans.

king, a third was a Vaisya, and a fourth a Sudra.[1] That these were not mythical or ideal cases but were in accord with the rule and practice of ordinary life, is shown by the Mahábhárata verse that a son begotten by a Bráhman on a woman of any of the three upper classes is a Bráhman; also by the law laid down in Manu that a woman of any of the four castes can be the wife of a Bráhman.[2] So the Bráhman Gautama had sons by a Sudra wife[3] in agreement with the rule that a woman bright as a jewel may be married from the basest family.[4] More than one Mahábhárata Bráhman marries a snake-girl and the son of at least one such marriage becomes a priest.[5] In one of the Panchatantra tales a Bráhman woman marries a snake-man.[6] In the Mahábhárata the Munis, who had begotten sons in an indiscriminate way,[7] conferred on their sons the rank of Rishis by their own austere fervour. That this indiscriminate procreation was the practice among ordinary ascetic Bráhmans is shown by the statement of Megasthenes (B.C. 300) that a certain class of religious Bráhmans cross the river and form settlements begetting offspring from the women of the country; [8] and also by the Śaka or Parthian Nahápana (A.D. 130) presenting women of his palace, probably Greek girls, to be the wives of Bráhmans.[9] As late as A.D. 950 the well informed Ibn Khurdadba states that Bráhmans took the daughters of Kshatriyas in marriage.[10] How greatly in Rajputána and in Gujarát Bráhmans, Rajputs, and Vániás have mixed with the lower classes is shown by the division into Visa full, Dasa half, and Pancham quarter, which the writer in the Rajputána Gazetteer (Vol. I. page 71) is doubtless correct in explaining as marking the proportion of outside intermixture.[11]

On the skirts of India the practice of Bráhman marriage with women of the lower classes is still common. In Kumaon when a Bráhman marries a hill-woman the children are Bráhmans by courtesy.[12] In Kángra the Bráhman and the Rajput differ little from the local Kanet: the blood is greatly mixed; both Bráhmans and Rajputs marry local girls.[13] In Láhaul in north Kángra Bráhmans keep Kanet and local women in their houses, and the sons are legitimate.[14] Among the local hill-tribes as Bráhmanism spreads the chief takes the first place among the priests.[15] In the island of Bale, off the east end of Java, the higher castes take concubines from the lower.[16] These instances suffice to establish the fact that, under

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1 Wilson's Vishnu Purána, 69. 2 Muir's Sanskrit Texts, II. 466.
3 Muir's Sanskrit Texts, II. 492. 4 Mrs. Manning's Ancient India, II. 238, 240.
5 Mrs. Manning's Ancient India, II. 69, 73.
6 Mrs. Manning's Ancient India, II. 231.
7 Muir's Sanskrit Texts, I. 132. 8 McCrindle's Megasthenes, 121.
9 Trans. Secd. Intn. Congress (1874), 327; Bombay Gazetteer, XI.
10 Elliot's History, I. 76. Within the next eighty years, apparently part of the increased exclusiveness of Bráhmans, this marriage with Kshatriyas seems to have ceased. Alberuni (A.D. 1030) says (Sachau's Edn. II. 156): In our time it is allowed that Bráhmans never marry any woman unless she is of their own caste.
11 That a Bráhman wife does not sit in her husband's presence and does not mention his name seems to have its origin in the intermarriage with local women. Compare Rawlinson's Herodotus, I. 236: Even those who came from the Prytaneum of Athens and reckoned themselves the purest Ionians brought no wives to the new country. They married Carian girls whose fathers they had slain. Hence these women made a law that none would ever sit at meat with the husband or mention his name. [The law as usual would be husband-made and the basis be respect not hate.]
12 Kangra Gazetteer, Part II. 40. 13 Kángra Gazetteer, Part II. 43.
14 Kángra Gazetteer, Part II. 119. 15 Kángra Gazetteer, Part II. 15.
16 Asiatic Researches, XIII. 131.

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suitable conditions, individuals who are not pure Bráhmans have been and are freely admitted to rank as Bráhmans. Further individual cases are recorded which show that without any claim to Bráhman blood a stranger may be raised to be a Bráhman. In Southern India during the second century A.D., a Palhava prince, a foreigner and the son of a foreigner, was given the *gotra* or clan badge of the ancient Rishi Bháradvaja.[1] The further question remains: Is evidence available to show that entire classes have been admitted to the name and the rank of Bráhmans. Under this head examples may first be cited which are not directly connected with the great inroads of northern conquerors. In Bengal in early times Viswaphurji is said to have driven out the Khattris and in their place to have put men of the lowest class. He is further said to have driven out Bráhmans and to have raised to the priesthood men of the lowest classes Kaivartas or fishers, Madrakas,[2] Patus, and Pulindas. In north-east Bengal, 400 to 500 years ago, youths of the country were chosen, taught rites, and girt with the sacred thread.[3] In Nepál in the early ages people were all of one caste. Afterwards they divided into four Bráhman, Kshatriya, Vaisya, and Sudra.[4] In the Himálayas on the Kángra border between Tibet and India the peasant is changing into a Jat, the noble into a Rajput, the priest into a Bráhman.[5] Either at or after their accession the Nair Rájás of Travankor are made Bráhmans by being passed through a golden cow or cased in a golden cylinder. After the ceremony the twice-born cannot dine with his own family.[6] The Amma Kudagas of the Káveri river are apparently local priests who were at one time raised to be Bráhmans but have again lost their position.[7] Among the Bráhmans whose origin is traced to the great Bráhman-maker Parshurám, some, like the Tulava Bráhmans, were low class local tribes[8]: some like the Chitpávans Karhádes and Shenvis of the Bombay Konkan are said to have been shipwrecked strangers.[9] Again Bráhmans seem to have received strangers of the warrior class to be Bráhmans either by their ceasing to be fighters and giving their life to study,[10] or by allowing them to use Bráhman *gotras* while continuing to live as Kshatriyás.[11]

The great influx of strangers during the early centuries after the Christian era affected the position of Bráhmans in three ways. The priests and medicine-men or *shámans* of the newcomers were accepted

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1 Journal Royal Asiatic Society, XXIII. The holding of Bráhman *gotras* by Kshatriyas was probably originally a badge of Bráhman blood. Later the practice was explained as the wearing of a name in token of respect for some Bráhman Rishi. In some cases the *gotra* seems to have been the Bráhman seal of the chief's right as ruler-priest. Vappa or Bappa (A.D. 720) one of the traditional founders of the Gohils is said to have passed the rank of Bráhman and to have been received into the rank of Kshatriya. Asiatic Res. XVI. 234. The meaning may be that Bappa was a ruler-priest before he was a Kshatriya. The Jaina continuance to the Kshatriya of the topmost place in their hierarchy must have forced the convert-seeking Bráhman to shew respect to the early divinity of the ruler. In Udaipur the priestliness and the divinity of the Rána are still unquestioned. 2 Wilford in Asiatic Researches, IX. 63, 114.

3 Abbé Dubois Moeurs et Institutions des Peuples de l'Inde, I. 127.

4 Sykes in Jour. R. A. Soc., VI. 409. 5 Kángra Gazetteer, I. 74-75.

6 Rae's Syrian Church in India, 9.

7 Moegling's Kurd Memoirs, 24-27; Madras J. Lit. and Science for 1888-89, 141 note 60.

8 Moegling's Kurd Memoirs, 24-27: Madras J. Lit. and Science for 1888-89, 141.

9 Bombay Gazetteer, X. 111.

10 Wilford's Pandits admitted that from the ranks even of irregular Kshatriyas study and knowledge might raise a man to be a Bráhman. As. Res. X. 90.

11 See note 1 above.

as Bráhmans; the newcomers adopted as their teachers and priests local tribes or families who were not Bráhmans: in their wanderings through India these stranger tribes carried with them large bodies of Bráhmans. The Buddhist definition of Bráhmans as men of detached minds and diseased bodies who go to the wood to meditate,[1] might be easily extended to the seers and medicine-men that accompanied Central Asian conquerors. The true Bráhman is in the main a magician when he is chanting his Vedic spells and performing his religious or god-binding ritual not less than when he is driving evil spirits out of the sick, sitting on air, or entering the bodies of the dead.[2] In Central Asia the magical skill of the Indian Bráhman was little less famous than that of the Hyrkanian wizard.[3] In the early sixth century the Chinese pilgrim Sung-Yun, in the Tzung Ling hills north of Ladak, found under Bráhman spells a lake-holding dragon turned into a man.[4] The charms of the Udyána or Swát Bráhmans cured Sung-Yun of an attack of home-sickness.[5] This same school of Udyána Bráhmans were the teachers of the great Buddhist wizard Guru Padma Sambhava who in the eighth century brought Lamaism into Tibet.[6] In the far east, as at Udyána and elsewhere, the astrological and magical skill of the Bráhman covers almost the whole field of his priestly functions. In Burma the Bráhman's influence is limited to the palace: in Siam he has charge of fixing certain festivals: in Cambodia he is consulted on many points of good and bad luck.[7] Besides by their magical powers certain classes of the invaders would be qualified for admission to be Bráhmans because they fulfilled Yudhisthira's test. According to the wise he is a Bráhman in whom virtues are seen.[8] This test would pass such classes as the ancient

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1 Rockhill's Life of Buddha, 17.

2 Compare the Bráhman Indratta who passed into the body of the dead king Nanda of Magadha and made grants to Bráhmans out of the dead king's mouth. Turnour's Maháwanso, lxxix. The account of the Bráhmans that (A.D. 380) reached the soldier-historian Ammianus Marcellinus (Yonge's Translation, 470) was that they moved in the air among the altars.

3 Compare Ency. Brit. IX. Edition Persia, 593. In Khorásán as late as A.D. 1821 the traveller Frazer (Khorásán, 394 note) found that Indian enchanters were much dreaded.

4 Beal's Buddhist Records, I. lxxxix. 5 Beal's Buddhist Records, I. xcviii.

6 Waddell's Tibet Buddhism, 26. As a magician the Buddhist was little behind the Bráhman. In Persia in A.D. 1250 the shaven-headed yellow-robed Tartar magician worshippers of Sakyamuni and Madri (Maitreya) could make felt horses camels and dogs talk. Khulagu the Mongol conqueror was civiller to the Buddhist medicine-man than to any one. He prostrated daily before their chiefs. He halted mounted and marched when they said it was lucky. Howorth's Mongols, III. 211.

7 Jour. Amer. Or. Soc. VIII. 377. The secret of Bráhman power over the warrior mind is shown in their dealings with the caste-levelling Sikh Guru Govind (A.D. 1680) who professed to despise Bráhman pretensions to be leaders. Govind consulted a learned Bráhman regarding the meaning of the saying, One arrow may become many, One man may slay a hundred. In such cases, said the Bráhman, the gods are present. How can the help of the gods be gained? A Bráhman in Banáras can secure the help of the gods. The Banáras magician was called: a house was built for him: and during two years he performed incantations. At last the eight-armed Devi appeared. The Bráhman said to Guru Govind: I have done my part. You must now take my place. Fear not. Govind armed himself and waited. So terrible was the Devi, that Govind swooned. He recovered but was speechless. The Devi seized his sword, marked it, and disappeared. The Bráhman said: This mark is a sign of conquest. Your vow is complete. But cast your head into the sacred fire. Govind said: What gain to me then is this conquering sword. Your son's head will do, said the Bráhman. Govind tried to get the head of one of his sons but Gujarji Govind's mother prevented him. So Guru Govind killed one of his followers and offered his head. Macgregor's Sikhs, I. 72.

8 Jour. R. A. Soc. XXI. 289.

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Skythian Argippæi holy men and harmless who never carried arms and who stayed feuds.[1] The same test would pass among Sikhs the gentle Nának Putras travelling chapmen and beggars who were at peace with all men.[2] Other classes of newcomers who may have gained rank as Bráhmans were devotees like the Sikh Akális or Immortals, indifferent to death, dreaded in fight, who divided the shewbread and managed religious meetings;[3] or such a Levitical class as those who pass the fighting Pathán under spears and perform other tribal ceremonies.[4] Under certain conditions such champions as Bháts and Chárans would with little difficulty pass to be Bráhmans.[5] The French writer DeHarlez says[6]: 'In the early spread of their power Bráhmans admitted into their number priests of the conquered race. It was these local priests who changed the Aryan religion.' So also during the period of Skythian ascendancy (B.C. 100 - A.D. 700) priests and magicians of the conquering peoples were admitted to the name and position of Bráhmans and introduced certain new phases into Sun, S'iva, and Mother worship. Kalhana (A.D. 1148), the author of the Rájataraṅgini, himself a S'aiva Bráhman, speaks of the priests of Nágas as Bráhmans and of Astika a leading Nága chief as the best of Bráhmans.[7] Similarly the author of the Dabistán calls Gujarát Bráhmans Nága Bráhmans,[8] and seems to incline to trace the special class of Nágaras to a foreign origin.[9] Another somewhat doubtful admission is the case of the famous Chitpávan or Konkanasth Bráhman including the allied local tribes of Shenwis or Saraswats Javlás and Karhádes. According to tradition these are the offspring of shipwrecked strangers whom Parashurám purified with fire. Their fairness and the commonness among them of gray eyes have been always considered to show a non-Indian element in the Chitpávans. The name Shenvi which is still a title of respect in Kachh, the numbers of Saraswat Bráhmans in Kachh whose local traditions point to a non-Bráhman origin, the name Javla which may be a trace of Jauvla the leading stock name among the sixth century White Húṇas, and the fact that the bulk of coast Karhádes have the surname Gurjjara combine to make it probable that these may have been early (B.C. 300 - A.D. 100) foreign colonies strengthened by settlements of Húṇas or other northerners who fled or planted south during the sixth and seventh

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[1] Herodotus, IV. 23. [2] Malcolm's Sikhs, 135. [3] Malcolm's Sikhs, 135.

[4] Ibbetson's Panjáb Census, 192.

[5] It is doubtful if Bháts were not styled Bráhmans. Tod (Annals, 3rd Edition, 602-604) mentions a Bhát village named Bámania.

[6] Jour. As. Ser. VII. Tom. XVI. page 175.

[7] Troyer's Rájataraṅgini, I. 468. The Gaddis or shepherds of the Kángra hills, a frank merry comely race, apparently Śakas (Kángra Gazetteer, I. 92-93) are mainly Khatris including Bráhmans and a few Rajputs. These Bráhmans may be outsiders who have been employed as priests. But as they associate with the Khatris and men of other castes (Ditto, I. 82) they seem more likely to be their old medicine-men or else families of Gaddis set apart for religious duties.

[8] Dabistán-i-Mazáhib, II. 142.

[9] The meaning of their name which the Nágaras of Gujarát approve is city or courtly. Forty years ago (A.D. 1855) in a list prepared for Colonel Jacob (Gov. Sel. New Series XXIII. 29) of a total of 1263 Nágaras only 343 are entered as Bráhmans. The facts that there are Nágaras among Gujarát Wánias; that Nágaras are 50,000 strong among the Gurjjaras of Bulandshahr (N. W. P. Gazetteer, III. 48); and that Nágaras appear as Nagres among Jats (Siálkot Gazetteer, 45) add to the doubt of the correctness of the Gujarát Nágara claim to be Bráhmans. Another class of Bráhmans apparently of Gujar origin are the Pokarnas. See below under Gujar.

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centuries.[1] The Arab references to the white descendants of Turks and Chinese at Cheul one of the Chitpávan head-quarters, to their fire temples and to their company of comrades, *balálahriyah*, who, in White Húṇa fashion were bound to sacrifice themselves on the death of the king, as well as the fame as sailors and merchants of the people of Goa, the ancient seat of the Shenvis, agree with a northern migration by sea to those ports.[2] It is further worthy of note that the fact of a sea migration from the north is still fresh in the traditions of the Haiga Bráhmans of north Kánara. This view of the origin of the west coast Bráhmans has the support of the Bráhmans of northern India who hold that the Maráthás are Persians and the Chitpávans are Persian priests.[3] As among the Sesodias or Gehlots of Udaipur this Bráhman tradition of a Persian connection probably has its origin in the Sassanian coins and in the form of sun and fire worship which were introduced by the White Húṇas with whose settlements along the western coast the Bráhman date of A.D. 600 agrees.[4]

Two established instances of outsiders being admitted to be Bráhmans are the priests of the Bahikas apparently the S'akas of the second or first century before Christ and the priests of the Mihiras or White Húṇas in the late fifth and the sixth centuries after Christ. Though the writer in the Mahábhárata denounces the Bahikas and shews them to be wanting in all the characteristics of Bráhmans he still honours them with the name of Bráhman.[5] In the late fifth and early sixth centuries the horde of Mihiras or White Húṇas were accompanied by Mihira Bráhmans. These strangers, who, according to the Rájataraṅgini were under the special favour of the great White Húṇa conqueror Mihirakula (A.D. 480 - 530),[6] obtained recognition as Bráhmans and still under the name of Magha Bráhmans form one of the leading priestly classes of south Márwár.[7] Many of these Maghas are Shevaks or family

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[1] The strange practice among the Námburi Bráhmans of the Malabár coast, where the eldest son alone marries and the younger sons have connection with Nair women, is so like the irregularities charged against the Bahikas as to suggest an origin in a settlement of refugees from the Sindh coast. Among the senseless Gandharas, Madras, and Bahikas, says the horrified poet, one Bráhman only is born in each family. The other brothers act as they will without restraint. Muir's Sanskrit Texts, II. 483. The suggestion that along the Konkan coast White Húṇa plantations became assimilated with earlier stranger settlements is based partly on Bhinmál traditions that the Agnikula Parihára include two layers an older who are described as Girásiás of Ábu who were raised to be Kshatriyas at the Agnikund and a later described as Rákshás sprung perhaps from a seventh or eighth century Turk. A second detail which supports the suggestion is that when in A.D. 1178 Múlarája II. of Anahilávaḍa distributed the captives of Sháháb-ud-din Ghori's entrapped army he allotted the Afghâns Mughals and others to certain castes in a way that suggests a choice based on the knowledge that the castes in question were or contained an element the same in origin as the foreign newcomers.

[2] Al Masudi's (A.D. 914) Muruj Arab Text, II. 57.

[3] Wilford in Asiatic Researches, X. 91. [4] Wilford in Asiatic Researches, X. 91.

[5] Vivien de St. Martin Geographie Grecque et Latine de L'Inde, 409. Compare the passage quoted in Muir's Sanskrit Texts, II. 483. In Bahika, the West Panjáb, dwell degraded Bráhmans. A Bahika born a Bráhman becomes a Kshatriya, a Vaisya, a Súdra, and eventually a barber. The barber becomes a Bráhman and again a Bráhman is born a slave. Among the Gandháras Madras and Bahikas one Bráhman alone is born in a family, the rest act as they please. A trace of these Bahika or Balhika Bráhmans may remain in the 60,000 Valkels who were created by Brahma to live in Bet and Dwarka and of whom 86 are returned as Guglis or funeral priests in Kachh. Cutch Gazetteer, 47, 48.

[6] Troyer's Rájataraṅgini, I. 307 - 309.

[7] Reinaud's Mémoire Sur L'Inde, 99, 391; Muir's Sanskrit Texts, I. 497.

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priests to Oswál and other Márwár Shrávaks. They are acquainted with the story of their origin given in the Bhavishya Purána. Marriage with local women has blotted out the special characteristics of most, but a few have long narrow faces with high features and sparse lank hair and beard which at once attracts notice. These strangers, whom the Bhavishya Purána specially calls Mihiras, occur in Multán Dwárka Márwár and Káshmir, that is, wherever a leading division of the great Mihira horde settled. The admission of stranger priests required explanation and the tales invented to explain their admission disagree with each other. According to the Bhavishya Purána Gaura-Mukha or white face, the family priest or *purohit* of Ugrasena of Mathura advised that Maghas should be brought from Sakadwipa as priests.[1] According to the Multan legend they were brought by the eagle Garuda and were of three classes Mágasas Mánasas and Mandagas.[2] At Dwárka twelve Mágasas received daughters of the Bhoja priests and so were called Bhojaks, a name which the priests of Jvála-Mukh also bear.[3] Darmsteter remarks that the details, the use of the *avianga* (aivanguin), the five daily worships, the *varshma* or sacred brush and the silent eating, all seem to point to these priests being Zoroastrians or Mobeds,[4] though they were perhaps really priests of the Mithra worship which was then in vogue. In India the Maghas seem to have started either the worship of a combination of the Sun and of S'iva under the name Mihireshwar or a simpler sun worship as at Multán Dwárka and Somnáth.

Of the second type of Bráhman connected with the Skythian invaders, namely local non-Bráhman classes chosen by the northern invaders to be their teachers and priests, examples seem to occur in Sáraswats, Páliwáls, and other Márwár and Kachh Bráhmans who are said to have been specially created to hold a sacrifice or for some other similar purpose.[5] Colonel Tod's details of the desert Bráhman seem to belong to a local un-Bráhman class raised to be priests, as the local Khatris have been raised by the Sikhs, rather than to either a stranger or a degraded class of Bráhmans. The desert Bráhman is a Vaishnava. He does not observe the rules of Manu. He wears the thread but is not clerical. He tills, tends cattle, and barters *ghi* or granulated butter. He does not eat fish or smoke tobacco but eats food cooked by a barber and does not use a hearth. He buries his dead near the threshold, raises a small altar, and sets on the altar an image of Śiva and a water-jar.

Of the third influence of the northern newcomers on Bráhmans, the carrying with them in their wanderings large bodies of Bráhmans, two instances may be cited ; the 10,000 Bráhmans brought into Orissa by the

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[1] Reinaud's Mémoire, 393.
[2] Reinaud's Mémoire, 393 ; Darmsteter Jour. As. X. 68.
[3] Reinaud's Mémoire, 393 ; Kángra Gazetteer, I. 83.
[4] Reinaud Jour. As. X. 69. The Rájataraṅgini (Troyer, I. 307-309) describes them as Gandhára Bráhmans brought by Mihirakula the lowest of Bráhmans accursed children of Mlechchhas who marry their own sisters and intrigue with their sons' wives. These details seem to apply to Magh or Persian priests among whom according to the Dabistán (I. 209 Note 1) connection with daughters was admitted as free from objection. It is notable that, according to the same authority (Ditto, I. 18), the Persians styled their Maghs or excellencies Berman or Bráhman.
[5] Among these classes are the Kandolias (36,000) said to be named after the sage Kanva and to have been created in Sauráshtra by Brahma (Cutch Gazetteer, 48) and the Sarasvats of Kachh, Bikánir, and Kángra (Gazetteer, I. 82) whose name and apparent absence of connection with the Sarasvati river suggest they may have entered Bráhmanism through the broad gate of mind-born sonship.

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Yayati Kesari line of Yavanas at the beginning of the fifth century, and the 25,000 to 50,000 brought by the sister of Jayadratha to teach Hinduism to the Játs and Meds of Sindh. The command of such large masses of Bráhmans explains how the Sákas in the first and second century and the Juán-Juáns and Húṇas in the sixth and seventh centuries were able to introduce Buddhist and Bráhman details into the literature and into the architecture of their settlements in Java Siam and Cambodia. The gap between the Brahman and the Kshatriya is, as has been noticed, crossed by the Kshatriyas who possess Bráhman *gotras*. In Gujarát and Kachh this gap is further filled by the class of Brahma-Kshatris saved according to tradition from the Kshatriya-slaying Parshurám and who, perhaps, have an historic origin in the conversion of Buddhist Kshatriyas or Kshatrapas to be Bráhmans to escape the attacks of Mihirakula or other Parashurám-possessed Bráhmanists.

Among Kshatriyas.

Many difficulties which stand in the way of admitting a newcomer to be a Bráhman disappear in the case of admission into the ruling or warrior class. Even if he did not belong to the sect of king-worshippers, who delighted in the text 'He who humbles himself before a great ruler humbles himself in adoration of the Almighty,'[1] the Bráhman met the conquering king at least halfway. Inscriptions may (A.D. 1016) refer to a Bráhman whose feet kings adored; or (A.D. 973) to the Bráhman as the lord of the earth, but others tell (A.D. 800) of the Bráhman who serves the countenance of the king.[2] The Kángra Valley salutation to the ruling chief Jai Deva, May the Guardian Live, expresses the feeling of most Hindus to their Rája.[3]

Two Hindu theories unite to help the admission of a conqueror to be a Kshatriya. According to Manu a king is made of particles drawn from the essence of the gods. A great divinity lives in a king's body.[4] The tribes of the Lower Indus accepted Alexander as a god-born conqueror.[5] Aśoka (B.C. 250) according to Hiuen Tsiang,[6] gained kingly authority in return for merit acquired in former births. Kanishka, the great Kushán, A.D. 78, before his fight with the Dragon prayed to the Three Precious Ones: 'My abounding merit during former births has brought me to be king of men. By my power I have restrained the strong and conquered the world. Now the onslaught of the Dragon proves the poverty of my merit. Let the full power of my merit appear.' Flames burst forth from the king's shoulders and the Dragon incidence was at an end.[7] So the statue of Avalokiteśvara (A.D. 607 told Shri Harsha of

[1] Dabistán-i-Mazáhib, II. 56. An Arab who was in India about A.D. 750 (Kitáb-al-Fihrist quoted in Reinaud's Mémoire Sur L'Inde, 294) describes the Hindu sect of Rejábhaktis or king-worshippers as believing that the divinity becomes incarnate in the princes of the age and that if a man pleases the king he will go to heaven. Another Arab writer of the early eleventh century, whose patron was the brother of Mahmúd of Ghaznavi, mentions a sect who argued that king-worship was in agreement with the action of Providence in placing kings over other men (Ditto, 294). In Udaipur during the rains when the guardian sun is hidden by clouds and food cannot be eaten, the guardian Rána shows his face from a window in his palace and evil is dispelled. So the Mughal emperors appeared on a veranda and were worshipped. Reinaud (Ditto, 294) further notices that in A.D. 871 the king of Arachosia made his people worship an image of himself seated on a golden throne. The Cæsars and the Arsaks claimed and enjoyed the worship of themselves. In ancient Irán the last of the Djems, tempted of the devil, ordered his people to worship images of himself (Gobineau Histoire Des Perses, I. 112).

[2] Journal Royal Asiatic Society, VI. 402-403. [3] Kángra Gazetteer, I. 85.

[4] Troyer's Rajataraṅgini, I. 487. [5] Arrian, VI. xiv. [6] Beal's Buddhist Records, II. 88.

[7] Beal's Buddhist Records, I. 65.

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Magadha (A.D. 607 - 641) that Śrí Harsha in his former existence had been a hermit and as a hermit had amassed a power of merit which led to his being born a king's son.[1] So, like Harsha, the emperor Akbar, the former Hindu ascetic, dug from the floor of his former hermitage at the meeting of the Ganges and Jamna his old appliances for penance.[2] This action of Akbar and his desire to be the welder of Hindu and Muslim illustrate the position of many foreign rulers who gained a high place among Hindus. Such was the position of the Gurjjar king, of the eighth and ninth century, described in the Rás Mála as a worshipper of Deos, that is still at heart a foreigner who had adopted none of the elaborate systems of Hindu ritual, a believer in luck, interested and amused by the mystic and magic powers of rival Buddhists Jains and Bráhmans, patronizing one or other form of faith as policy counselled, as whim prompted, as the charm of woman persuaded, or as the power of some inspired teacher and wonder-worker compelled; or still more closely like the genial astute Kublai Khán the great Manchu emperor of China (A.D. 1260 - 1290) playing one against the other, the jade-stone weather-doctor Shaman or Devman, the Buddhist, the Muslim, and the Christian in search of the luck element and of the softening civilising power in each faith.[3] Like Kublai and Akbar the strong shrewd Chinese-Turk Kadphises of the century before or Kanishka of the century after Christ, failing to find in Greek Zoroastrian or other foreign faith, a bond able to weld his old Baktrian subjects with his new Hindus, sought among local Indian beliefs what form of Bráhman bull, trident, or man-god, or what phase of Buddhism would establish the strongest and kindliest union between his Central Asian Kusháns and his Hindus. Kadphises remained uncertain. In his old age, under the commanding genius of Nágárjuna, Kanishka worked out a broader Buddhism which more than any previous local faith united himself and his followers with the people of India. That the third in descent (A.D. 140) from the Kushán Kanishka bore the Hindu name Vasudeva, that the son-in-law of the S'aka Nahapána (A.D. 120) was Ushavadáta, and that the son of Chashṭana the S'aka, founder of the Káthiáwár Kshatrapas, was Jayadáman (A.D. 140) show with what certainty foreign conquerors became Hindus. About the same time (A.D. 150) the Palhava chief S'ivaskanda of Kañchipura or Conjiveram forty-six miles south-west of Madras, though a foreigner and the son of a foreigner, was admitted a member of the sacred clan of the ancient Rishi Bháradvája.[4] General Cunningham, who could not accept the view that foreigners might become high caste Hindus, admits an exception in favour of the great White Húṇa conqueror Mihirakula (A.D. 480 - 530) who patronised Bráhmans and used the Vrishadhwaja or Bull standard, a recumbent bull on the top of a staff.[5] The Marátha chiefs Shiváji and Sindhia are modern examples of how individual success in war is admitted to override the laws of caste.[6]

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[1] Beal's Buddhist Records, I. 213. [2] Tod's Annals of Rajasthán, I. 234 note.

[3] Yule's Marco Polo, I. xlvi. Compare according to Rubruquis (A.D. 1253) the Mongol emperor Mangu saying that all men worshipped the same god and should be allowed to worship him in the way they liked. (Howorth's Mongols, I. 190.) So the emperor Jehángir (A.D. 1617) spoke well of all religions. The Muhammadan religion is good, the Christian is good, the rest are good. (Terry's Voyage, 418.) On the other hand like the great White Húṇa Mihirakula who bowed to no one but Siva, the religion that stirred Dárá the son of Aurangzíb was the praise of Rudra. (Orme's Historical Fragments, 245.)

[4] Foulkes in Journal Royal Asiatic Society, XXI. 1120 or XXIII. 1892.

[5] Numismatic Oriental Congress, I. 230.

[6] The Ratnágiri Shindes are the sons of Kunbi women by Bráhman fathers. Old

Appendix A.

THE FOREIGNER.

Among Kshatriyas.

Inscriptions establish instances of private foreigners being received as Hindus. Rudradáman's Pahlava engineer (A.D. 150) at Junágadh has a Sanskrit or Sanscritised personal name, Suviśákha, while his father's name Kulaipa is foreign.[1] In a cave inscription at Udayagiri dated A.D. 400 is a son Vishṇudása of a father Chhagalaga.[2]

During the period of northern invasions it may never have been difficult for an individual foreign conqueror, or for a private foreigner of good position, to be made a Kshatriya or a Rajput. How far was it feasible to allow the conqueror's tribe or horde to find a place in the upper ranks of Hinduism? Cases can hardly have been uncommon in which the conqueror left to the Bráhman little choice of action. Apart from compulsion and apart from the working of the great law of successful invasion, namely that victors marry the wives and daughters of the conquered,[3] instances remain which seem to show that at least for the upper class of foreigners the door of admission was thrown wide open. From the details given below it will be seen that even the Sesodias or Gohels, the highest tribe of Rajputs, were foreigners apparently of the Mihira or Med tribe of the great Gujar or White Húṇa horde (A.D. 450 - 550). In addition to the case of the Agnikulas, to which reference is made below, several important instances of admission of foreigners have been recorded. Early in the eleventh century when the Sindh Jats took the Musalmán capital of Mansura, seventy miles north of Haidarábád, they forced the Musalmáns to foreswear their religion.[4] Siddharája Jaisingh (A.D. 1094 - 1143) had great trouble with the Bhúta or demon

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Bráhman families in south Ratnágiri keep one or two Kunbi women or Marátha women to do housework and as concubines. The women are called Kunbins. Their children are known by their personal name followed by *nisbat*, depending on, and the surname of the Bráhman family not the name of any one of the family (A. M. T. Jackson Esquire, I.C.S.) According to Wilford (Asiatic Researches, X. 91) the case of the Maráthás was a practical illustration of the Pandit's rule 'Who acts as a Kshatriya him you must consider a Kshatriya.' Whatever the origin of the Marátha, the Bráhmans of north India believed them to be Persians who had come into India about A.D. 600. In spite of this the Bráhmans admitted the Maráthás to be Kshatriyas and their priestly class to be Bráhmans. On the strength of the Marátha and other examples the poet and scholar Leyden wrote in 1809-10 (Morton's Life of Leyden, lxvii.): 'The reproach of Pariar is what we have tamely and strangely submitted to for long. We might with equal facility have assumed the respectable character of Chatriya or Rájaputra.' Leyden's personal force of mind might have gained for himself an after-death niche among the intelligences or *devs*. His overweening spirit failed to see what Wilford (As. Res. X. 90) is careful to point out that only by conformity to Hindu ways, with perhaps the added merit of leading an assault on Islám, can a European gain a place as a Kshatriya. The greater political value of his championship the freer would the new-come Rajput be from orthodox restrictions.

[1] Bombay Gazetteer, I. 35. The defeat of the S'akas by the Guptas at the close of the fourth and the opening of the fifth centuries, and also the evil reputation for cruelty of the great Bráhman champion Mihirakula (A.D. 480 - 540), perhaps made the Bráhmans concoct a counter-charge of oppression against the Buddhist S'akas. To Alberuni (A.D. 1030, Sachau's Edn. II. 6) the S'aka was described as tyrannising India from between the river Sindh and the ocean to the heart of Áryavarta, interdicting Hindus from considering or representing themselves as anything but S'akas. Other traces of the belief that the S'akas did away with caste and enforced the S'aka as the highest and ruling class occur in the Chola or Coromandel coast (Journal Ben. Soc. VII. Part I. 376) tradition that Shálivához, that is Kanishka, overthrew all caste privileges and so long as his power lasted allowed no division into castes.

[2] Early Gujarát Bombay Gazetteer, I. 64 note 3, 65 ; Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 3.

[3] Compare Burnes' Bukhára, I. 195. It is common among the Turks to marry the wives of enemies captured in battle.

[4] Kámil-al-Twárikh in Reinaud's Mémoire, 272.

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Barbara and his followers who were Mlechchhas or foreigners. This Barbara was perhaps a mercenary chief under Muhammad Bahálim who in A.D. 1118 built the fort of Nágor in the Siwálik Hills. Bahálim marched against his master Bahrám Sháh of Ghazni (A.D. 1116-1157) and near Multán was defeated and himself and his ten sons were slain.[1] After this defeat Siddharája seems to have overpowered Barbara's followers and forced them to become Hindus and join or form the Bábria element in the Káthi tribes of south-east Káthiáwár. Fifty years later (A.D. 1178) the surrender of the bulk of the army[2] of Shahábuddin Ghori, caught in the ravines of Ábu, gave the Gujarát king Múlarája II. (A.D. 1177-1179) an unusual chance of turning Musalmáns into Hindus. According to the Tarik-i-Sorath the female captives, Turkish Afghán and Mughal, were disposed of in agreement with the precept of the Kurán (xxiv. 25) 'The good women to the good men.' As regards the male prisoners the respectable men were compelled to shave their heads and were enrolled among the Chakavál and Wádhel tribes of Rajputs. The lower men were allotted to the castes of Kolis, Khánts, Bábriás, and Mers. All were allowed to keep their own wedding and funeral ceremonies and to remain aloof from other castes.[3] These details are valuable. They probably roughly show what was done with such of the hordes of northerners as suffered defeat from Chandragupta II. (A.D. 396-415), Yasodharmman of Málwa in A.D. 530, and Prabhákaravardhana and his son S'rí Harsha at the close of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh centuries.[4] Readiness to accept the foreign conqueror as worshipful is shown by Indians coming to Sindh in A.D. 713 to get

[1] Elliot's History, II. 279-80; Rás Mála, I. 175.

[2] Barbara the leader of the Rákshasas or Mlechchhas, after his conquest by Siddharája (A.D. 1140), gave valuable presents and served Siddharája like other Rajputs. [Indian Antiquary, IV. 2.] The Bábriás form four of the subdivisions of the Avratiya section of the Káthis. The Káthis are called Bábriás in the legend of the fire temple at Kandoba in Kachh. [Journal Bombay Geographical Society, II. 59-60 for August 1838.] These Babriás seem to have been Hindus or at least temple-builders and idol-worshippers. [Compare Elliot, II. 237 note 1.] That many detachments of invaders must have broken from the main hordes of foreign invaders and like the Barbara started on their own account and were absorbed is probable. The parallel case of the 17,000 tents of the Oirad who deserted Ghazan Khán of Persia in A.D. 1295 is interesting. The Oirads made their way to Damascus and were well received. Their heathen practices gave trouble and they were moved to the coast of Palestine. Many died. The rest embraced Islám, spread and were absorbed. Their sons and daughters were admired for their beauty. Yule's Marco Polo, I. 272.

[3] Bayley's Gujarát, 35 note.

[4] Certain details in Hiuen Tsiang's narrative of S'rí Harsha, the Bais or Vaishya ruler of Magadha, among them his readiness to do homage to the Chinese emperor as if to an old suzerain, his unlocal view of the different Hindu religions, his want of an ancestral territory, and the fact that all the nations he overcame submitted with face to the north, raise the suspicion that, in spite of the long-established air, in the accounts, S'rí Harsha's father Prabhákaravardhana may have been a foreign invader. This is in agreement with the details of his father's opening campaigns which seem not the expansion of a local Hindu kingdom but the rapid progress of a successful invader from the west of the Indus into the heart of Northern India. In further support of this view it may be noticed that according to Bennett (Indian Antiquary, I. (1872), 265 and Madras Jl. of Lit. and Science, 1887-8, page 74) in eastern Oudh in former times S'rí Harsha's caste Bais was the openest gate for the passage of foreigners into the fraternity of Rajputs. As regards the description of his father's conquests as those of a local chief or champion resisting invaders the same device is adopted in the Rajatarangini (Troyer, I. 32) account of the doings of the great foreigner Mihirakula; 'When Kashmir was ravaged by hordes of foreigners Mihirakula arose and by his vigour seemed like Death.' Al Masudi's (A.D. 915) name Kouresch (Reinaud's Mémoire Sur L'Inde, 138) might seem to favour connection with a western tribe which afterwards embraced Islám. But Al Masudi's Kouresch is only a miswriting for Harsha.

pictures of their new Arab conquerors,[1] and by the great Solaṅki Siddharája (A.D. 1094 - 1143) when he had finished his new shrine at Siddhpur setting up images of horse-lords and other great rulers with a statue of himself praying them even if the country was laid waste to spare the temple.[2]

Alexander sacrificing to the rivers, the kindly but somewhat confused identification of Hercules Bacchus and Apollo with Indian deities, made it easy for the all-knowing Yavana, whose strength was greater than the strength of other men, to pass into Hinduism.[3] Menander (B.C. 120) whose power seems to have spread as far south as Káthiáwár was so dear to the Buddhists that seven cities fought for his ashes. Under their leader S'ivaskanda a large body of Parthians or Pahlavas for several centuries continued to form a separate and widespread class of Hindus.[4] In making easy the reception into Hinduism of many of the conquering foreigners of the centuries before and after the Christian era the Buddhist may have had the advantage of being able to point to the S'akas Mallas and Lichhavis who, at that time recent arrivals, are supposed to have played so leading a part during the life and at the death of Gautama.[5] The Bráhmans seem to have met objections to the admission of foreign tribes by mixing the names of the newcomers with the names of tribes in south and east India and classing them as Kshatriyas who had become impure from failing to perform Bráhman rites.[6] In certain cases the form of name made admission easy. Kshatrapa was close in sound, perhaps seemed close in meaning, to Kshatriya.[7] Kushán

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[1] Beladuri (A.D. 950) in Reinaud's Fragments, xxiii. [2] Rás Málá, I. 116.

[3] Mahábharata in St. Martin's Etude Sur la Geographie Grecque et Latine de L'Inde, 192.

[4] The wide spread and also the extreme wildness and low type of many classes and tribes in Madras who bear the name Palla or Pallava are probably due to the existence of other local words similar in sound to Palhava. Some of these lower classes may have adopted the name Palhava because they were dependent on some local Palhava ruler. These and the other Pallas were so entirely southern in appearance and character that the claim of any class of Palhavas to be northerners was long disputed. The fact that the leading Palhavas of the Dakhan drew their name and a share of their blood from the north is now admitted. See Journal Royal Asiatic Soc. XIII. 1111; Indian Antiquary, II. 156 and V. 50-154; Fleet's Kánarese Dynasties, 316-317.

[5] According to the Maháwanso during Gautama's life certain newcome S'akas or Skythians and Lichhavis took a leading part in the first spread of Buddhism. Though in the case of the S'akas this is not impossible the accuracy of the account seems open to question. The Maháwanso was not written till the fifth century A.D. when the older works on which it was based were lost and when the author was in a position to introduce such details as in his opinion ought to have happened (Fergusson's Indian Architecture, 179). It was natural that in praise of Kanishka the great reviver of Buddhism, stories should be invented in which S'akas figure as close friends of Gautama Buddha during his lifetime.

[6] According to Mr. Hewett (Journal Royal Asiatic Society, XX. 352) as far back as say B.C. 1000 non-Aryan rulers were admitted as twiceborn at first under the name of Rajanya or royal and later as Kshatriyas. According to Mr. Hewett (Ditto, 338 - 339) the evidence of early and continuous intermixture between Aryan and earlier races is overwhelming.

[7] The late Dr. Bhagvánlál continued (Early Gujarát, Vol. I. Part I. 21) to hold that the true meaning of Kshatrapa was the ruler of the Kshatra or warrior class. That the Indian Kshatrapas almost from the first claimed to be Kshatriyas is supported by the name Kshatriya given by the Śaka Ushavadáta (A.D. 130) to a tribe of the kin of the Kshatrapa Chastana (Bhagvánlál's Gujarát, pages 26, 29). It is further supported by the quarrel between the Mahákshatrapa Rudradáman (A.D. 143 - 170 ?) and the Yaudheyas of northern India which was due to the Yaudheyas assuming the title of heroes among the Kshatriyas which seems to imply a refusal on the part of the Yaudheyas to admit the

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suggested relationship with Kusha son of Ráma: the worship of fire, the worship of the sun showed solar descent, perhaps the moon-meaning of the Chinese Yuetchi suggested a moon origin. To the Buddhist the willing Śaka was acceptable as of the honoured Śakya family of Gautama.[1] Either Jue-Jue or Khazar was easily Indianised into Gurjjara or Gurchara the cowherd.[2] Pála the word for a foreign nomad with the name of a guardian placed before it became good Hindu.[3] For other names and tribes there remained the genial theory of a home return. That the leaders of any of the invading tribes the Śakas, Kusháns, Kedâras, Avárs, Húṇas, Khazars or Turks were the descendants of Indians who had passed west and north into Central Asia is unlikely. Still Indian influence both Buddhist and Bráhman had spread north of the Jaxartes: Indian trade was the mainstay of the marts both to the south and to the north of the Oxus: and north-east, far down the Tarim valley, Indian letters and to some extent the use of Sanskrit had been adopted. Considering the mixed character of all invading hordes, how the peaceful conquered is forced into the front of the mass, it does not seem improbable that every invasion brought with it an element Indian in language letters and religion perhaps to some extent Indian in race.[4]

The lists of tribes of rusty or degraded Kshatriyas contain many Indian southern and eastern names. The northern tribes whose names most frequently recur are, in the lists in Manu,[5] Chínas, Daradas, Gandháras, Kambojas, Kankas, Kirátas, Kshatriyas, Palhavas, Paradas, Śakas, Savaras, Tusháras, Varvaras, and Yavanas. The Mahábhárata lists

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Kshatrapa claim to rank as Kshatriyas. This claim of the Kshatrapas to be called Kshatriyas explains Ptolemy's (A.D. 150) Khatrioi settled on both banks of the Indus. McCrindle's Ptolemy, 141.

[1] From the first the Buddhist seems to have made little difficulty about admitting outsiders as Kshatriyas. Among the converts who claimed a share of Buddha's relics were four of apparently un-Indian origin, the Bulukas, Krodtyas, Lichhavis, and S'akyas. Rockhill's Life of Buddha, 145.

[2] Compare Oppert (Madras Journal of Literature and Science for 1888-89 page 196) from the country Kera the people would be called Kerawas. The ruling caste if they accepted Bráhmanism would be traced to the Kurus; the lower if they refused to leave their old priests would be degraded into Kurus or Dwarves. So the Kaurs of Chhota Nágpur though ultra-early affect to be remnants of the Kurus (Ditto, 187 note).

[3] Tod's Annals, I. 119.

[4] According to the tradition of the Lunar or Somvansi race after the defeat of Krishna in Dwárka his people retired west and north to Gajni and Samarkand. They were driven back into India and passing through the Panjáb settled in the desert and founded Jesalmir (A.D. 1157). Tod's Annals, Third Edn. I. 78. To this legend the objection is that the leading Yádavas who claim a return to India as a home are the last-comers the Bhattis the Chudásamas and the Jhádejás all of whom are probably of Turkish origin. Among the references to Indian settlements and influence to the west of the Indus and north into Central Asia, the following may be quoted. The Chinese traveller of B.C. 128 describes the Indians as holding Swát Pesháwar and Bannu (Cunningham's Anc. Geog. page 17). Rawlinson (Herodotus, IV. 217) has a doubtful note about warlike Indians of the Kábul valley sending colonies to north Sogdia. In A.D. 516 (Parker's A Thousand Years of the Tartars, 165) the leader among the Juán-Juán in Central Asia was called Polomen or Bráhman. Hiuen Tsiang (A.D. 630) found at Khotan in the Tarim valley emigrants from Takshásilá in the Panjáb who were Indians in letters and dress (Beal's Buddhist Records, II. 309). In Tokhára, that is Baktria, he found (Beal's Life, 47) a Bráhman who had come to recite charms to remove the sickness of the prince. Still in spite of traces of distant plantations in the time of Hiuen Tsiang, as in the first and in the fourth centuries before Christ, the existing frontier was roughly the border of India. The land further west was Mlechchha (Mi-li-ku). Beal's Life of Hiuen Tsiang, 57.

[5] Manu, X. 43, 45; Muir's Sanskrit Texts, I. 481-2.

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give the same names except that they omit Gandháras, Kankas, Kshatriyas, Palhavas, and Paradas.[1] Some Puranic lists omit Gandháras, Kankas, Kshatriyas, Savaras, Tusháras, and Yavanas.[2] Others include Gardabhins, Maunas, Śakas, Turushkas, and Yavanas.[3] Number five of the Aśoka edicts (B.C. 225) gives Gandharvas Kambojas and Yonas. A Násik cave inscription of the second century A.D. notes three northern tribes Arsaks, Mundas, and Sus.[4] In the eighth century A.D. the Mlechchhas mentioned in the Mudrárákshasa are Chedis, Gandháras, Húṇas, Kambojas, Khaśas, Kiratas, Śakas, and Yavanas.[5]

Besides the teachableness and modesty of the Śaka, the difficulties in the way of receiving into Hinduism these and other northern tribes were lessened by the fact that certain of the invaders entered India as allies and not as conquerors. The creating, that is the calling in as allies, of numerous tribes of foreigners both by Vasishta the ecclesiastic and by Vishwámitra the warrior priest was repeated by the Bráhmans of Patna in their struggles with the Nandia kings. These tactics were again prominent during the early centuries after Christ in the contests between Bráhman and Buddhist, a revival, if not the original, of the early quarrel between the ecclesiastic and the warrior priest.[6] The enemies of Skandagupta (A.D. 454-470) called in the Húṇas as their allies. It would seem at first that in the Bráhman and Buddhist competition for foreign proselytes the Bráhman started heavily handicapped compared either with the cosmopolitan Buddhist or with the Jain who maintained the old theory of the warrior pontiff.[7] Still in certain respects the Bráhman had special facilities in accepting the newcomers as Kshatriyas. The strong fire-reverencing element among the Kushán, the Juán-Juán, the White Húṇa, and the Turk separate them from the wild Anagnitra or Fireless and would enable them to join with the Bráhman in his prayer 'Agni drive from us tribes who keep no sacred fire.'[8] The newcomers would thus rank as neighbour worshippers of Agni, and would therefore be alien neither in race nor in worship.[9] Further in his competition with the Buddhist the Bráhman could bring forward traces of ancient friendliness to foreigners and adduce evidence that the hand of brotherhood had once been stretched forth so freely that, according to the Mahábhárata, the Anus, Druhyus, Purus, Turvaśas and Yádus, which between them cover at least all neighbouring northern tribes, are declared to be, if not Aryan, at least not alien.[10] Again the

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[1] Muir's Sanskrit Texts, I. 482.

[2] Journal Royal Asiatic Society, VI.; Ind. Ant. IV. 166.

[3] Tod's Annals, Third Edn. I. 194.

[4] Bombay Gazetteer, XVI. 630.

[5] Wilson's Works, XII. 179, 227.

[6] Vishwámitra's foreign supporters, spoken of as his sons, were Andhras, Mútibas, Pulindas, Paundras, and Sabaras (Muir's Sanskrit Texts, I. 358). Vasishta's foreign allies, created or collected partly by the bellowing of his cow partly out of the issues of the cow, were Dravidas, Kánchis, Kirátas, Palhavas, Paundras, Sabaras, Śakas, Sarabas, Sinhálas, Vasas, and Yavanas (Ditto, I. 391, 396, 397, 398). According to the Mudrárákshasa of the eighth century the Patna Bráhmans failed to keep to their agreement with the Yavanas and were punished by an invasion led by Malayaketu the son of the Yavana leader.

[7] That foreigners might rise to the highest posts in Buddhism perhaps hardly requires proof. To the case of Menander being worshipped as a Buddhist saint may be added the choice by Aśoka (B.C. 250) of a Yavana to be the apostle to Aparántika that is the Konkan.

[8] Muir's Sanskrit Texts, II. 390.

[9] Journal Royal Asiatic Society, XX. 426.

[10] Journal Royal Asiatic Society, XX. 426.

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Mahábhárata ranks Dasyus or strangers among the classes to whom may be preached a high religious life, the performance of Vedic ceremonies, the sacrificing to the fathers, the building of wells water-houses and rest-houses, the making of gifts to Bráhmans and of offerings at sacrifices, the cultivating of a mind innocent true meek pure and harmless.[1] Indra says, 'At present strangers (*Dasyus*) may be found in all castes living under other garbs among men of the four orders.' This, he adds, is the golden age. A time will come when hypocrites will swarm and the excellent path of duty will be forsaken. The true way of life was preached to Andhras, Chínas, Gandháras, Kambojas, Kankas, Kirátas, Madras, Palhavas, Paundras, Pulindas, Ramaṭhas, Śakas, Savaras, Tusháras, Varvaras, and Yavanas, equally to men sprung from Bráhmans and Kshatriyas and to persons of the Vaishya and Śúdra castes. On such broad lines of duty and of privilege it is easy to understand how large classes of conquerors adopted forms of Bráhmanism, and, taking Bráhmans with them, conquered and settled in Burma, Siam, Sumatra, Java, Cambodia, and Borneo. To only two cases were the Bráhmans unable to apply this wide law of brotherhood, to the case of lower class immigrants who refused to give up their coarse practices and beliefs and to the case of the Musalmán whom no beauty of doctrine or ritual, no higher ideal of conduct, no proof of kindlier government could bring to tolerate the notion of becoming Hindu.

In India foreign conquerors fell into two leading classes:

(*a*) Those who kept to their old names and either never made use of or else forfeited their position as Kshatriyas.

(*b*) Those who by performing certain rites and by devotion to Bráhmans were cleansed from the dust of their ignorance and obtained a place among or succeeded to the empty room of the early Kshatriyas.

Among the class who failed to take advantage of their chance of becoming Kshatriyas the Bráhman writers would probably include all who had become famous for their staunchness to Buddhism as Gandháras, Kambojas, Kedáras, and Śakas. Also under this class would come those whom later conquerors or local revivals of power had driven from rule. The Pahlavas, Śakas, and Yavanas, broken by Gautamiputra about A.D. 150 in the Dakhan and perhaps in Málwa; the Śakas overthrown by Chandragupta II. in the North-West Provinces and in the Panjáb A.D. 395-415; the White Húṇas defeated by Yaśodharmman of Málwa near Multán about A.D. 530; and Turks and White Húṇas beaten by Śrí Harsha early in the seventh century. Some one of these local champions is perhaps introduced as Ságara who made the earth a mass of mud with the flesh and blood of thousands of Kambojas, Kirátas, Śakas, Savaras, and Varvaras.[2] After each of these reverses sections of the foreign tribes who had risen to the position of leaders must along with power have lost their chief claim to respect and so be fairly described as degraded Kshatriyas. The result is the tale of king Ságara, possibly a reference to the victories of the great Samudragupta A.D. 370-395, who after recovering his father's kingdom from the Haihayas was persuaded by his priest Vasishta to be satisfied with the destruction of the Haihayas and to spare the Kambojas, Pahlavas, Paradas, Śakas, and Yavanas provided they gave up their caste and all association with the twiceborn. Ságara agreed. He made the Yavanas

[1] Journal Royal Asiatic Society, XX. 426.

[2] Muir's Sanskrit Texts, I. 483.

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shave their heads, the Śakas shave half their heads, the Paradas wear long hair, and the Palhavas wear the beard. Bráhmans deserted them and they became Mlechchhas.[1] It is remarkable that neither Húṇas, Gurjjaras, nor Turks are among the tribes who forfeited the high place they once held among Hindus. The explanation seems to be that the bulk of the lapsed Kshatriyas represent those foreign conquerors who adopted Buddhism. This certainly is true of Yavanas, Śakas, Kambojas, and the earlier Palhavas and Paradas.[2] Those tribes which, like the White Húṇas and the Turks from their first arrival opposed Buddhism and favoured Bráhmanism, do not appear in these lists because they did not forfeit their rank as Kshatriyas. The highest of them as the Húṇas gained a place in the royal list. With some it was enough to endow Bráhmans with gifts and to follow the Kshatriya rules of conduct. Others, chosen to be the special champions of Bráhmanism, were admitted as Kshatriyas only after purification by fire. The leading instance of such admission is the case of those who are known as Agnikula or Fire-clan Rajputs. Though the evidence is neither complete nor free from inconsistency the result seems established that the four tribes of the Agnikulas, Chohán Parmár Parihára and Solaṅki, belong to the fifth and sixth century horde, of which the strength were Gurjjaras, probably Khazars,[3] and of whom under Dadda III. (A.D. 680-700) the Broach division was raised from Gurjjaras to be Kshatriyas.[4] It is worthy of remark that in the Bombay Konkan the Bráhman name Chitpávan is supposed to mean Pyre-Pure and that in the south of India a similar purification by fire has been adopted and a corresponding set of outside tribes, including Pallis and others, have been

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1 The Harivansha and the Vishnu Purana quoted in Muir's Sanskrit Texts, I. 486-487. Alberuni (Sachau's Ed. II. 60) notices that this is the proper way for each of the tribes named to wear their hair and is not the result of the order of an Indian king. We should be thankful, he says, to the good Ságara for not forcing us to adopt Indian customs. Other tribes who were compelled to give up their position in caste were Choras (Coromandel), Dárvas, Keralas, Kolisarpas (Nágas?), and Mahishas. With the tale of Ságara enforcing the varied cutting of hair compare the Mughal Bahádur Shah's order (A.D. 1710) to annoy the Sikhs, whom Nának had commanded to grow both the head hair and the beard, that Hindus of every tribe should cut off their hair. Forster's Travels, I. 265 (A.D. 1782).

2 The time to which this great change seems to apply is during the seventh and eighth centuries when in the decline of Buddhism the reformed Bráhmanism started in the pride of its strength, when (A.D. 642) the Bráhman or rather Bráhmanist Chachh (probably a Turk conqueror from Chachh or Sash that is Tashkand on the south bank of the Jaxartes) drove Buddhism out of the south Panjáb and Sindh; when Bráhmanism became supreme in Kábul; and when, in Magadha, Viswasphatka (Vishnu Purána, IV. 24, Wilson's Works, IX. 216) established Kaivartas, Pulindas, and Yadus, raised Bráhmans to power, and extirpated the Kshatriyas.

One chief ground for the Bráhman dislike of the Buddhist religion was that it was based on the teaching of a Kshatriya and not on the teaching of a Bráhman. How, asks Manu, can a Kshatriya devise a pure system of conduct if he transgresses his own order and assumes the function of teaching. Muir's Sanskrit Texts, I. 509.

3 According to Tod (Annals of Rajasthán, II. 2 note 9) no trace of a Rajput remains earlier than A.D. 400. The statement, that in the distribution of territory the Indra-raised Paramára gets Ábu Dhár and Ujjain; the Brahma-created Solaṅki Anhalpur; the Siva-sprung Parihára, Márwár; and the Vishnu-formed Chauhán Makávati Nagari, shows by the mention of the Solaṅki at Anhalpur that this distribution cannot be older than the tenth century.

4 Bhagvánlál's Early Gujarát, Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I. Part I. 116-117. The strong element of fire worshippers in the fifth century horde would make a fire baptism a popular initiation. The rite would also have a special significance if Abul Fazl's (Gladwin's Ain-i-Akbari, II. 43) tale is true that before this the Buddhists had put a stop to fire worship.

Appendix A.
THE FOREIGNER.
Among Kshatriyas.

raised to be Rajputs under the name of Vanniyar or Fire-sprung.[1] Either the Agnikula or a similar reception of foreigners is mentioned in an Ábu inscription which states that after the original sun lineage was worked out the lord Vachha of the exalted Agara race, in combination with the moon,[2] started the Chandravansa and Vachhya clans. Wilson seems to make Vachha the head of the Sakhambari or Sámbhar Chohâns. Hiuen Tsiang's account of Kshatriyas somewhat doubtfully suggests that some of them were foreigners. The Kshatriya caste, he says, have for ages been the governing class. At the same time the actual kings are people who by usurpation and bloodshed have raised themselves to power. He adds: "Though a distinct (separate or foreign?) caste they are regarded as honourable." The name Kshatriya adopted by the Kshatrapas or S'akas and probably by White Húṇa or other later conquerors survives in the Khatris an important class in Northern India and in Sindh and to a less extent in Gujarát. They are a fair and handsome people priests of Sikhs though seldom themselves Sikhs, officials, traders, and skilled craftsmen who travel[3] to Afghanistán and Central Asia. The Rors or Roras common in south Panjáb, from the old White Húṇa capital of Aror, are Khatris and are not unlikely to be of White Húṇa descent.[4] In Káshmir the Kakkas and Gaddis are mostly Khatris. The Khakas who hold the Pishin valley are also Khatris,[5] and a trace of the tribe survives as a surname among the Brahma-Kshatris of Kachh. The local name for Kanishka's (A.D. 78) great Vihar at Peshawar Gor-Katri, a name known to Abul Fazl (A.D. 1600) and to Babar (A.D. 1500), is generally translated the Trader's House.[6] It seems probable that the name is a trace of the great Kushán builder either as Kshatrapa or Kshatriya an adaptation on which as has been shown the S'akas were careful to insist.

In spite of the development of exclusiveness which accompanied the Bráhman restoration to power (A.D. 700-1000) the principle of adopting strangers to be Kshatriyas was too useful to Bráhmans to be abandoned.[7]

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[1] Madras Jour. of Lit. and Science for 1887-88.

[2] Asiatic Researches, XVI. 134. Maisey (Sánchi, 61 note 1) names the additional or fourth class the Nágavansi a convenient and probably correct term as there is evidence (*a*) that foreign tribes were vaguely called Nágas; and (*b*) that Nágas were admitted to be Rajputs.

[3] Beal's Buddhist Records, I. 82.

[4] Compare Ibbetson's Panjáb Census Paragraphs 539-541.

[5] Cunningham's Anc. Geog. 86. Cunningham notices a trace of Khatris in Bághalkand or Rewa under the name Dev Parsas or Kshetris. Arch. Survey, XIX. 3.

[6] Cunningham's Anc. Geog. 81.

[7] The exclusiveness which (Reinaud's Mémoire Sur L'Indé, 24, 31) Ibn Haukal (A.D. 950)) and Alberuni (A.D. 1030) notice as the chief characteristic of the Hindus of their time was due partly to the Bráhman ascendancy in India and partly to the contempt and hate of their Muhammadan neighbours. So long as the Buddhist and the Bráhman were at the grapple the mind that guided the counsels of the Bráhmans was the political divine satisfied with the general admission of the overlordship of Bráhmans. In the day of their local success the ecclesiastic became the guide, magnifying the position and claims of Bráhmans, laying on their followers burdens which no highspirited stranger would stoop to bear. On the side of the invaders the change was still greater. Scorn and contempt replace the former worship of Bráhmans and the longing to learn how to become a Hindu. Alberuni (Sachau, I. 179) with all his Hindu leanings and learning says: 'Many Hindu customs differ from those of our country to a degree which seems monstrous. One might suppose they had intentionally changed them into the opposite for our customs do not resemble theirs but are the reverse. If ever a Hindu custom resembles ours it has certainly the opposite meaning.' One of the 'monstrous customs' detailed by a contemporary of Alberuni's (Reinaud's Mémoire, 295) is that when an Indian was made prisoner or became a Musalmán before he could be let back into Hinduism, his head and body were shaved and he was covered from head to foot with cow-dung cow-urine and milk.

Appendix

THE FOREIGNER

Among Kshatriyas

The practice is still in favour. In the Central Provinces the Garh-Mandala Rájás (near Jabalpur) though claiming a Rajput origin and marrying with Rajputs are half-Gonds, and in Chhota-Nágpur Kol and Munda chieflets claim to be Rájputs.[1] In East Bengal the Rája who governs Hill Tipperah calls himself a Hindu of the Khatri caste. The people are not Hindus; they deny that their chief is a Hindu. If he was not bone of our bone and blood of our blood, how should we pay him tribute.[2] In the Chittagong hills the Chukmas, a non-Hindu tribe, as well as the chief have come under Bráhman influence. They have abandoned Arakanese as their dialect; they observe the Hindu Lakhi and Durga Puja festivals; they consult Hindus and begin to find they are of the Hindustán caste of Khatris.[3] In Java in the early sixteenth century (A.D. 1510) Parameshwara the king of Sumatra was a Hindu. His son by a Chinese woman was called Rajput.[4]

In the north of India in the Kángra Valley till comparatively lately the population had not stiffened into fixed local layers. Formerly the power of raising a low tribesman to high social position lay with the chief. But since the spread of Bráhmanism, the rank of Rajput is gained either by forcing a way into power or by being the son of a hill-woman by a Bráhman father.[5] In the neighbouring state of Lahoul no special qualification seems wanted. The landholding Mongol Botis are beginning to assert a Rajput origin.[6] Similarly in West Assam the Koch Bodo and Dimal of the Bhután and Sikkim hills have adopted Hinduism. They have cast off their old names of Mlechchha and Bodo, and become Rájbansi and their country Bihár. None but the low and mean of the race tolerate the name Koch. Most of the lower class, not being offered a decent status among Hindus, chose Islám rather than helot Hinduism.[7] In the case of Nepál, the old principle of admission which these examples illustrate, has been proved and the process explained in detail by the late Mr. Brian Hodgson.[8] The stock of the Nepálese is Turanian. Their faces forms and languages place this beyond question. How then did the ruling tribes become Hindus? Since the twelfth century Bráhmans have passed into west Nepál to avoid the Musalmáns. They found the people illiterate and without faith but fierce and proud. The Bráhman saw that though the tribesman had a vacant mind ready to receive doctrine he had a spirit not apt to stoop. To the earliest and highest converts the Bráhmans gave the rank of Kshatriyas. Again the Bráhmans kept Nepál women and their children were Kshatriyas. From these two classes sprang the Khás, the military of Nepál, originally a small clan. The Kshatriya sons of Bráhmans took their fathers' *gotras*. The practice was in use when Mr. Hodgson (A.D. 1836) was in Nepál. It explains how, at other times and in other places, Kshatriyas have Bráhman *gotras*.[9] The result reads like a description of the Bráhmanised Khazar or Húna. The Khás (or Agnikulas) thus favoured became entirely devoted to the Bráhmanical system. They agreed to put away old gods, to employ Bráhmans, and

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1 Jour. Bengal Soc. (Part II.) 622-623.
2 Lewin's Hill Races of South-East India, 199.
3 Lewin's Hill Races of South-East India, 170.
4 Commentaries of Albuquerque, III. 73-74.
5 Kángra Gazetteer, I. 75. 6 Kángra Gazetteer, II. 118. 7 Hodgson's Essays, I. 109.
8 See Government of India Records, XLVII. 142.
9 See Journal As. Soc. Bl. II. 218. It follows that actual and not mystic sonship as suggested by Dr. Bülher is the source of Kshatriya *gotras*. Is not this same actual sonship the basis of the ancient rivalry between Bráhmans and Kshatriyas?

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Among Kshatriyas.

to spare the cow. For the rest they were not scrupulous.[1] The Khás language became Hindi. Their habits ideas and speech merged in those of the Hindu.[2] Other military tribes the Gurungs and the Magors became less completely Hindu than the Khás and were not allowed to wear the thread. In all practical and soldierly respects the Hinduism of the Khás is free from disqualifying punctilios.[3] These Gurkhas and Khás seem an object lesson from which to learn what manner of man was the Buddhist Kushán or the Bráhman Húṇa who spread across India to the sea and across the sea to Sokotra, East Africa, Ceylon, Java, Sumatra, Siam, Cambodia, and Borneo. Hindus mainly because Hinduism was in fashion, because their leaders, glamoured by the magic skill of the rival evangelists, had adopted Buddhism or Bráhmanism, in all practical and soldierly respects they were free from disqualifying restrictions, seeing in foreign service nothing but the prospect of glory and spoil, borne along by the indomitable confidence in each other which grows out of national integrity and success.[4]

The view that the Rajputs, and among the Rajputs even the Gohels, the highest of Hindu warriors, may be foreigners of not more than 1500 years' standing, though not new, is doubtless strange. Still it is to be remembered that for Hindus the fight with Islám has been the history of northern India from the eighth to the eighteenth century. This fight was fought by the Rajputs and among the Rajputs, since in the early eighth century (A.D. 720-740) they marshalled under the hill of Chitor to withstand the Arabs,[5] notably by the Gohels with whom in daring, in devotion to Hinduism, and in success no tribe of Rajputs can compare. Similarly the enthusiasm of the Sikh ennobled the Jat, the success of Shiváji raised the Marátha, and the victories of Nepál have brought honour to the Khás and the Gurkha. The following remarks of Mr. Hodgson[6] regarding the modern Gurkha champion throw light on the position of the earlier champion the stranger Rajput: "The Hindus of Nepál, full of hate and defiance of Islám, regard themselves as the only remaining depositories of undefiled national Hinduism. Hence their enthusiasm which burns all the fiercer for a secret consciousness that their particular and as it were personal pretensions as Hindus are and must be but lowly rated at Benares." To the higher ruling families of Rajputs these remarks have ceased to apply. But among the tribes of the Márwár desert in outlying parts is a freedom from Hindu restrictions little less complete than that of the Khás of to-day or of the victorious Khazar or Húṇa of the fifth and sixth centuries.

Among Traders.

The infusion of foreign blood into the merchants or traders is not less marked than into the fighters. In Western India the Osváls and other

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1 Gov. of India Records, XLVII. 142.

2 Gov. of India Records, XLVII. 142. Hodgson notes, Ditto 144 note*: When a Kshatriya has a child by a Khás woman the child is called a Kshatriya, but ranks with its mother. This may be one source of the many Rajput-named subdivisions of some of the lower classes. The son of a Solaṅki by a Gurjjara woman may have been called Solaṅki though ranking as a Gurjjara.

3 Gov. of India Records, XLVII. 145.

4 Gov. of India Records, XLVII. 146. To the examples in the text may be added: In North Jamu in A.D. 1650 when Chatarsingh conquered Pádar the army settled marrying local women. The children among whom some had Bráhman, some Rajput, some other fathers, together formed the class of Thákars (Drew's Jummoo and Cashmir, 121). Ibbetson (Panjáb Census paras. 431-469) shows how foreign tribes Gakkars, Khaggars, and Khokkars, were first made Rajputs, afterwards under Islám claimed and found a Koreish origin, and finally under Sikh rule discovered that they were Játs.

5 Tod's Annals, I. 559.

6 Journal Royal Asiatic Society, I. 45.

Among Traders.

leading traders are beyond question Rajputs, who, on their conversion to Jainism, gave up fighting for trade. It is not less certain that as Rajputs the Osváls and others belonged to the Solañki and other foreign invaders of the fifth and sixth centuries. It is almost as fully established that the Khatris of Sindh and Multán are strangers, either of Śaka or of Húṇa origin. Besides these the trading classes of western India in the Bhátia and in the Lohána have tribes of Turk and Afghán origin, who only since the beginning of the present century have adopted any show of conforming to the leading Hindu rules of life.[1]

Among Lower Classes.

If since the seventh century so large a share of the fighters of northern and western India have been partly or altogether foreign it would seem to follow that among the lower classes the foreign strain must be little less strong. The large share of each horde which at its coming already held a low position, for as is shown below every horde is a notable mixture of classes, would settle as herdsmen cultivators and craftsmen. More traces of the original tribe-names may be looked for in the lower than in the higher classes as followers are neither so worth converting nor so easy to convert as leaders.[2] This trait has been noted above in Nepál Kángra and Assam. In Assam none but the low and mean tolerate the old name Koch. So also with the Gurjjaras of Bombay Gujarát. The ruling Gujar families and the soldier element have become Rajputs; the cultivators have become Kanbis. Only among the wanderers and the Sutárs Lohárs and other craftsmen does the name Gurjjara survive.

So was it with the Panjáb Jats till the religious genius of Nának and the political genius of Ranjit Singh made the name Jat more honourable even than the name Rajput.[3] Another influence which increased the foreign element in the lower classes was the defeat of stranger leaders. In the Dakhan Gautamiputra about A.D. 150,[4] in Málwa Ságara about A.D. 400 (?), in the North-West Provinces Chandragupta A.D. 396-415, in the south Panjáb Yasodharmman about A.D. 530, and Śrí Harsha in Central India and the North-West Provinces between A.D. 607 and 617 all gained credit from overthrowing, either invading or settled, northerners

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[1] In A.D. 1810 the Lohánas are described as Afgháns whose head-quarters were the hills between the Indus and Ghazni. The men made their purchases in the Indian markets. On their return to Bannu they found their families and herds, and started for Ghazni, Kábul, and Bukhára. They returned bringing horses madder and fruit. Burnes' Bukhára, II. 416. It is strange that men of the same tribe should now (A.D. 1899) be so numerous in Bombay, both as Vaishnava Hindus and as Khoja Musalmáns.

[2] In Kángra (Gazetteer, II. 31) the Sádhs (*Sádhus*) or missionaries gained great influence over the rájás though not over the people.

[3] Though in Rajputána are many Jats and a few Jat-ruled states the superiority of the Rajput over the Jat is admitted in that home of fifth and sixth century conquerors. In the Panjáb where the later Gujar has freely mixed with the elder Jat, even in the northern Panjáb where the Sikh influence is weak, no line divides the Jat from the Rajput. (Gurjaránwála Gazetteer, 31.) The home-earth of the Sikh is in the south-east Panjáb the land between the Rávi and Sutlej (Burnes' Bukhára, III. 299). With the rise of the Sikhs to power both Musalmán and Hindu became Sikh. Sir A. Burnes notices with astonishment the development of a special Sikh type of face. This was doubtless due to the mastering Jat element. How much the Jat ascendancy has helped the mixture of classes is shown by the fact that a woman of any caste may live with a Jat as his wife. (Raj. Gaz. I. 161.) In Kángra, probably because both names are equally assumptions, no distinction is made between Jat and Rajput.

[4] Second International Congress, 311. Gautamiputra broke the S'akas, Yavanas, and Palhavas and stemmed the confusion of the four castes.

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and preventing or putting a stop to the confusion of caste. After each of these reverses a certain number who had risen to high positions would be lowered to be helot craftsmen,[1] be drafted or seek refuge among hill and other unsettled tribes, or be forced into the lowest layers of the unclean.[2] The beauty of the Dakhan Chámbhár, the fairness of the Gujarát Dheda, and the swarms of Chamárs or leather-workers in the Panjáb suggest that these classes have been largely recruited from defeated foreigners.[3] With the northerners leather work must have been a great industry as leather was used both for clothes and for hangings. The Chinese traveller Sung-Yun (A.D. 519) in Bolor, that is Balti or Little Tibet, found the people wearing leather.[4] Of the drafting of beaten northeners into hill and forest tribes examples have been given above. The skill of the Gurjjaras as bowmen, which appears in Chapotkaṭa Strong-bow, the Sanskrit form of the Gurjjara stockname Chávaḍa, would seem to

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[1] Mr. Hodgson notes and is surprised at the low or helot position of craftsmen in Nepál. The feeling that a certain degradation attaches to the practice of a craft is widespread probably it is universal. Its basis is the fact that prisoners taken in war and other slaves are generally set to work as craftsmen. Originally all craft work is slave work. The helot craftsmen called Tajiks in Samarkand and other Central Asian towns are Persian slaves (Jl. Royal As. Soc. XX. 420). In A.D. 1221 on the conquest of Khiva or Urgandj the Mongols sent the artisans and skilled workmen to their head-quarters in Karakorum in the north centre of Mongolia (Howorth's Mongols, I. 85). In the Kángra hills most craftsmen belong to the degraded class of Koḷis (Kángra Gazetteer, I. 96-98). Among the Nilgiri Todas the only craftsman is the Kota, a degraded beef-eating blacksmith (Jl. Madras Lit. and Sc. (1888-89), 169). Koli in some places means weaver. That a brass-worker is a Kásár (Jhelam Gazetteer, 74), that Jhelam carpenters are Turkhans, that Kachh and north Gujarát carpenters and calico-printers are Takkars, and that a weaver is a Sáli or Sálwi or a Khatri are traces of the law that after defeat foreign tribes formerly in command were forced to become craftsmen. This experience seems to be the recurrence, perhaps it is the basis, of the legend that the original Kshatriyas, abandoning the struggle as hopeless, sought safety as craftsmen from the religious persecutions of the antique Parashurám. The slave stain explains the feeling of degradation that attaches to the Jingars or saddle-workers apparently foreigners of the Sangár tribe, and, in spite of their claims to be Bráhmans, to the Panchâls. The widespread slavery of a mild household type, the result of famines almost as much as of war, must have helped the mixing of foreigners and locals. Tod (Annals of Rajasthán, I. 177) says the *bussie* (*vasi* or settler) is a slave in the mildest sense, one who in distress sells his liberty. The master cuts off his slave's top-knot as a mark of bondage. These slaves can be passed from one owner to another like cattle. The custom is commonest in the desert. Every great man in the desert has his *bussie*. Shiám Singh of Pokarn had 200 *bussies* who died fighting the Maráthás. All classes including Bráhmans and Rajputs become *bussies* (compare Ditto, II. 256). Even without the loss of liberty the Bráhman books laid down that any one who made a living by the practice of a craft forfeited his place among the higher classes. According to the Mahábhárata (Muir's Sanskrit Texts, I. 507) 'He who abandoning his own work does the work of a Sudra is to be regarded as a Sudra and is not to be asked to a feast.'

[2] Compare under Chachh the Bráhman or Bráhmanist ruler of Alor (A.D. 640-660) the Jats were degraded so that they had no distinction of great and small. They were made to work as menials being allowed neither to ride nor to wear rich clothes. Elliot's History, I. 187. This degradation of the Jats was still enforced in A.D. 712.

[3] An abundance of Chamárs is not confined to the Panjáb. Large numbers are (Rajputána Gazetteer, III. 200) found in Alwár in Rajputána, a place it is to be noted suited for Kusháns overpowered by Chandragupta (A.D. 396-415) since it is only about fifty miles west of Mathura. That a large number of the defeated S'akas became Chandáls is suggested by the fact that one of the low dialects or *vibáshas* is called either *Sakâri* or *Chandalika*. Muir's Sanskrit Texts, II. 46.

[4] Beal's Buddhist Records, I. xc. Marco Polo (A.D. 1290) notices great exports of leather from Gujarát. Yule's Edition, II. 328. Compare in Lithuania in the south-east corner of the Baltic a colony of Tartars who were brought from the Crimea in A.D. 1395, almost all of whom are tanners, also the great Tartar population of tanners up the Volga in south-east Russia. Howorth's Mongols, Part II. Div. I. page 22.

Appendix A.

have led to their being nicknamed Bhíls,[1] and the surnames and the appearance of several of the Mewár tribes of Bhíls seem to point to an infusion of Gujar blood. Over great part of western Gujarát and of eastern Káthiáwár the Kolis, especially the Talabda Kolis, are known to have been Meds or Mihiras who belong to the same horde as the Gujars.[2]

THE FOREIGNER IN GUJARÁT.

Arrival.

Between the time of Alexander (B.C. 325) and the time of the Arab Musalmáns (A.D. 713) seven leading hordes entered India from the north-west and west. These were the Yavanas mainly Baktrian Greeks from about B.C. 250 to 125; the Palhavas that is Parthians from about B.C. 170 to 100; the S'akas of two main hordes the Su-S'akas who passed in principally through Sindh from about B.C. 150 to 100 and the Yuechis or Kusháns who came down the Kábul valley about B.C. 130; the Kedáras or Little Yuechi who seem to have entered by the Swát valley to Pesháwar about A.D. 380; the Jue-Jue or Juán-Juán, also called Avárs, who came down the Kábul valley in the early fifth century; the Yetas or Ephthalites that is the White Húṇas or Khazars, apparently including the Mihiras or Mers and the Gurjjaras who entered India both from the north-west by the Swát valley and from the west by Seistán between A.D. 450 and A.D. 500; and the Turks both by the Kábul valley and across Sindh between A.D. 550 and A.D. 650.

Distribution.

Any account of the distribution of the masses of invaders who conquered in India, from the Yavanas of B.C. 200 to the Turks of A.D. 700, requires a statement of the elements that go to make a horde and of the travel-changes which affect the horde before it reaches its journey's end.

Even before it starts the horde is complex. It includes at least two elements a higher and a lower, sometimes lords and commons, in other cases free and bond. To these two elements are generally added neighbour tribes and outside slaves mainly prisoners of war.

THE HORDE.

In Progress.

In its start and progress the horde illustrates two forms of motion, the swarm and the snowball. Except in the case of the smaller and unsettled units, the horde, when it begins to move and during its progress, does not represent the mass even of the fighters of a country. A contingent or swarm moves, the hive remains. This law seems to explain how countries over which waves of conquest have passed keep a name which belongs to and is known to belong to a layer of long-conquered inhabitants. In the accounts of the classic writers, from the companions of Alexander B.C. 327 to Pliny A.D. 77, the same tribe-names remain in the same localities. This may be partly due to the large extent to which the later writers compiled from earlier sources. Still the same result appears in Indian writers, Soghdiana is Soghd, Baktria is Balkh, the western Gandhára is Kandahár, Margiana is Merv, and Ariana is Herat. So also in spite of the floods of conquest that have passed over them the names Tokharistán and Kushán remain in use. Again in India the Gujars and other

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[1] Compare Bhilmál the Márwár capital of the Gurjjaras and Champa Bhil that is the Gurjjara Chápa or Chávaḍa the founder of Chámpánir.

[2] Of the many possible and apparently true derivations of the name Koli one in use in Kángra seems to explain a portion of its meaning in Gujarát. In the Kángra hills the term Kola or Koli meaning a bastard is applied to the lower cla·ses (Gazetteer, Part II. 42-43), who have to some extent adopted Hindu ways especially in the matter of refraining from eating the cow. It is also applied in Kulu to people from Hindustán who have lost caste by marrying low caste local women. The Meds may have lost their name in consequence of marrying with women of unsettled local tribes. Among tribes whose position is on the border between Rajputs and Kolis may be noticed in Káthiáwár, the Valas, Jetvas, and Mers. Káthiáwár Gazetteer, 130.

Appendix A.
THE HORDE.
In Progress.

tribes of Rajputs have passed south and east but mainly as swarms leaving traces in the Panjáb and in Sindh where they made their first settlements. The continuance of portions of tribes in their original seats increases the complexity of the later hordes who generally carry on with them a share of what remains of the earlier settlers. The practice was the same in the case of the more northern tribes. In A.D. 375 when the Huns conquered the Alani on the Don, though the bulk of the Alani joined the Huns and passed on, a share remained.[1] In A.D. 750 when the Patzinaces were driven out of the Volga country by the Uzes part stayed and mixed with the Uzes, part marched west.[2] So in India the great Kushán horde (B.C. 50) brought with them from Baktria S'akas as well as Kusháns. In the passage through Kábul they were joined both by Greeks or Yavanas and by Palhavas or Parthians. Finally an Indian element was assimilated either from Soghd or from the Kábul valley.[3] The great fifth century horde was even more complex than the Kusháns. White Húṇas of Khazar race, but known as Yetas or Ephthalites, from the north of the Jaxartes joined with a swarm from the long-settled Kusháns of the Oxus valley, together leading the discomfited Juán-Juáns or Avárs, who after advancing from Central China in the late fourth century, and driving Kitolo the last of the Kusháns out of Baktria had recoiled discomfited by the strength of Behram Gor's (A.D. 420 - 440) defence. In addition to these, after the ruin of Sassanian power by the White Húna emperor Khushnawáz (A.D. 470-480), came an army of Khazars or Mihiras from the south-west of the Caspian, and finally, after entering the Swát valley, contingents were received of Kusháns from Kábul and of Kedáras or Little Yenchi from Pesháwar.

Melting.

Snowball-like the horde rolls on gathering to itself the beaten and the shelter-seekers, so that when in warm India it stops to melt and to spread the snowball adds many elements to the local population. If the leader of the fresh armies defeats the local rulers he takes their place. As a rule, after the needed baptism of Hindu sound, his own stock-name or the name or title of the tribe he leads becomes the name of the ruling tribe. But in certain cases prudence or religion may suggest the pleasing of the conquered, and the name, or at least the ancestry, of the conquered is adopted as the conqueror's own. Of the tribes that have come under

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[1] DeGuignes' Huns, III. 162. [2] DeGuignes' Huns, II. 519.

[3] HINDU. According to a somewhat doubtful statement in Strabo's time (B.C. 50) (Cunningham in Numismatic Chronicle, VIII. 224) the language of the people of Soghd had affinity with the dialects of north India. The coins of Moas (B.C. 126) the founder of the Parthian dynasty of Taxila in the Panjáb have a Páli legend and an elephant humped bull and river Indus (Ditto, 37, 38, and 103) and those of Moas' successors Azes and Azilizes bear the Hindu name Aspa Varma (Ditto, 110). PARTHIAN: The Parthian element is the names of Zoroastrian goddesses on the Kushán coins especially of Huvishka (A.D.110) (Cunningham Arch. Surv. Rep. III. 3). GREEK or YAVANA influence must have affected the Kusháns before they started south from Balkh (B.C. 120). Probably Greeks were with them and more Greeks would join from the two conquered Greek states one in Kábul absorbed about A.D. 0 by Kujula Kadphises, the other in the Panjáb absorbed about A.D. 50 by Vema Kadphises. The Greek influence is shewn by the adoption of Greek gods and Greek coin legends especially by Kanishka (A.D. 78). (Cunningham Arch. Sur. Rep. III. 3; Num. Chron. Third Series, 110-114.) A Greek element is also shewn by the fact that in eastern India Kushán invasions are known as Yavana invasions. S'AKAS: The S'akas and Kusháns were practically the same even in Baktria and when the Kusháns overcame the earlier or Su-S'aka conquerors of western India they seem to have been more generally known as Śakas than as Kusháns, (Cunningham Num. Chron. Third Series, VIII. 243.)

Appendix A.

THE HORDE.

Melting.

the invader's power some as allies or because their submission is imperfect may keep their old names. Some, perhaps most, will adopt the conqueror's tribe as their own tribe preserving their former tribe or stock name as a subdivision. Again detachments of the conquering swarm will start on their own account and perhaps pass under the overlordship of some neighbouring chief and accept his tribe name cherishing their own as a subdivision. Or, once more, others of the newcomers may prefer their own stock or leader's name to the horde name and form what seems a separate tribe though admitting their relationship to the whole horde. It is the importance attached to stock names that has made it so easy and so common for smaller divisions to adopt the name of some newcomer or of some waxing local tribe while still cherishing their stock name as their true name.

Later Changes.

When the new horde is melted and spread change is by no means at an end. Famine war and slavery the three great shifters are seldom idle, and the intermixture of men and women of different classes is ceaseless. The weak seek shelter under the name of the strong. Fugitives arrive and enter the tribe of the ruler. A young tribe waxes and gathers recruits: an old tribe wanes and its members desert. What traces of so confused a blending and interweaving of strains do the tribes preserve? What traces do the people preserve even after the tribe loses itself in the caste? The trace is the subdivision. Except in the case of irregular marriages where the son takes the name of his mother's tribe the subdivision as a rule is a correct guide either to the original tribe or to the stock of the holder. The tribe subdivision is not always a correct guide since a stock or a tribe may lower its own name to be a subdivision and adopt the name of its overlord's tribe as its own tribal name. In such a case a new overlord may come and the name of his tribe may be adopted as a new tribe name. Then the name of the last overlord's tribe becomes a subdivision ousting the trace of the original and true stock or tribe name. Unlike the tribe subdivision little certainty attaches to the meaning of a caste subdivision. When a common calling welds a group of tribes and stocks into a caste its virtue passes out of the stock or tribe name. The new calling name takes the place of the tribe name and the subdivision may be either the original stock name or the name of the tribe of the last of a set of overlords. It follows that in the case of a caste subdivision, even when it is a tribe or stock name, the chance is not great that the name of the subdivision is the name of the original tribe or stock of its members. Though his subdivisional name may fail to establish the original tribe of the holder the record of subdivisions is a work of the highest value. Such excellent tables of subdivisions is are published in the last (A.D. 1891) census reports for the Panjáb and the Central Provinces illustrate the distribution of tribes, restore old ruling names of whom all other trace has disappeared, and establish early tribal relationships which later interest or rivalry has blotted out.

TRIBE NAMES.

Objection has been taken to General Cunningham's identifications of several of the invading hordes of the centuries before and after the Christian era on the score of the variety of names he associates with the same tribe. How far General Cunningham's identifications are final is doubtful. But the principle he accepted that the same tribe may be known by several distinct names is correct. Among the main causes why a tribe is known by more than one name are neighbours' names, nicknames, leaders' names, and luck names. Neighbours know the

Appendix A.
TRIBE NAMES.

portion of a tribe or nation which lives next their own border and they apply that name to tribes whose proper names are distinct.[1] Thus the Tibetan tribes, who have no general name for their country or people, are called Gyárungs a word that means in Tibetan alien-leading; to the Chinese these same tribes are known as Sifan that is Westerners.[2] The wanderers between the Caspian and the Altai Mountains whom the Russians call Kírgiz, are (except the Khokand Kírgiz) known to themselves as Kasáks and to the Chinese as Bourouts.[3]

Again neighbours or strangers in whose lands a tribe or a horde settles change the tribes' original name so as to give it a meaning in their own language. The law of meaning-making works by the help either of the pun that is sound sameness or of translation that is sense sameness.[4] Or the neighbour either gives the newcomer a name descriptive of what strikes him as the newcomer's special characteristic; or applies to him the name of some legendary tribe which in some leading feature the newcomer resembles.[5] Again a name may be imposed upon and adopted by a tribe which is little more than a nickname. So the Maráthás were known as Ghenims that is robbers and Chávaḍá the softened form of Chápa was easily smoothed into Chor or thief. The widely applied term Kasák seems to have its origin in the Arab for a robber or wanderer.[6] Once more a tribe may take as its own either the personal or the stock name of its leader. In this way the Maráthás were called Shivájis, the White Húṇas Yetas or Ephthalites, a division of the Gusses or Os were called after Seljuk, and a branch of the Seljuks were called Osmánlis.[7] Similarly the Zagatais are named after the second son of Changhiz Khán (A.D. 1163-1237), the Nogays after Nagaia (A.D. 1260), and the Uzbeks after Uzbeg Khán (A.D. 1305).[8] Even a dream may change the name of a great tribe.

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[1] Compare Howorth Jour. Ethn. Socy. (N. S.) I. 26.

[2] Hodgson in Gov. Sel. XLVII. 176. [3] Jour. As. Ser. VI. Tom. II. page 310.

[4] The change of Khazar or other tribe name into Gurjjara or herdsmen and the twisting of Chápa, Chohán, and other Agnikula stock names into words with Hindu meanings are examples of this practice. Alberuni (A.D. 1031, Sachau's Edition, I. 298) notes that names change under three influences: translation and natural and artificial alteration. Hindus, he says, intentionally change names so as to have as many words as possible on which to practice the rules and arts of their etymology. Subandhu's Vásavadattá (Hall's Edition, 25) in which every word has two meanings is an example of this Hindu ingenuity. Punning name changes were as popular with the Chinese as with the Hindus. About A.D. 780 a Chinese emperor in reward for their dash in battle changed the tribe name Ouigour into Houighour the Sweeping Hawks. Parker's A Thousand Years of the Tartars, 277.

[5] So the old name Yaksha was applied to Húṇas and to Kasim's Syrian Arabs (A.D. 713) because like the legendary Yaksha they were fair-skinned horsemen. Similarly the fifth century invaders seem to have been called Nágás perhaps mainly from a fierceness of temper and a destructiveness which were the characteristics of the legendary snake people.

[6] The word Kazak has no race significance. It is applied to Turkish tribes and to Slavs of the Ukraine Don and Volga. The Ossetes call the Circassians Kazak. Kirgiz Kazaks were Usbegs who on the death of Abul Khair retired to the White Horde calling themselves Kazaks or wanderers. Howorth's Mongols, Part II. Div. I. page 6.

[7] Ephthalite is Ye-ta-i-li-to, of which Yeta the first half is the name of the royal family. In Arabic Haiathal has the sense of robber. In this case the tribe character is the original of the general word.

[8] Howorth Jour. Ethn. Soc. (N. S.), I. 29-30 and II. 86, 91, 92; Mongols, Pt. II. Div. I. page 9.

Among the Afgháns in consequence of a dream the Abdallis took the name of Duránis.[1]

HORDE DIVISIONS.

The simplest horde has two main divisions corresponding in some cases to Lords and Commons and in other cases to bond and free. Among the Parthians the Parnians or Dahæ were a royal tribe who formed a rigid aristocracy.[2] Of the ordinary Parthians only a small portion were free, the rest were slaves.[3] Among the Kirgíz near lake Issykkul north of the Jaxartes a lower layer stays near the lake throughout the year and a higher class go to the hills in the hot weather.[4] So in the Kángra valley in the Himálayas the lower class Gujar stays in the plains; the higher goes to the hills.[5] A similar distinction is the origin among the Kirgíz and other tribes of the White and Black divisions, those who have and those who have not a noble class.[6] Besides these main divisions the tribe includes many clan or stock elements. Among the Kirgíz wanderers between the Caspian and the Altai mountains these family stocks are carefully preserved. From generation to generation they serve as a guide to mark the many and separate elements of which the tribes of the Altai are formed.[7] Changiz Khán (A.D. 1187-1236) raised the name of the Bida his own clan or stock to the highest rank.[8] Western Indian history furnishes two examples of the leaders' stock or clan name gaining importance, the Chápa or Chaura a leading Gujar stock, and Jávla the family name of the great Toramana (A.D. 450-512) and Mihirakula (A.D. 512-575 ?), the leaders of the White Húṇas.

THE HORDE IN MOTION.

Unless under special pressure from famine or from war the horde is at starting the swarm of a single tribe the bulk of whom remain in the hive.[9] After the first success the swarm is joined by at least a section of the conquered and by shelter-seekers. It then passes on snowball-like increasing in mass as it moves. When Cyaxares (B.C. 633) came from Khorásán he was at the head of a Skythian horde. He passed along the south of the Caspian and entered Media then under another branch of

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[1] Elphistone's Kábul, Second Edn., II. 95.

[2] Ency. Brit. IX. Ed. Persia, 588.

[3] Jour. As. Ser. VI. Tom. II. page 327.

[4] Rawlinson's Parthia, 40.

[5] Kángra Gazetteer.

[6] Jour. As. Ser. VI. Tom. II. page 321. The Kazak call their own nobles White Bones and their common people Black Bones. Ditto ditto. In the Mongol empire the White Bones or upper classes were the descendants of Changiz. They were the salt of the lump, the iron in the blood, the steel head of the wooden spear. Howorth's Mongols, Part II. Div. I. page 13.

[7] Jour. As. Ser. VI. Tom. II. page 311.

[8] Dabistán-i-Mazáhib, III. 113 note.

[9] This continuance of the hive explains the persistence of tribe names attached to places. Compare in A.D. 560 (Tarikh-i-Tabari (837-903 ?) III. 318) Naushirván (A.D. 537-579) advancing to Balkh and conquering the countries of Hiatilah, Ghorjistán, and Tukharistán. As late as A.D. 743 the Getes (Yethas or Kusháns) descendants of the old Yuechi from Baktriána and the countries near the Indus sent tribute to the emperor of China (DeGuignes' Huns, I. Part II. page 502). In A.D. 750 the Patzinaces were driven out of the country of the Volga and Ural by the Uzes (Ghozz) and Khazars. Part stayed and mixed with the Uzes: part pressed west (DeGuignes' Huns, II. Part II. 519). In A.D. 1236 the king of Hungary sent Julian a Dominican friar to Great Bulgaria or Great Hungary north of the Caspian to see if it was true that it was the Huns' country. Julian talked freely with the people who were known as Bashkirs or Heathen. They knew the Hungarians had migrated from them; they did not know where they had gone. Howorth's Mongols, Part II. Div. I. page 95. Compare Gibbon (Decline and Fall, I. 325): The names permanently attached to numerous districts and towns in Germany prove that the immediate assailants of the Roman Empire though called nations were generally only armies or colonies of the tribes or confederacies named the parent portion of which still remained at home.

Appendix A.

THE HORDE IN MOTION.

Skyths. These he partly absorbed partly drove on to Assyria.[1] In the great Skythian invasion of Parthia in B.C. 125 the invading horde included Massagetæ Khorasmii and others from the lower Oxus: Dahæ including Parni Pisuri and Xanthii from Hyrkania: and Tokhari from the Upper Jaxartes. The conquered came led by the conquerors.[2] In A.D. 240 the Vandals passed through Poland and South Russia careless whom they met. The Bastarnæ and Venedi first opposed them and the flower of their youth either from choice or compulsion swelled the Gothic army.[3] The great hordes that swept across Europe in the fourth century included Alans, Goths, Huns, Sueves, and Vandals.[4] In A.D. 375 when the Huns conquered the Alani on the Don the bulk of the Alani joined the Huns and passed on.[5] About A.D. 600 the Avárs overcame the Sabiri and carried them west with them.[6] DeGuignes mentions about the eighth century a horde in the Crimea with Khazars as leaders, Turks as free followers, and Huns as slaves.[7] When (about A.D. 1180-1200) Changiz Khán conquered a province in Central Asia he was careful to allow no harm to be caused to life or property. He set some of his own and some local men to keep order and took the rest with him. When they saw how well he protected them the conquered supported Changiz Khán heart and soul[8]; the first to yield were the Turks and like a snowball the united forces rolled across Asia. Every tribe that was beaten joined Changiz's army as the beaten joined Napoleon and in early days joined the Roman.[9]

Not only did the conquered support the conquerors but partly as a precaution they were placed in the van of the army. The descriptions of noseless hairless demon-faced Tartars in the great Mongol raids into Europe and also into India suggest that swarms of the lowest class were sent ahead as scouts and foragers. The Russian General Skobeleff's (A.D. 1876) scheme for invading India by sending the Central Asian rabble contingent to meet the first attack of the British is illustrated by the Avárs in A.D. 450 putting the Winidi or Wends in front of them so that the Wends were threatened in front and rear,[10] and, in A.D. 1000, by the Kathayans forcing all Chinese guilty of offences to act as their skirmishers.[11] An example of the mixed character of hordes occurs in A.D. 1141 in the army brought by the Khán against Sultán Sangar of Persia in which were Turks, Chinese, Khataians, and others.[12] Similarly about A.D. 1300 the Nukdáris, called after Nigudar grandson of Chagatai, are described as a rabble of all sorts including Mongols, Turkomans, Turks, and Shuls.[13] In A.D. 1825 the Samarkand Uzbeks included Kipchaks, Kara Kalpaks, and Chinese Muslims.[14]

These details of the constitution of Central Asian hordes explain two notable characteristics of northern invasions of India; the large number of tribes and the diverse types of men in the horde. These types vary from the ugly low class slave and criminal who does much of the skirmishing and foraging to the handsome noble-minded leaders whom any people might

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1 Rawlinson's Herodotus, I. 408-410.
2 Rawlinson's Parthia, 117, 118.
3 Gibbon's Decline and Fall, I. 309.
4 Yule's Cathay, II. 316.
5 Gibbon's Decline and Fall, III. 162.
6 Howorth J. R. A. Soc. XX. 728.
7 DeGuignes' Huns, I. Part II. 506, 507, 509, 510.
8 Yule's Marco Polo, I. 210.
9 Howorth's Mongols, Part II. Div. I. 13.
10 Jour. R. A. Soc. XXI. 787.
11 Parker's A Thousand Years of the Tartars, 339.
12 Jour. R. A. Soc. (N. S.) XIV. 144 note 1.
13 Yule's Marco Polo, I. 96.
14 Jour. Roy. As. Soc. VII. 330.

Appendix A

THE HORDE IN MOTION.

welcome as their rulers.[1] In the first great horde (B.C. 150-100) whose highest representative was Kanishka, the glory of the Kusháns, the founder of the A.D. 78 or S'aka era, were the S'akas of the Dahæ and Su divisions and the Kushán or great Yuechi with contingents and leaders from the Yavanas, the Baktrians or Balhikas and the Parthians or Palhavas and Kshaharátas, and with Madras and Jartrikas or Jats, a varied horde but on the whole larger fairer and greater-hearted than the Indian nations whom they conquered. In the second great northern inroad, which lasted from about A.D. 400 to A.D. 550, were the Jue-Jue or Juán-Juán, identified by some authorities with the Avárs, a strongly Chinese tribe probably used mainly as skirmishers. With the Juán-Juán were associated contingents from the Kushán or Great and the Kedára or late Little Yuechi. Over these as leaders were the White Húṇas or Yetas, also known as Khazars and Mihiras, among the handsomest most refined and fearless races that ever entered India. The third great swarm, beginning from the later sixth and passing through the seventh into the eighth century was the Turk with whom seem to have joined fresh advances of Khazars, Kedáras, and even Kusháns.[2] So mixed a snowball in melting added many strange elements to the people of the land where it rested. Of the rule that the conquered should accept the conqueror's tribe name and lower their own name to be a subdivision or a surname instances occur both in Central Asia and in India. In Ferghána the name of the dominant Uzbegs has been assumed by the various other Turk and Tartar elements which in successive waves had before the Uzbegs swept over or occupied this region for more than 2000 years.[3] Similarly in south-west Rajputána Chápas, Chohâns, Mallas, and Paramáras are returned as divisions of the last conquerors the Ráhtors, and Mors and Sodhas appear as divisions of the former conquerors the Paramáras.[4] This does not imply that all the tribes named are of the same descent. As these tribes represent successive waves of conquest, from the Mallas in the first century before Christ to the Ráhtors in the early eighteenth century, it seems reasonable to infer that, on their conquest by the newcomers, the earlier holders have been allowed to join the tribe of the conquerors as a subdivision. That the Mors and the Sodhás are returned as divisions of Paramáras does not show that either of them is of the Paramára stock. All it proves is that the Mors and Sodhás at some time have taken shelter under the name of Paramára.[5]

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1 The elements and influences which Burnes in A.D. 1810 noticed (Bokhára, I. 273) as causing such variety among the people of Bokhára were similar to the elements and influences which affected a section of any one of the India-invading hordes. The Uzbek of Bokhára was hardly to be recognised as a Turk or a Tartar. The Kokandi was less changed. The people of Orgunj, the ancient Khárism were harsh-featured with foot-high sheepskin hats. Russian, Chinese, Hindu, Jew, Armenian traces were transmitted by slaves.

2 Of the tribes included in the great hordes the Mahábhárata mentions Śakas and Yavanas helping the king of Kamboja, and Kirátas, Palhavas, S'akas and Yavaṇas are included in the tribes conquered by Nakula. J. R. A. Soc. XXI. 249-250. In the army of Nahápüpana (A.D. 130), the great S'aka or Pahlava conqueror of Málwa and the north Dakhan, were Kshaharátas, Pahlavas, S'akas, and Yavanas. Jour. B. B. R. A. Soc. VIII. 236.

3 Ency. Brit. IX. Edn., Ferghána.

4 Tod's Annals, I. 800 and II. 296-297, 301-303; Rás Mála, I. 294.

5 The Moris have been supposed to be a trace of the ancient Mauryas (B.C. 319-197). The close connection of the seventh and eighth century Moris of Chitor with certain branches of Húṇas and Gurjjaras makes it probable that they belong to the Meds or Mihiras who formed a leading element in the great White Húṇa horde of late fifth century invaders.

Appendix A.

CONQUEROR TRIBES.

The Name of the Conquered.

That the conqueror takes the name of the conquered may be due either to the complex constitution of the conquering horde or to the fact that the tribal and direct followers of the leader form only a small section of the whole horde. So in Baktria the later conquerors (A.D. 380-650), the Juán-Juán White Húṇa and Turk, seem to have been anxious to sink their own name and to continue the honoured title of Kushán. This persistence of the name Kushán may have been because, though all the troubles and conquests between the fourth and the seventh century, the bulk of the people in Herat, Merv, Baktria, and Tokharistán or the Oxus valley remained Kushán. That conquerors were anxious to claim connection with early rulers is shown by Alberuni's (A.D. 1030) Pál kings of Kábul who though probably Turks the conquerors of White Húṇas, claimed descent from the great Kushán Kanishka (A.D. 78). So in Rajputána the genealogies of the Sesodias, who are probably Mihiras of the seventh and eighth centuries, go back to Kanaksen, A.D. 145, the same Kanishka. Similarly in Káthiáwár many tribe histories, perhaps attracted by some traditional sameness of race, claim for the tribe an origin in the great Kanaksen who sat in Krishna's throne at Dwárka.[1] Certain tribes, among them the Malavas and the Káthis, have been specially successful in inducing their conquerors to adopt their names. The Malavas seem to be Alexander's (B.C. 325) Malloi of Multán, who, in the first century before Christ, led by the Su-S'akas who adopted the name Malava, conquered Málwa and founded the Vikrama or Malava era of B.C. 57. The Káthis seem to be Alexander's Kathaioi of the south Panjáb, who, after remaining at rest for over 800 years, seem, under late Húṇa or early Turk leadership, to have passed south to escape the eighth century Arabs. How many Northerners have sought shelter under the name Káthi is shown by the list of subdivisions which includes Bábriás, Chohâns, Chávaḍás, Húṇas, Jobaliyas or Jauvalas, Khachers, Makwanás, Ráhtors, Vadels, and Wálas.[2] The assumption by the conqueror of the name of the conquered seems an extreme case of the usual Hindu practice of the newcomer adopting the history and the ancestors of the local tribe. The object seems religious to prevent the S'rí or Luck of the conquered becoming hostile and to woo the local fortune to be the newcomer's bride. Instances of this belief are quoted below under Gujar. The Panjáb earth-brother or *bhumbhái* the name under which the stranger is admitted to a village community probably has its origin in a similar scruple. They settled me as a brother the stranger says.[3]

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[1] Compare Tod's Annals (Third Edn.), I. 178.

[2] Jour. Bom. Geo. Soc. II. 58-60; Tod's Western India, 151. The strong Avarthiya or Avar, that is Juán-Juán, element in the Káthis probably dates from the fifth century. What set them moving south seems to have been not the Avarthiya element but a Koman or Turk addition of the seventh or eighth century. The Koman strain is also recorded among Panjáb Dogars, Gujaras, Lohárs, and Ráwals.

[3] Ibbetson's Panjáb Census Para. 356. To the examples of the persistence of tribe names in certain localities the following instances may be added. Some of them, it will be noted, seem due to the conqueror taking the name of the conquered. In A.D. 630, Hiuen Tsiang found Tu-ho-lo or Tukhára used of the land on both banks of the Oxus though for several centuries the race of Tukhárans had been extinct (Beal's Buddhist Records, I. 37). The name of the Gandhárans long clung to the Kábul valley. It appears in Hecatæus (B.C. 520), Herodotus (B.C. 480), and Strabo (B.C. 50); it occurs in Hiuen Tsiang (A.D. 630); and lasted till (A.D. 1020) the time of Mahmúd of Ghaznavi. (Compare Bunbury's Ancient Geography, I. 238, 39.) Other instances of the practice are the Arsáks taking (B.C. 240) the name Parthian, the Yuechi (B.C. 140) taking the name Baktrian, the Mughals of south Russia becoming Kaptchaks or Kamans, the Russians taking the

Of the changes that take place after the snowball is melted those due to famine war slavery and conversion are perhaps the chief. That dependents take the tribe name of their patrons is a common Indian practice which may explain some of the instances of hill-tribes and degraded classes bearing Rajput tribal names.[1] Again the mixture of men of a higher class with women of a lower class tends to form a new subdivision in the woman's tribe. So the division Ráthor or Solaṅki among Gujars may only mean that the division is the result of an irregular marriage between a Gujar woman and a Rajput.[2]

TRIBE CHANGE DUE *To Famine.*

The Mewár famine of A.D. 1717[3] may be cited as an instance of the confusion of caste caused by famine. In that famine according to Tod the ministers of religion forgot their duties; the Sudra and the Bráhman could not be distinguished; the four castes threw away every symbol of separation; all distinction was lost in hunger. Local anxiety to make proselytes sometimes enables strangers to claim an origin to which they have no title. So the S'aka chieftains of the Upper Indus valley were rewarded for their loyalty as Buddhists by being traced to the S'akas to which Gautama's family belonged.[4] So about a century ago the Loks of Mount Ábu who had previously been considered as at least half-Bhíls took Rajput *gots* and about thirty years ago introduced the rule of outmarriage.[5] Another result of proselytising or admitting foreigners into Hinduism is that those who continue to bear the name of the immigrant tribe come by degrees to represent the lower elements in that tribe. The highest Gurjjaras adopting Hinduism to the full are either Rajputs or Kunbis. The wilder cattle-dealers and the craftsmen alone continue the name Gurjjara and even with them the name is not popular. So the Meds who under the name Mihiras were the leaders of the Yeta or White Húṇa hosts have adopted Rajput and other names and leave the title Med or Mher to a few of the wilder sections of their people in Sindh Káthiáwár and Rajputána. Locality, says Tod, is a chief cause of change in tribe names.[6] By the disuse of its tribe name for some favourite place name the identity of a tribe may be lost. Thus the distinguished Gehlots of Udaipur, who are probably of Húṇa or other high foreign origin, are now

To Proselytising.

To Locality.

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name of their predecessors the Cossacks (Howorth in Jl. Eth. Soc. (N. S.) II. 91-92, 185), and the Anglo-Saxons becoming Britons.

[1] Among the Mongols enslaved families took the name of their patrons. Thus the enslaved Jelairs adopted the name of their patron Kiat Mongol (Howorth in Indian Antiquary for 1880, 240).

[2] Compare in Nepál (Hodgson in Gov. of India Records, XLVII. 144*) the child of a Nepál Kshatriya by a Khás woman though called a Kshatriya ranks as a Khás. Under certain rules (Troyer's Rájatarangini, I. 234, 268) if a Bráhman married a Nága (probably a foreign Rajput) girl he became a Nága. It has been noticed that in unions of this class is probably to be found the explanation of Rajputs with Bráhman *gotras* or family names.

[3] Tod's Annals, I. 390. In Rajputána, says Tod in another passage (Annals, I. 179) famine is the chief cause of slavery. Compare Muir's Sanskrit Texts, I. 376, in a twelve years' famine Vishvámitra took the thigh of a dog from the hand of a Chandála.

[4] Beal's Buddhist Records, II. 20-21, 290. The Tibetans did the same. Compare Rockhill's Life of Buddha, 203. So converts to Islám are allowed to trace their name to the tribe of Koreish and Christians to the Virgin Mary and the Wise Men of the East. Ditto ditto. A possible trace of the name Yuetchi is the name Yusufzai or children of Joseph. The memory of an original settlement in Gandhár and retreat to Kandahár agrees with the passage westwards of the Little Yuetchi about A.D. 410. And the change from Yuetchi or Yushi to Yusufa seems within the limits of such punning derivations if, which may be questioned, in the fifth century the Chinese character was pronounced *Yue* not *Va*.

[5] Rajputána Gazetteer, III. 141. In the case of many Rajputána Bhíls it is to be remembered that Bhíl or archer may hide Gurjjara blood.

[6] Annals, Third Edn. I. 178.

Appendix A.

TRIBE CHANGES DUE

To Neighbourhood.

better known as Aharyas or Sesodias from Ahar and Sisoda, the sites of two former capitals. Again the weak takes shelter behind the name of the strong. Under the influence of a stronger neighbour a tribe may adopt the neighbour's name, its own original tribe name sinking into a surname. 'Even in races' says Mr. Ibbetson 'where purity of blood is the chief pride, sections of other races enter and are given the position of common descent if only they show willingness to accept authority.' In this manner in the Panjáb, aboriginal, Mongol, and other elements have been absorbed into the tribe or caste organisation of the Aryan stock.[1] In outlying parts, on the borderland between two tribes, the people seem to take the name of the more prosperous tribe. In the Rajputána desert the same communities have been known at times as Jats and at times as Bhátis. In its place of honour a tribe may prefer its own name: while in a strange place it chooses to be a subdivision of a strong local community. In the Panjáb the Jat has no wish to be a Rajput: in Central India to be a Rajput is one of the Jat's chief ambitions.[2] That among the Chohâns and the Bhátis of the caste-preserving Salt Hills in Jhelam some are Rajputs and some are Jats is probably due to the existence of two sections among Chohâns and Bhátis one belonging to the country where Rajput and the other to the country where Jat is the more honoured title. These divisions like fragments of the Awans, Ghakars, Gurjjaras, Janjuas, and other tribes have probably retreated before invaders to gain the protection of the Salt Range.[3] That two tribes claim the same descent is no proof of blood relationship. Both Bhátias and Jats claim to be Yádavas. But Bhátias are probably Turks and seem to have no claim to the name Yádava.[4]

The readiness of waning tribes to adopt the name of the stronger community is shown by the remarkable speed with which in its time of prosperity the Ráhtor tribe spread. It is also shown in the case of the Láhor Jats whose connection with the Sikhs has given them a place of honour and furnished them with two sets of subdivisions one Rajput the other Afghán, both of them traces of tribes who for shelter have adopted the name of Jat.[5] This theory of the origin of subdivisions is open to the objection that it conforms neither to the Rajput tribal rule of out-marriage nor to the caste rule of in-marriage. In practice the difficulty was probably met according to local conditions. Where brides and bridegrooms could be obtained from other sources the subdivisions may have been treated as of no consequence and the tribal law of out-marriage be enforced against all the subdivisions. On the other hand in outlying parts where brides and bridegrooms were scarce the subdivision would continue to be treated as the tribe. At the beginning of this century the small community of Vagher Rajputs of the out-lying tract of Okhámandal near Dwárka in west Káthiáwár included as separate tribes Chávadás, Heroles (Parmárs), Luhánas, and Wádhels (Ráthors).[6] On the other hand in

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[1] The 1881 Panjáb Census Para. 372. [2] Rajputána Gazetteer, I. 161.

[3] Compare Jhelam Gazetteer, 56, 67, 69. [4] Tod's Annals, I. 107-108.

[5] Panjáb Gazetteer, III. 65-67. The readiness to take a new name so long as the new name is likely to carry either honour or shelter is shown (Ibbetson's Panjáb Census for 1881 paras. 430, 463) by Gakkars, Khaggars, Khokkars and other foreign tribes, who, under Hindu ascendancy, became Rajputs, under the Musalmáns found a Koreish, and under the Sikhs a Jat origin. So Ibni Sumár, the founder of the Sumra dynasty of Sindh (A.D. 1053-1351), though a Paramára Rajput, claimed a Koreish descent.

[6] Tod's Annals, I. 590-91.

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well-peopled districts when the tribe spreads to be a nation the names of the different tribes which are included in the nation bear the same relation to the whole that the clan or family name bore to the tribe. Or the larger body into which the tribe passes may be not a nation but a caste. The caste differs from the tribe mainly in the feeling that while all of the same tribe are of one kin not all of the same caste are of one kin. In the caste as in the nation kinship narrows from the tribe to the original clan, and, as kinship ceases towards all portions of the caste except to the original family stock or clan, marriage with all other portions of the caste becomes possible.[1]

To Newcomers.

When a tribe like the Jats is so wide spread as to be almost a nation any low-born man of uncertain origin may pass as a Jat. On the introduction of a new horde the higher invaders may join the Rajputs and the lower the Jats. Or if a ruling tribe is broken some of its fragments may sink to be Jats, helot craftsmen, or unclean outcastes.[2] Again on the introduction of a new tribe the children of the men who marry the higher class local women may rank as Rajputs, while the children of the men who marry lower class women may rank as Jats. Finally a Jat or a Marátha may be born with a genius for war or for religion and may like Nának or Shiváji raise his tribe name to be a name of honour. That hill and forest tribes and others of the lowest classes bear Rajput surnames is probably partly due to those classes seeking protection by adopting the name of their overlord's tribe. At the same time it is beyond doubt that by outlawry and defeat individuals and bands have passed from the higher to the lower tribes. After defeat bodies of foreigners have been allotted to the wild tribes. And the name of Bhílmál the Gurjjara capital suggests that their skill as archers led to the Gurjjaras being known as Bhils.[3]

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[1] Compare Jhelam Gazetteer, 69; Rajputána Gazetteer, I. 69.

[2] Among Multáni sweepers occur the surnames Gujar, Háda-Húṇa, Húṇa, and Mer. MS. Note, The Multáni Khatris of Bombay.

[3] Compare Malcolm in Trans. Roy. As. Soc. I. 79-80.

APPENDIX B.

THE GUJAR.

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THE GUJAR.

Appendix B.

THE GUJAR.

The Name.

THE name Gurjjara or Gujar seems an Indian adaptation, with the sense originally of cowgrazing and later of cowstealing, of the name of some Central Asian tribe that entered India from the west during the first 500 years after Christ.[1] Regarding the original tribe two suggestions may be offered. The first is that the tribe was Skythian or Turk and that the name comes from the Persian *gurg* or the Turkish *kurt* a wolf,[2] and that of this tribe a trace may remain in the Brahui Gurgananis or Wolves.[3]

The second suggestion is that Gurjjara is the altered form of the name of one of the more important invaders of India from the north: the Kushan or Great Yuechi (B.C. 100 - A.D. 390), the Kedára or the late Little Yuechi (A.D. 390-500), the Jue-Jue (A.D. 400-500), the Khazar or White Húṇa (A.D. 450-550), or the Gazz-Gazz of the ninth and tenth centuries. Finally the Gurjjaras have been identified with the people of Georgia whose Persian name is Gurjistán.[4] Gurz the Arab form of Georgia corresponds so closely with the Jozr used for the ninth century Gurjjara dynasty of Márwár by the Arab merchant Suleimán that in A.D. 1860 the derivation was viewed with favour both by Dr. Glasgow and by Dr. Bhau Dáji.[5] Their support of a Georgian origin of the Gurjjaras may have been strengthened by the Georgian legend that their great king Vakhtang (A.D. 469-500) surnamed Gourgasal Wolf-lion, the founder of Tiflis the modern capital of Georgia, after subduing the Ossetes and Abkhasians and overrunning south Armenia made terms with the ruler of Persia and invaded India.[6] Georgian traditions carry little weight. It is difficult to suppose that towards the close of the fifth century, with the great power of the White Húṇas blocking the way, a Georgian king could have led or sent an army into India. The story may be the dim recollection of the movement of the Khazars of south Armenia and north Media to join their relations the White Húṇas of Badeghiz near Herat and with them invade India. In this connection it is to be noted that the writer in the

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[1] In the North-West Provinces Gujar is taken to be either Go-char Cowgrazer or Go-chor Cowstealer. North-West Province Gazetteer, V. 291. A similar instance of meaning-making occurs in Gohatya or Coweater the twisted form of Kota the name of a cowkilling tribe on the Nilgiris. Madras Journal of Literature and Science for 1888-89 page 171.

[2] Yule's Marco Polo, I. 59.

[3] Pottinger's Beluchistán, 76. Pottinger also (page 57) notices Beluch Gurchanis in the hills north-east of Kachh-Gandevi. Lassen (Ind. Alt. II. 805) notes one Vrigi (Sanskrit *vrika* a wolf), a ruler of Málwa, who introduced new divisions into the old castes. As Vrika is the Sanskrit for a wolf this story may be a trace of the connexion between the Gurjjaras and the admission of foreigners as Agnikulas.

[4] Rawlinson Trans. Roy. Geog. Society. IX. 51*. Compare D'Herbelot Bibliotheque Orientale, II. 158.

[5] Jour. Bom. Br. R. A. S. IX. Proceedings XXIV. Compare Gurjak the fourth class among the Ossetes of the Caucasus who are the descendants of Georgian captives in war. Jour. R. A. Soc. XX. 374.

[6] Ency. Britannica (Article Georgia), X. 432.

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The Name.
Ghozz.

Encyclopædia Britannica favours the view that the Khazars are near akin to the Armenians and Georgians in which he says he has the support of the Arab geographers who knew the Khazars best.[1]

The Ghozz, the ancestors of the Seljuks and Osmánlis, may be dismissed from the number of possible claimants, as they did not pass south of the Oxus until the eleventh century.[2] There remain the Kusháns (B.C. 100 - A.D. 400), the Kedáras (A.D. 380 - 550), the Jue-Jues (A.D. 400 - 500), and the Khazars or White Húṇas (A.D. 450 - 600).

Kushán.

Cunningham takes the Gujar back to the Yuechi either the Great Yuechi called Kusháns or Gusháns[3] who entered the Kábul valley about B.C. 120 or the late Little Yuechi called Kedáras who about A.D. 390 passed down by Chitrál and Swát to Peshávar. One chief ground on which Cunningham favoured the identification of the Gujars with the Great Yuechi was the second name of the tribe. This was then read Kors but the true rendering has since been shown to be Kushán.[4] The difficulty of accepting Kushán or Gushán as the original of Gurjar is not only in the changes from *sh* to *r* and from the final *n* to *r*,[5] but also in the fact that no reference to Gurj or Gurjjara occurs in India until after the close of Kushán power (A.D. 400).[6] The Kusáne division

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[1] Ency. Brit. XIV. 59. One of these Arab writers was Abulfaraj (A.D. 1243) who held that the Gurges or people of Georgia were the same as the Khozars or Khazars. D'Herbelot (Bib. Or. II. 158) considered the two races very different. One point of resemblance may be noted that like the White Húṇas and Khazars, and the Shrimális of south Káthiáwár, the Georgians cut their hair short, like churchmen, says Marco Polo. Yule's Edition, I. 50.

[2] In the time of Ibn Haukal and of Al Masudi (A.D. 940) Kushán the capital of the Gozzes was in Farghána on the Jaxartes. (Reinaud's Abulfeda, ccclxvi.; Howorth's Mongols Div. II. Part I. page 290). Masudi (Prairies D'Or, II. 19) calls the Ghozzi the Bedouins of the Turks raiding into the territory of the Khazars to the north of the Caspian. One early reference in Sacy's Translation of Mirkond, 341, that Behram Gor (Varahran V. A.D. 420-440) marched into the country of the Ghozz is apparently a mistake for Khazar. The Ta-Gaz-Gaz are even later than the Ghozz. In the tenth century Masudi (Reinaud's Abulfeda ccxxix.; Prairies D'Or, I. 286) describes the Ta-Gaz-Gaz as rulers of the city of Kushán in the Tarim valley to the east of the Bolor hills. No tribe of Turks was more powerful brave or majestic than the Ta-Gaz-Gaz. The same kingdom is referred to in the Pehlevi writers of the ninth century.

[3] Compare Kanika that is Kanishka king of (the) Gushán. Rockhill's Life of Buddha, 240.

[4] Wilson's Ariana Antiqua, 309, 359, 366, 375, 378; Cunningham's Arch. Rep. II. 64, 68. A trace of the Kors was found in the Kors Banians of Sindh who visit Central Asia and St. Petersburgh. Ditto ditto, 73; Burton's Sindh, 314; Campbell's Ethnology Jour. A. S. XXXV. II. 13.

[5] Cunningham Ancient Geography, 40, notices that Turki languages change *r* into *sh*. The change of *n* into *r* must be considered a serious difficulty. The reading of the A.D. 1169 inscription at Somnáth in which Kumarápála is called Lord of Gurjen Mandala (Tod Western India, 505) has not been verified.

[6] Cunningham Arch. Survey Report, II. 72 says: No reference has been traced to Kusháns after A.D. 300. Still the S'akas, Sháhis, and Shâhán-u-Sháhis continued in power till the end of the fourth century. Compare Samudragupta's Pillar inscription about A.D. 396. Bhagvánlál's Early Gujarát, 64. One reason why Cunningham accepted the Kushán origin of the Gurjjara was that Kaira and Broach inscriptions seemed to prove the Western Indian Gurjjaras to have been in power as early as A.D. 400. This implied an entry into India of probably at least fifty years earlier, a date at which so far as is known no fresh horde had entered India since the Kusháns. The evidence on which General Cunningham's position was based has been shown to be misleading partly because certain of the early Gurjjara grants were forgeries, partly because the epoch date of the true grant was not the S'aka A.D. 78 but the Traikuṭaka A.D. 248. Bhagvánlál's Gujarát, 59 and 117. It is perhaps because he maintains

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of the Gurjjaras on the Indus and Jamna[1] and the Gurjjara legend that Kush the son of Ráma was their founder need not imply more than that on their overthrow a section of the Kusháns sought protection under the shelter of the Gurjjaras.

Kedára.

When the argument based on the name Kors lost its force by the correction of the word Kors to Kushán, General Cunningham, being as shewn below forced to choose a tribe which entered India not later than the middle of the fourth century, fell back on the Little Yuechi or Kedára. But the Kedáras had little in themselves to support the identification, and with the removal of the necessity for placing the arrival of the Gujars earlier than the close of the fifth century the Kedára claim like the Kushán claim seems to fall to the ground.[2] The probable claimants are therefore reduced to two the Jue-Jue or Avárs (A.D. 390) and the Khazars or White Húṇas (A.D. 450 - 500).

Jue-Jue or Juán-Juán.

One difficulty in the way of identifying the Gurjjara with the Khazar or White Húṇa is that in the accounts of the Húṇa conquest of India the name Khazar does not occur. It may be argued that if so well known a tribe as the Khazars took part in the invasion some trace of their name must remain. So far as this argument carries weight it would be satisfactory to find for the Gurjjaras a position in the great White Húṇa invasion subordinate enough to account for the absence of their name. Such a position suits the Jue-Jue or Avárs the tribe of eastern Tartars who driven from Central China by the Tukieu or Turks about A.D. 350 apparently passed north across the Mustágh range, and, about A.D. 380, driving Kitolo or Kedára the last of the Baktrian Kusháns out of Balk attacked the Persians at the close of the fourth century. They seem to have been worsted by the Sassanian Behrám Gor (A.D.420 - 440). But, after the close of Behrám's reign, reinforced by the White Húṇas or Ephthalites, they seem to have returned, conquered Persia (A.D. 460 - 480), and swept into India. Two objections stand in the way of accepting the identification of the Gurjjara with the Jue-Jue. First the wide difference in the name and second that the importance of the Gurjjaras ever since their arrival in India shows they must have been a leading tribe either the Húṇas or the Khazars. Reasons are given below for explaining the absence of reference to Khazars by the fact that the early inscriptions refer to them by the complimentary title of Mihiras or Maitrakas.

Khazar.

What is known of the early history of the Gurjjaras in India points to their arrival during the last quarter of the fifth or the first quarter of the sixth century (A.D. 470 - 520). That is the Gurjjaras seem to have formed part of the great horde of which the Juán-Juán or Avárs, and the Ephthalites Hyatilahs Yetas or White Húṇas were leading elements. The question remains: How far does the arrival of the Gurjjara in India during the early sixth century agree with what is known of the history of the Khazar? The name Khazar appears under the following forms. Among Chinese as Kosa, among Russians as Khwalisses, among Byzantines as Chozars or Chazars,

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the doubtful Gurjjara inscriptions to be genuine that Dr. Bühler says (Ind. Ant. XVII, 285 - 293) the Gurjjara race must have entered India shortly after the Christian era.

[1] Cunningham Arch. Survey Report, II. 59.

[2] Of the identification with Kedára the editor of the Jhelam Gazetteer, 43, says; The arguments were recondite and did not satisfy General Cunningham himself.

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among Armenians as Khazirs, and among Arabs both as Khozar and under the somewhat doubtful plural forms of Khurlup and Khazlaj.[1] Other variations come closer to Gurjjara. These are Gazar the form Khazar takes to the north of the sea of Asof; Ghyssr the name for Khazars who have become Jews; and Ghusar the form of Khazar in use among the Lesghians of the Caucasus.[2] Howorth and the writer in the Encyclopædia Britannica follow Klaproth in holding that the Khazars are the same as the White Húnas.[3] The White Húnas who entered India about the middle of the fifth century seem to have passed from northern settlements in the Kirgiz steppes through Samarkand to Balkh. In the Oxus valley these White Húnas seem to have overtaken the Juán-Juán, who had crossed the Jaxartes about fifty years before them. The White Húnas seem to have found the Juán-Juán weakened by the successes of Varahran V. (A.D. 420-440) (Behrám Gor) and to have led them to a fresh onslaught on Persia, which, under their great leader Yu-chin the Happiness Giver, at the close of the fifth century resulted in forcing the Sassanian to pay tribute. That he was overlord of Persia may explain why Yuchin adopted Khushnawáz the Persian rendering of his Chinese title *Shulo-Puchia* that is Happiness Giver. Still the few years between their arrival in Balkh and their advance into India seem too short an interval to admit of this section of the horde coming much under Persian influence. These eastern or Oxus valley White Húnas were known to the Chinese as Yetas, the beginning of Yeta-i-li-to the name of their ruling family, a name which the nations of the west altered to Hyatilah and Ephthalite. Among Armenians Persians and Arabs the name Khazar, though it is sometimes used of the Oxus valley Ephthalites, seems mainly to belong to the sections of the horde who remained north of the Jaxartes or who spread south to north-west Persia either by water or by the west shore of

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[1] Compare Encyclopædia Britannica Article Khazar. According to D'Herbelot (Bibliotheca Orientale, II. 455) Khozar is the correct spelling; DeGuignes says (Huns. I. Part II. 507) Khozar called by the Chinese Khoza Turks. It seems that the wild desert Rajput, the robber Khoza (compare Tod's Annals of Rajasthán, II. 307) may be a trace of Khazars who came with the Juán-Juán and so being more under Chinese influence than the bulk of the class has held himself aloof from Hindu influences. Another branch who entered India as Khazars but have rejected the Hindu version of their tribe name seem to be the Chhajra Jats and Rajputs in the west Punjáb (Muzaffarábád Gazetteer, 34 and 67). With regard to the form Khuzluj, also written (Yule's Cathay, I. clxxxvi. note 7) Hazlakh, Kazlakh, and Khizilji, Masudi's details (Prairies D'Or, I. 288-9) that they are the best of the Turks in form and grace and stature and complexion and beauty: that their capital in his time (A.D. 940) was to the north of the Jaxartes in Farghána and Shash (Tashkend), and that their head was the highest ruler among the Turks, agree with the Khuzluj being Khazars though it seems strange that Masudi should fail to notice that the Khuzluj and the Khazars were the same. The description of the Khuzluj as the handsomest and best made of Turks is in agreement with other description of Khazars: Khazar settlements at Farghána and Shash coincide with White Húna settlements: and that their Khákhan is the highest of Khakhans bears out Howorth's remark (Jour. Ethno. Soc. [N. S.] II. 182-192), that like the Arsaks or Parthians the Khazars (or Circassians) supplied the princely and governing caste to all the northern Caucasus. It also agrees with Parker's statement (A Thousand Years of the Tartars, 270) that the Khákhan who made the treaty with Rome in A.D. 569 was a Khazar; and with Firdausi's (A.D. 1020) application of the word Khazar to all the leading northern Turks. (Compare Encl. Brit. Art. Khazar.)

[2] Howorth's Jour. Ethnol. Soc. (N. S.) II. 188; Journal As. Ser. VI. Tom. V. page 201.

[3] Howorth Jour. Ethnol. Soc. (N. S.), II. 188; Ency. Brit. Art. Khazar; Klaproth Jour. As. Ser. I. Tom. V. page 154.

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the Caspian. In the Indian references to the fortunes of the great White Húṇa invaders the name Khazar does not appear. Indian writings describe these invaders either as Húṇas or as Mihiras that is Meds. It is known that a White Húṇa host crossed the Oxus and passed south to India. The question remains: Did the horde that crossed the Oxus on its way to India unite with any other body of White Húṇas or Khazars before they entered India. Admitting that the Khazar and the White Húṇa are one it follows that the Khazars included two distinct elements, a fair or Ak-Khazar, the Akatziroi or Khazaroi of Byzantine writers, and a dark or Kára Khazar.[1] The Kára Khazar was short ugly and as black as an Indian. He was the Ugrian nomad of the steppes who formed the rank and file of the army. The White Khazar or White Húṇa was fair-skinned black-haired and beautiful, their women (in the ninth and tenth centuries) were sought after in Baghdad and Byzantium. According to Klaproth, a view adopted by the writer in the Encyclopædia Britannica,[2] the White Khazar represented the white race which, since before Christ, has been settled round the Caspian. As White Húṇas, Ephthalites, White Ugrians, Sarogons, and White Bulgars this white race were the carriers between Europe and east Asia; they were also the bearers of the brunt of Tartar inroads. From this white race towards the end of the second century after Christ, the Khazar comes to the front. Between A.D. 178 and 198 according to Moses of Khorene (A.D. 450) Khazars, mixed with Bazilians, attacked the Armenians[3] and were beaten. Armenian writers mention a Khazar invasion through Darbánd on the west Caspian in A.D. 350.[4] In A.D. 359 Constantius or Lothanus the son of Constantine the Great (A.D. 320-343) collected Khazars and Arabs to fight Sapor the Sassanian (A.D. 309-379) who had lately (A.D. 350-357) come to terms with the Juán-Juán or Avár invaders from the north-east.[5] Four years later (A.D. 363) the Khazars aided the Emperor Julian in his war with Sapor.[6] Shortly after this alliance with Rome the Ugrians or black Huns of the north Caspian

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[1] Ency. Brit. Art. Khazar. It seems doubtful if Ak-Khazar is more than the Arab plural Akhazar.

[2] Klaproth in Journal Asiatique Ser. I. Tom. III. page 133-4.

[3] Klaproth in Jour. As. Ser. I. Tom. III. page 153-160.

[4] Jr. As. Ser. VI. Tom. VII. page 153; Avdall's Armenia in Jr. As. Ser. VI. Tom. VII. 153. A point which confuses Khazar and other invasions of Baktria (Balkh) and Persia is the reference to Caspian Gates. There are three sets of Caspian Gates and two of the three are each near a Darbánd and also a Djor. The three gates are: (i) in the north-west of the Caspian at the end of the Caucasus, known as the Alan Albanian or Húṇa gates, with, in the neighbourhood a Darbánd and a Djor; (ii) at the extreme north-west of Parthia to the south of the Caspian the defile which is called either the Caspian gates or the gates of the Kusháns; (iii) far east near the great desert, with a Darbánd and a Djor in the neighbourhood, near Kes and a hundred miles south of Samarkand, were iron-clamped gates of wood to keep out invaders. Apparently these last iron gates were constructed by the Kusháns and were at first (A.D. 480) known as the Yeta and afterwards (A.D. 560) as the Turk gates. Compare Beal's Buddhist Records, I. 36 note 119.

[5] Tarikh-i-Tabari (A.D. 838-922), I. 840. Sapor in the east near the Oxus met and came to terms with a mixed horde apparently the harbingers of the Jue-Jue or Juán-Juán. Among them were the Chionites apparently Húṇas, the Euseni that is the blue-eyed red-haired Wu-Sun from Sungaria north of the Mustágh hills, and the Vertæ probably the Avárs or Yuán-Yuán. To these new allies Sapor added the famous S'akas of Segestán or Sakastene on the Helmand south of Herat and the Gelani the Gaels or Jaels of Masudi A.D. 940 (Prairies D'Or, II. 7, 14, 19) in the morasses of the south Caspian. Rawlinson's Sassanians, 169-176.

[6] Ency. Brit. Art. Khazar.

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steppes rose to power and so suddenly overswept the Khazars that Armenian writers record an invasion of Huns between A.D. 375 and 378.[1] The Khazars bowed and for a time the Black Huns overlorded them peacefully. In A.D. 434 the discovery by the great Attila that the emperor Theodosius was stirring the Khazars to attack the Black Húṇas, led him to crush the Khazars (A.D. 448) and make his eldest son their king.[2] The Black Húṇa grip on the Khazar was loosened by Attila's death in A.D. 454. Apparently this Black Húṇa ascendancy (A.D. 370-450) explains why, in the early fifth century, to the north-east of the Caspian the Ephthalites or Yetas began to press from the Kirgiz steppes on the Juán-Juán. The defeat of the Juán-Juán by the great Behrám Gor (A.D. 420-440) turned this pressure into support. The Ephthalites met the retiring Juán-Juán stopped them and setting themselves at their head led them back to the conquest of Persia. The same withdrawal from their Black Húṇa conquerors seems to have driven the Khazars of the north-west Caspian, both by water and by land, down the west coast of the Caspian into south Armenia and north Media where they continued in strength till at least as late as the tenth century.[3] Towards the close of the fifth century fresh inroads seem to have begun as it is recorded that in A.D. 490 Kobad defeated the Khazars and built a town at Amid to keep them in check.[4] About two years later (A.D. 492 ?), driven from Persia because he supported Mazdak the communist, Kobad retired to the Hayatilah, that is apparently to the eastern White Húṇas whose capital was Badeghiz about seventy miles north of Herat. With their aid and with the help of the army of Khorásan Kobad defeated his brother Jamasp.[5] These details seem to show that towards the close of the fifth century two divisions of White Húṇas were settled in north Persia. Of these one was the Khazars[6] of Amanah and Azarbaijan in south Armenia, Tabari's (A.D. 838-922) country of the Khazars,[7] who ruled the Caspian or Khazar sea.[8] The other settlement, with their capital at Badeghiz north

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[1] Jr. As. Ser. VI. Tom. VII. page 153.

[2] Klaproth Jour. As. Ser. I. Tom. III. pages 153-154; Ency. Brit. Art. Khazar.

[3] Compare Ency. Brit. (Art. Khazar) page 60. The Khazars swept forward in a mass overrunning Iberia Georgia and Armenia. They were not driven north of Darbánd till A.D. 507. The writer mentions an attack on the Khazars by Juán-Juáns and Avárs soon after Attila's death (A.D. 454). These Avárs must have remained north of and distinct from the horde of Juán-Juáns or Avárs who passed south to the Oxus and defeated the Kusháns of Balk about A.D. 350. On the east coast of the Caspian the Juán-Juán preceded the White Húṇa by at least fifty years A.D. 350-400. In holding both the east and west shores of the Caspian the Khazar repeated the performance of the Parthian or Dahae the ruling caste of Parthians (B.C. 240 - A.D. 240).

[4] Rawlinson's Seventh Monarchy, 342. The accounts of this period are complicated by the apparently mistaken statement that about A.D. 490 an Ephthalite commander retired west from Badeghiz with 100,000 men. Cunningham Ninth Inter. Congress, I. 223-224.

[5] Abul Fida's (A.D. 1324) History of the Khazars, Arab Text page 88.

[6] The Persian and Armenian references say little with regard to this great Median settlement of Khazars. Tabari (A.D. 838-922, Tarikh II. 342) supplies the omission. In A.D. 589 when enemies arose on all sides against Hormazd (A.D. 579-590) the son of Naushirván the Turks came from the east, the Romans from the west, and the Khazars from Amanah and Azarbaijan that is south Armenia and north Media.

[7] Tarikh-i-Tabari, I. 894.

[8] According to D'Herbelot (Bibliotheque Orientale, II. 455) the name the sea of the Khazars was adopted from the capital of the Khazars to the north of the Caspian. But as the Khazar sea is mainly an Arab name it seems probable that the name was adopted from the control over the sea enjoyed by the Khazars of the Khazar country of Adiabene and Resht to the north of Media at the south-west corner of the lake. This

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of Herat known as Hyatilahs or Yetas, were the White Húṇas, who, soon after the middle of the fifth century, had passed south and west of the Oxus valley. The question remains: Did the Khazars amalgamate with the Yetas and together pass conquering into India.[1] To this the answer is they did amalgamate. According to Rawlinson in A.D. 480 when the Kusháns, that is really the White Húṇas though they doubtless had assimilated a Kushán element, defeated the Sassanian Peroses (Firuz A.D. 459-484) in a great war they held the whole of the south border of the Caspian from Astarábád in the south-east corner to Darbánd in Albania in the north-west. With this Tabari's (A.D. 838-922) details of events a century later agree.[2] Tabari says; At the accession of Hormazd (A.D. 579-590) the son of Naushirván the Khazars from Amanah and Azarbaijan, that is south Armenia and

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origin is supported by the other Arab name for the Caspian Gurjan which is called after Gurjan the ancient Hyrkania the modern Astarábád at the south-east corner of the lake.

[1] After the close of the fifth century the history of the western Khazars shows no further connection with India. In the early sixth century A.D. 507 they are said (Enc. Brit. Art. Khazar) to have been forced from south Armenia north to Darbánd. But as is shown below this can apply only to fresh immigrants. In A.D. 562 Chosroes Naushirván (A.D. 537-579) defeated the Khazars and on one of the Caucasus spurs built a wall and tower to defend the city Bab-ul-Abwab against the attacks of Khazars and Alan. (Rawlinson's Seventh Monarchy, 422; Masudi's Prairies D'Or, II. 2; Klaproth Jl. As. Ser. I. Tom. III. 152). Khazars again invaded Armenia in A.D. 589 (Rawlinson's Seventh Monarchy, 467) finally allying themselves with the Roman emperor Heraclius in A.D. 620. They, four years later (A.D. 624), invaded Persia by the west Darbánd. It is in connection with this alliance that (A.D. 627) the Byzantine writers first refer to the Khazars. (Howorth in Jour. Ethn. Soc. N. S. II. 189.) From this date the term of prosperity of the Khazars of the north Caspian begins and lasts for nearly 300 years. In A.D. 740 the north Caspian Khazars became Jews. In the ninth century Ibn Khurdadbah (A.D. 860) notices that so great was the power of the Khazars in Astrakan and in their capital Itil on the Volga that not only were both the Black Sea and the Caspian called the sea of the Khazars but the Volga also came to be known as the river of the Khazars: the country between the Caucasus and the Don was great Khazaria and the Crimea little Khazaria. (Jour. As. Ser. VI. Tom. V. page 231, 516-527; Masudi Prairies D'Or, I. 288-289.) The welding of the Slavs by the Varangians in A.D. 862 transferred the centre of power from the Khazars. In A.D. 965 the Russians dealt them a crushing defeat. And in A.D. 1016 Khazaria was blotted out between Byzantium and Russia. After losing the Crimea the Khazars retired to their old homes to the east of the Caspian and the Lower Volga. (Klaproth in Jour. As. Ser. I. Tom. III. page 154.) The importance of the Khazar settlements in south Armenia and north Media, which about A.D. 580 rose against Hormazd, the son of Naushirván (A.D. 579-590), is shown by the knowledge of Chinese writers of the T'ang dynasty of a settlement of Khazars to the north-west of the Arab's. (Parker's A Thousand Years of the Tartars, 270.) In A.D. 640 the Arabs agreed to let the Khazars continue in Azarbaijan free from tribute on condition that they guarded the passes against the Turks and other northern tribes. (Tarikh-i-Tabari, IV. 503.) In A.D. 685 the governor of Basrah passed through the Khazar territory to Bab-ul-Abwab collected booty but made little lasting impression. (Tarikh-i-Tabari, IV. 714-715.) In A.D. 724 the Khazars defeated the Arab general Jarrah and passed south pillaging and destroying to Ardbel and Ekbatána, the capital of Media the modern Hamádan, and were dislodged only after a severe campaign. (Tárikh-i-Tabári, IV. 716-718.) The Arabs followed up their advantage and drove the Kházars out of Armanah (Ardalan ?) and Azarbaijan (Ditto, 720-721). Perhaps the last raid of the northern Khazars took place in A.D. 798 (H. 182), when the Khákan wasted Armenia in consequence of his daughter being killed in passing to Baghdad to marry one of the Barmek family of Harún's minister (Tabari's Annals Arab Text. III. 648, XV. 317, XVI. 123). Besides the Median land to the south-west of the Caspian the Arabs called Jurjan or Hyrkania the modern Astarábád the land of the Khazars. Tarikh-i-Tabari, IV. 504, and apparently Ibni Khurdádbah A.D. 860. Jour. As. Ser. VI. Tom. V. 231.

[2] Tarikh-i Tabari, II. 342.

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north Media went against him. This statement shows that the Hun-scared Khazars of the fourth century had remained unchallenged in south Armenia and Media. It follows that Naushirván's (A.D. 536-579) wall (A.D. 562) of which ruins remain near Darbánd was not built to keep out the long settled Khazars, but to keep back the Turks the oppressors of both White Húṇas and Khazars.[1] The fact that well informed Arab writers believed the Khazars to be Georgians, a view which still finds support, may explain, by an eastward movement of the south Armenian and Median Khazars, the Georgian tradition that towards the close of the fifth century their great king Vakhtang (A.D. 469-500) led an army to India.[2] If as is likely this tale has a basis in fact it follows that the great horde that entered north-west India in the late fifth century included three main sections: A Juán-Juán or Avar contingent, a coarser and subordinate element, and two sets of White Húṇas the Ephthalites from the east Caspian coast and the Khazars from the west and south-west Caspian coasts. Each of these White Húṇa hordes would include a fairer class and a darker class. In the Merv and Herat contingent these two classes would be known as Húṇas and Kara that is black Húṇas. In the south Armenian and north Median contingent the two classes of Khäzars would seem to be the origin of the two Indian tribes the Bad or Rajput and the common or low class Gurjjara. This difference between the north-east and the north-west contingent may account for one of the most notable results of the invasion of this horde, namely the pushing onward of two distinct worships the worship of Siva from the north-east and the worship of Mihira, the Sun, partly from Balkh but more especially from Persia. A trace both of the beautiful and of the coarse clans seems to survive in the complimentary Márwár proverb 'As handsome as a Húṇa' and in the abusive Gujarát proverb 'Yellow and short as a Húṇa's beard.' Further it may have been the south Armenian and north Median Khazar who contributed the Christian element in the Húṇa horde which interested Cosmas (A.D. 525) as well as the sixth century Greek and Roman architecture which is found both in the Kábul valley and in Káshmir.[3] Finally this double Khäzar or White Húṇa element may explain how Indian inscriptions recording the victories and the defeats of the great horde refer to them as Húṇas and as Maitrakas that is Mihiras. The references to sixth century Huṇas seem to be to White Húṇas. The Mihiras seem to be new-come Meds or Mers, sun-worshippers from Media the introducers of the Median Magh Bráhmans whose name Mahar or Meher both in the Panjáb and in Rajputána remains the term of respect for the Khazar or Gujar.[4] Under its Hindu form Gurjjara Khazar seems to have become the name by which the bulk of the great sixth century horde was known. Possibly because it implied that the bearer was a sun-worshipper, the term or title Mihira

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[1] Al Masudi (A.D. 940) Prairies D'Or, II. 2, says to guard Bab-ul-Abwab from the neighbouring tribes of the Turks and Sariss such as the Khazars and the Alans.

[2] Compare Enc. Brit. Art. Georgia IX. Ed. X. 432 and Art. Khazar XIV. 59.

[3] Cosmas in Yule's Cathay, I. clxxii. (172); Fergusson's Architecture, 284-5. Mr. V. A. Smith J. A. S. Bo. Br. LVIII. Pt. I. 108-109 admits the Doric fluting and ovolos of the Káshmir pillars of about A.D. 400. He does not understand how Greek influence came so late. Klaproth notices that by A.D. 860 many Khazars had become Christians. Jour. As. Soc. I. Tom. III. page 154.

[4] Montgomery Gazetteer, 51. It is remarkable that Gobineau (Histoire Des Perses, I. 178) holds that the Khazars are of a Median origin. But this connection he would trace to very much earlier times than the first centuries of the Christian era.

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fell into disuse. By degrees as the new-comers rose to be Rajputs and Kshatriyas the name Gurjjara passed out of favour among the higher clans and was mainly continued by, and is now almost confined to, the middle and lower class representatives of the great sixth century White Húṇa horde.

History, *Traces: On Way to India.*

It has been noticed that in Georgia the oriental forms Gurge and Kurge have been derived from the tribe of Gurgis which Abulfarage (A.D. 1243) considers the same as the Khazars.[1] But the more usual derivation from the river Kur or Cyrus[2] seems more probable though it is not unlikely that the river gave its name to the tribe and the tribe to the country. The second place whose name seems a trace of the Khazars is Khiva, the Arab Khvárism the classic Chorasmia, which was known to the Persians as *Gurgán* and to the Arabs as Jurjanj and now by dropping the initial guttural is Urganj.[3] According to D'Herbelot it was from this Gurganj that the Arabs called the Caspian Georgian.[4] The classic form (Chorasmia) seems to point to some local origin of the name though it is to be noted that Arab writers placed Khazars in the neighbourhood of Khiva and that the coast near Khiva is one of the chief places of trade on the Caspian.[5] Again the modern Astarábád at the south-east corner of the Caspian, which was also called the land of the Khazars by the Arabs and was a centre of trade, was known to the eighth and ninth century Arabs as Jurján or Djordján.[6] Compare Burnes' ancient river of Goorgan and capital of Goorgan of which traces remained in the Gumbaz Kaoos near Astarábád.[7] In spite of the suitableness both in the form

[1] D'Herbelot's Bibliotheque Orientale, II. 158; Jour. B.B. R. A. Soc. IX. Proceedings XXIV. In its passage from Armenia to India the name Khazar would be likely to come under the following changing influences. The initial guttural might be dropped as the Mongol Khoulaku becomes Halaku and Gorganj (Khiva) becomes Urganj; the initial *K* might become a *G* as Kushán turns to Gushán; the *J* might become a *G* as Jorjan (Khiva) turns to Gorganj and Jurgan (Hyrkania) into Gurgan; the *R* might become a *Z* in agreement with Turki and Mongolian practice; the *J* might become a *Z* as the Persian *jang* becomes *zanj* in Arabic; the *R* might become *L* as some of the Hindu Kush and Chitrál tribes cannot distinguish between *l* and *r*.

[2] Rawlinson's Herodotus, I. 651 note 44. At the same time it is to be noted that Rawlinson (Herodotus, IV. 232) thought the Georgian element modern. The Saspeires or Abeires lasted till A.D.600 when they were overrun by Avárs, Húṇas, and modern Georgians.

[3] Howorth's Mongols Part II. Div. II. page 965. Alberuni (A.D. 1030) Sachau II. 254 calls Khvárism Jurjan. Abulfeda (A.D. 1342) Dodwell's Geog. Vet. Script. III. gives Kurkanj as the Persian and Al Jorjaniyah as the Arab form.

[4] D'Herbelot's Bib. Or. II. 147; Alberuni (A.D. 1030) Sachau I. 258 calls the Caspian the sea of Jurjan. Al Masudi (A.D. 940) Muruj Arab Text Cairo Edn. I. 168 gives both the sea of Khazar and the sea of Jurján as names of the Caspian and in addition the sea of Bab-ul-Abwab on the west coast, the sea of Jabal probably Geyl or Gelauoi in the south, and the sea Tabaristán bordering on Hyrkania in the south-east. Alberuni (A.D. 1030), Sachau I. 258, mentions Jurján and Nizápur together apparently meaning Astarábád.

[5] Instances of the Arabs calling Gurganj or Jurjan the land of the Khazars are to be found in Tárikh-i-Tabari (A.D.837-922)IV. 504 and in Ibn Khurdádbah (A.D.860)Jo. As. Ser. VI. Tom. V. page 231. It is to be noted that it is difficult to tell whether the Jurjan referred to is Khiva (Chorasmia) or is Astarábád (Hyrkania) at the south-east corner of the Caspian.

[6] According to Ibni Khallikhán Biog. Dict. *s. v.* Yezd-ibni-Muhaltab. Yezid in A.D. 716-717 was the first Arab to conquer Tabaristán and Jurján. Djordján appears in Ibn Khurdábah's (A.D. 821) tribute lists apparently as Astarábád or Hyrkania. Jo. As. Ser. VI. Tom. V. page 245 (1865). Similarly in Mirkhond (Sacy's Trans. 372) Djordján is Hyrkania.

[7] Travels in Bokhara, II. 117. Compare Rawlinson's Ancient Monarchies, Parthians 2 (3) and Herodotus, IV. 199.

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of the name and in the position of the country the name connection with Khazar or Gurjjara seems improbable. The origin seems the river Gurj or Wolf in Persian a derivation which is supported by the fact that Vrik the Zend original of Hyrk in Hyrkania also means wolf.[1] A third tract with a name suggestive of Khazar or Gurjjara is Gurjistán, apparently in the neighbourhood of the White Húṇa capital Badeghiz, which is described as bounded on the north by Merv, on the east by Gor, on the south by Ghazni, on the west by Herat.[2] Ibn Khurdádbah's (A.D. 821) tribute lists show a Gordjistán next Badeghiz.[3] This seems to be the tract referred to by Tabari (A.D. 838-922) where he tells of Naushirván (A.D. 537-579) going to Balkh and conquering the country of Tukharistán Hiatilah and Gurjistán.[4] It may also be Hiuen Tsiang's (A.D. 630) Juzgána (Hu-shi-kien) doubtfully placed south-east of the valley of the Murgháb.[5]

A modern trace seems to remain in Ujaristán the initial *g* being dropped, beyond Arghandáb west of Hazára. Another tract between Merv and Balkh seems to have been known in the twelfth century (A.D. 1186) as Juzjan.[6] Further south on the Helmand Thornton has a Gujaristán and a Gujar-i-Khashi on the road to Seistán.[7] A third Gujaristán is near Ghazni. Either this or the Helmand Gazar may be Hiuen Tsiang's (A.D. 640) Hosalo, the guttural dropped and *l* written for *r*.[8] Again among the Brahuis, whose short thick bones flat features and hardworking heavy-eating genialness suggest the Kara or lower class Khazar, are Mingals (as if Mins), Nagris a known Gurjjara subdivision, Merwári (Mers) and Mehráni (Mehiras),[9] and the doubtful Gurgananis or Gurjjaras. As no other explanation of these names has been offered they seem probable traces of the passage of Khazars or Gurjjaras both by Bamian and through Seistán and Afghanistán into India. This is supported by Dr. Bird (a rather unsafe authority)[10] who says the intermediate branch connecting the Afgháns with the European nations is the tribe of Khazars with whom during the seventh century many Jews and Christians were associated. This suggests that the Hazáras, who are found west of the Helmand, on the Upper Indus, and north of Rawalpindi, and whose character and type of face leans to the Mongol, may be remnants of the Kara or inferior Khazars.[11]

In India.

On the authority of the Báj Purána Alberuni (A.D. 1040) describes the Pallavas S'akas Mallas and Gurjjaras as northerners.[12] The summary of the Indian history of the Gujjaras, given in the account of the ancient Gurjjara capital of Bhinmál, in Vol. I. Part I. of the Bombay Gazetteer

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1 Compare Rawlinson's Seventh Monarchy, 317 note 2. 2 Elliot's History, II. 576.

3 Jour. As. Ser. VI. Tom V. page 245. It seems doubtful whether Badeghiz itself was not called Gorgo. According to Procopius A.D. 540 (General Cunningham, Ninth International Congress, I. 224) the capital of the White Húṇas was at Gorgo to the north of the Indian Caucasus.

4 Tarikh, III. 318. 5 Beal's Buddhist Records, I. 48. 6 Elliot's History, II. 259.

7 Thornton's West of India Gazetteer, I. 208.

8 Compare Cunningham's Ancient Geography, 39, 41. Both near Ghazni and in the Panjáb Alberuni (A.D. 1030) Sachau II. 254 has tracts called Jurján.

9 Pottinger's Baluchistán, 71, 72, 75. 10 Jour. Bom. As. Soc. II. 187-8.

11 There seems nothing but the twisted name from Hazara into Hazára and the Mongol type to favour the common explanation that they are Hazáras or regiments left by Timúr (A.D. 1398) or other Mongol conqueror. In support of Hazára being Khazar it is worthy of note that in the Panjáb district of Hazára the bulk of the people are Gurjjaras. Cunningham's Arch. Survey Reports, II. 4 (1862). The spelling of Klaproth Jl. As. Ser. I. Tom. III. page 153-4 Qara-Hazar for Kara-Khazar would remove the word-difficulty.

12 Sachau's Text, chap. 29 pages 150-155.

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shows that the Gurjjaras probably entered India about the middle of the fifth century. The view adopted by Dr. Bhagvánlál in his Early Gujarát history is that the Valabhis who came to power either about A.D. 490 or 525 were Gurjjaras. This view he supported by the absence of any reference to the family or stock of Bhatárka the founder (A.D. 480) of the dynasty; by the friendly relations subsisting between the rulers of Valabhi and the Gurjjaras of Broach (A.D. 580-808); and by the fact that other chiefs of Káthiáwár during the seventh and eighth centuries were Gurjjaras of the Chápa family. A serious difficulty in the way of the Pandit's explanation was an epithet of Bhatárka the founder of the Valabhi family (A.D. 480) which seemed to describe him as making his name by defeating the great armies of the Maitrakas. As Maitraka is the same as Mihira and as Mihira is the Sanskrit form of Med or Mer it seemed a contradiction that a Gurjjara should rise to fame by resisting another section of the same horde of invaders. Since Dr. Bhagvánlál's history was written, Dr. Hultsch has published information which shows that the Valabhis were not only not opposed to the Maitrakas but were themselves Maitrakas. It follows that the Gehlots and other Rajputs who trace their origin to the Bálas or Válas of Valabhi are also Mihiras, and therefore Gurjjaras since Mihira is a respectful name for Gurjjara.[1] The earliest known mention of the Gurjjaras under that name is their defeat by Prabhákaravardhana (A.D. 590-606) the father of the great S'ri Harsha (A.D. 606-641) of Magadha. The position given to the Gurjjaras in the list of Prabhákaravardhana's conquests, between the king of Sindh and the Láṭas that is the rulers of the present Gujarát south of the Mahi, suggests that at that time the Gurjjara head-quarters were in south Márwár. This is borne out by the description given by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang in A.D. 640 that the Gurjjaras, *Kiu-che-lo* whose capital was Bhinmal *(Pilo-mo-lo)*, ruled a rich and populous country and that the king was a young Kshatriya, in religion a staunch Buddhist.[2] Inscriptions shew on the whole an increase in the power of the Gurjjarás of Bhinmal during the eighth century, their territories towards its close including portions of Bengal. In the ninth century, though they had suffered seriously from Arab raids, the Jurj, also written Jujr, kings were the fourth in importance of Indian dynasties, their territories including, according to a statement of Abu Zaid (A.D. 916), most of the country of Kanauj.[3]

Bhinmál was still the capital, but many important settlements had been made by rulers of the sub-tribe or stock-name of Chápa. These settlements included one at Somnáth, a second at Wadhwán, and, towards the middle of the eighth century, a third at Anahilavaḍa which was soon to become the capital of Bombay Gujarát. From before the end of the sixth century a small Gurjjara dynasty flourished at Broach. It lasted till the beginning of the eighth century and has the special interest that Dadda III. (A.D. 675-700) shows how by devotion to Bráhman rules a member of a foreign tribe can be accepted as a Kshatriya and furnished with a descent from a Puranic hero.[4] The fact that after he gave up sun-worship for the worship of S'iva and obtained a place as a Kshatriya,

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[1] In the Panjáb Gujarát the Gurjar title of honour is Mihir or Mahar. Gazetteer, 50-51. So also the chief men among Rajputána Gujars are called Mihrs. Rajputána Gazetteer, I. 80.

[2] Beal's Buddhist Records, II. 270.

[3] Abu Zaid in Elliot, I. 10.

[4] Details given in Vol. I. Part I. of the Bombay Gazetteer, 116-117.

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Dadda III. and his successors ceased to call themselves Gurjjaras illustrates the apparent dislike of the Kshatriya rulers of Valabhi to admit an origin in Mihiras or in Gurjjaras. Though according to the bards, under the Chávaḍás or Chápas, a branch of the Gurjjaras (A.D. 720-956), Anahilaváḍa is described as the centre of power, that city seems at least till the tenth century to have been subordinate to the Gurjjaras of Bhinmál. Of the rulers of the great Gurjjara settlement in the Panjáb no details have been traced before A.D. 890. In that year their power seems to have been on the decline as the Rajátarangini mentions that Alakhána the Gurjjara chief, who is said to be of the family of Thakkviya and subject to the Sháhi of Kábul, had to cede the important territory of Takkadesa to S'ankaravarmman of Kashmir.[1] In the early eleventh century, though this notice also shows signs of decay, the widespread power of the Gurjjaras all over Rajputána is shown by Alberuni's remark (A.D. 1030) that the great trade centre of Naráyan or Barána near Jaipur had till lately been a Gurjjara capital and that on its fall the Gurjjaras had moved their capital to Jadwarh (Jaora?).[2] Meanwhile at Bhinmal also Gurjjara power was declining. About A.D. 950 a horde of 18,000 Gurjjaras left Bhinmál and travelling in old Central Asian fashion in their wagons made fresh settlements in south Málwa and in north-east Khándesh.[3] With the establishment (A.D. 961) of the Chaulukya or Solanki family, who like the Chávaḍás were of Gurjjara origin the capital passed from Bhinmál to Anahilaváḍa. In A.D. 990 the Bhinmál chief appears as a subordinate ally of Mularája Solanki of Anahilaváḍa, a change which was the result of the separation from Bhinmál of the Chauháns of Sambhar and of the Paramáras of Málwa as well as of the Solankis of Anahilaváḍa.

One chief point of interest in connection with the Gurjjaras is that the Agnikula tribes who were raised to be Rajputs by re-birth in a fire pit on Mount A'bu were either Gurjjaras or members of the great horde of which the Gurjjara was one of the leading elements. The example of Dadda III. of Broach, the instance of the Valabhi dynasty, and the case of the Chápas who had their original Gurjjara clan-name Sanskritised to Chápotkata that is strong-bowmen and developed into the ruling Rajput tribe of Chávaḍá or Chaura remove all difficulty from the suggestion that the Agnikula Rajputs are of the Gurjjara horde.[4]

1 Rájatarangini, 149.

2 Sachau, II. 317; Reinaud's Fragments, 112; Arch. Survey of India, II. 242; Alberuni in Reinaud's Memoir, 258, calls it the country near Karzat.

3 Indian Antiquary, XIX. 233. It is remarkable that a clear memory of this movement, with a close approach to correctness in dates, remains among the Gurjjaras of north Khándesh. See the account by Mr. J. Pollen, LL.D., I.C.S., in the Khándesh Gazetteer, XII. 63.

4 The fact that the Chávaḍás (A.D. 720-956) of north Gujarát were Gurjjaras explains that the Gurjjareshwar to whom (Rás Mála, I. 34) Jaishekar of Panchásar built a temple in A.D. 696 was himself. This also makes it probable that the temple which the White Húna Mihirakula (A.D. 512-540) built to Mihireshwar was also to himself. The practice is not uncommon. The temple of Sambha at Mahálakshmi in Bombay, the temple of Ambernáth near Kalyán, and the temple built to Takhateshwar that is to himself by Takhatsinghji the late Mahárája of Bhávnagar are cases in point. The following examples occur in the Rajátarangini. Vijaya ruled eight years; he built a symbol of S'iva called by his own name (Book II. Sl. 62). Matrigupta built a shrine called Matriguptasvámi (Book III. Sl. 258, 265). Moraka the minister of Pravarasena built a temple called after himself a world-wonder (Book III. Sl. 355). Gokarn raised a sacred symbol called after himself (Book I. Sl. 548). Aśoka built two shrines to Aśokesvar (I. 13). Múlarája Chaulukya (A.D. 961-996) built a Jain temple named Múlava-

According to the 1881 Census the total Gujar population is 1,416,837. The details are: Panjáb 627,304, Rajputána 402,709, Central India 337,466, North-West Provinces 308,909, Bombay 64,609, Central Provinces 44,289, Ajmir 32,690, Berár 967, Haidarábád 562, Bengal 41 especially in the Panjáb a large share of the Gujár population is returned as Muhammadans and Sikhs.

Appendix B. THE GUJAR. Strength.

The Gujar element in the population of North-West India may be arranged under four groups:

Distribution.

(*a*) Classes known to be Gujars.
(*b*) Special classes of Gujars.
(*c*) Divisions admitted to be of the Gujar stock.
(*d*) Classes whose Gujar origin is either forgotten or concealed.

The classes known as Gujars have their head-quarters in the Panjáb. General Cunningham[1] estimates the strength of the Panjáb Gujars at about two millions who are scattered over the Duabs and are found in greatest numbers to the west of the Ravi. They form the bulk of the population in Hazara in the north. They occur in considerable numbers south-east in Ráwalpindi and Gujar-Khán, in Gujarát and Gujranwala, and in Hasan-Abdul and Shahdheri. The Sikhs are almost all either Jats or Gujars. Gujars apparently have given their name to the little Gujal and to the Gujal proper on the south slopes of the Hindu Kush.[2] In Gilgit and its neighbourhood are Gujars who keep by themselves live in rude hovels and pasture cattle.[3] There are large numbers in the Swat valley.[4] They are scattered over the middle hills of Jamu.[5] They were unruly in Jehangir's time (A.D. 1620) in Kashmir and were planted out on the other side of the river.[6] In A.D. 1840 Vigne notices the Gujaru who

(*a*) Gujars.

satika and a Mahádeva temple called Múlasvámi (Bhagvanlál's History, 160, 161). An inscription about A.D. 650 at Lovek in Cambodia notes that the minister who set up statues of Vishnu and of Shiv had the statues carved in the features of himself and of his father and mother. (Jour. As. Ser. VI. Vol. XIX. 145 and XVII. 19.)

One more trace of the Gujar may be hazarded. In the Statistical Account of Thána (Bombay Gazetteer, XIII. Part II. 713) grounds have been shown for holding that a considerable section of the Gypsies of Europe are of Med origin and found their way to Egypt by sea from the ports of Sindh and Káthiáwár. The references given in that note are mainly to the Sanganians that is to the Sangars who seem to be a Rajput tribe closely connected in sea enterprise with Jats Meds and Chávadás. Among the Egyptian Gypsies, who use among themselves many words closely allied to Gujaráti or Sindhi are two small tribes, the Ghugár or Ghujár and the Ghazzis. The men are blacksmiths braziers and tinkers. The women tattoo and make blue marks. Many of the women are fortune-tellers. They go about the streets of Cairo carrying a piece of gazelle skin containing materials of divination and crying "I perform divination. What is present I show what is not present I show." They throw shells pieces of glass and coins on the ground and from their position tell what will happen to those who consult them. [Lane's Modern Egyptians, Vol. II. chap. VII. page 103.] That Lane is unable to offer any explanation of the name Ghugar or Ghujár suggests that these wanderers were once members or hangers-on of the great Gujar horde.

1 Archæological Survey (1862), II. 4.

2 Biddulph's Tribes of the Hindu Kush, 25. The local custom of using *l* for *r* has been noted above.

3 Biddulph's Tribes of the Hindu Kush, 40.

4 Biddulph's Tribes of the Hindu Kush, 70. The Gujárs on the extreme north-west frontier seem to maintain the historic fame of the Gujár as a laugher. With the roaring Gujar an epithet in the Kapadvanj Ráshṭrakúṭa grant of A.D. 910 (S. 832) (Bombay Gazetteer, I. Part I. 129) compare the laughlike cheers of the Baltis of Little Tibet encouraging each other by tones like the wild discordant laughter of a maniac (Vigne's Kashmir, II. 224, 238). A Gujar element seems present in the Balti band of fifes clarionets and straight six-feet long brazen trumpets like the trumpet of Fame and of Napoleon's funeral (Ditto, 220), and also of the Gujarát Nágara and other bands of Bhaváyas or strolling-players.

5 Drew's Kashmir, 109.

6 *Elliot's History*, VI. 303.

Appendix B.
The Gujar.
Distribution.
(*a*) Gujars.

owns cattle and the Gujari who sells milk immigrants into Kashmir from Gujarát in the Panjáb.[1] From Kashmir the Gurjara country stretches south along the course of the Jamna through the North-West Provinces where in the last century Saharanpur was Gujarát, on south-east past Dehli to the south of which is the Gujar state of Rewári, where the Gujars burst in revolt after the 1857 Mutinies,[2] south-east to Âgra with Gujar place-names, through Gwalior which has still a Gujargar district to Bandalkhand,[3] then south-west through Málwa to Khándesh, east to Nágpur where they claim to be Rajputs,[4] back west across Bombay Gujarát to the sea. North of Bombay Gujarát they are numerous in Kachh[5] and in the north-west states of Rajputána, and occur in smaller numbers over the whole south of the Panjáb.[6] The older idea was that the Gurjar was a resident of untraceable antiquity a cross between the Rajput and the A'hir. During the last thirty years, as language has lost its place as a final race-test, opinions agree in holding the Gujars to be immigrants of not more than 2000 years.[7] In the plains the Gujars have lost much of their special appearance. In the Kángra hills the Gujars are tall handsome men and women with peculiar features who rear buffaloes and who sell milk and whose women are of easy virtue.[8]

(*b*) Special Classes.

Of (*b*) special classes of Gujars only two have been traced Bad or Bir Gujars and Bhatti Gujars. Bad-Gurjjaras are an important class apparently representing a separate tribe of the original horde. The name Bad is supposed to mean *barra* or great. But it may be noted that *bada* or *bede* is applied to Turks and Uigars in the sense of north.[9] Another form is Bir-gujar which is supposed to mean hill-Gujar. The Bad-Gujars have the special distinction of being according to certain accounts the class in which the divine Krishna was born. Though Tod inclines to refuse in Rajputána the rank of Rajput to the Gujar he gives the Bar-Gujar an undoubted place among the thirty-six royal tribes. Tod further held the Bir-Gujars whose capital was Rajor to be undoubted Rajputs. They claimed descent from Lava or Lao the elder son of Ráma.[10]

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[1] Vigne's Travels, I. 300. [2] Jour. R. A. Soc. XXXV. Part II. 103.

[3] Further east in Rewa are the remains of an ancient city Gurgimasán and near it a Gojara. Cunningham's Archæological Survey, XIX. 85-91.

[4] Races N.-W. P., I. 102. Tod (Western India, 39-40) notes a trace still further east in Srigujar a place near Chota Udepur.

[5] In Kachh Chávadas Solankis and Vághelás are classed as Gujara rulers. Besides them are many classes of Gujaras, Leva Kanbis, Suthárs, and Lohars. Cutch Gazetteer, 67, 69, 71, 72.

[6] Cunningham's Archæological Survey Reports, II. 71. In Rajputána, which from the seventh to the eleventh century was the land of the Gurjjaras, they are plentiful in Ajmir where they rank as Jats (Raj. Gaz. I. 80, II. 39): in Bhartpur where they rank as Rajputs (Ditto, I. 162); in strength in Biana (163) and in Dholpur (261); cultivators in Márwár (II. 245), in Mewár (III. 28), and in Ulwár (III. 206). There is perhaps a trace in Baluchistán in the Brahui tribe of Gurganánis and in the Baluch tribe of Gurchanis. Pottinger's Beluchistán, 55, 57, 76, 351. In Bombay harbour the name Guzar or Guzár appears among the commanders of native craft from the Makran coast.

[7] Of the local theory see Sir J. Malcolm's Sikhs, 136; Thornton in Panjáb Gazetteer, III. 65; Beames in N.-W. P. Races, I. 102 and 180. The new views will be found in Cunningham's Reports and in the Gazetteers of the Panjáb and the N.-W. Provinces.

[8] Kángra Gazetteer, I. 94-95.

[9] Howorth's Mongols, I. 695. The corresponding term to *Bada* north is *Shara* south.

[10] Annals, II. 366. According to some accounts Bír means hill. In Kángra (Kángra Gazetteer, I. 94) the hill Gujars are a much purer and handsomer type than the Gujars of the plain. When resistance was hopeless the leaders would retire to the hills and the lower class submit to the conquerors and remain in the plains. In parts of Kángra the

Appendix B.

THE GUJAR.

Distribution.

(*b*) Special Classes.

Bhati-Gujar.

In West Márwár the Bhátis are said to be Gujars. In the Panjáb Bhátis are said to be Jats. The case seems one of shelter-seeking that is of a weak or a waning tribe for shelter enrolling itself as a subdivision of some powerful class. Apart from intermarriage the origin of Jats Gurjjaras and Bhátis or Bhatis seems distinct: the Jat representing the Kushán or S'aka horde (B.C. 100–A D. 50), the Gujar the White Húna horde (A.D. 450-550), and the Bháti the Turk (A.D. 600-800). This arrangement agrees with the fact that in the North-West Provinces in Bulandshahr where Gujars are in strength Bhátis appear as a subdivision of Gujars, while in Bhatner a home of the Bhats the Gujars appear as a subdivision of Bhats.[1] It seems doubtful if the Bhatána Gurjars of Ajmir are Bháts. According to their own accounts they are Gujaras and are called Bhatána, because they moved from Bhatána in Márwár to escape Rathor oppression.[2] The patel of Ajmir is a Bhatána Gujar and his Bhát who is of the Dhádara division lives in Ajmir. The Bhatána priest is a Khákara Bráhman. The Khákara is called when a child has to be named and a Gujar Gor frames the horoscope. Both a Khákara and a Gujar Gor are present at weddings. On the fifth seventh and ninth day after a birth Gujars worship the sun. Barley and *mung* Phaseolus radiatus are spread on the ground, a pot *kalas* is set on the grain, and a branch of the *nim* or Indian lilac is stuck in the pot's mouth. The father and mother and a Bráhman sit and worship Náráyan-Vishnu. The mother rises and with the infant in her arm carries it five times round the sacred square or *chok.* At their weddings they worship Surya-Náráyan. Gujar women wear a big silver human sun-face hung medal-like round the neck. The face is worshipped on Sundays and bathed in frankincense smoke. In some divisions unmarried women wear a Bhairava face changing it on marriage into a sun-face. Huzúr or Mahárája was at such a height in the sky is the usual Gujar way of saying at what time of the day anything happened. The Bhatána Gujars have four *kuldevis* or house-guardians: Bandevi whose head-quarters are near Bikanir, Jinadevi and Kevai whose original seat is not known, and Nosra whose main shrine is about half-way from Ajmir to Pushkar.

(*c*) Stock Divisions.

Of group *(c)* divisions admitted to be of the Gujar stock, the chief are Agnikulas, Bhagarávats, Chandelas, Cháranas, Chávadás or Chápás, Chechis, Jhavlás, Kalhenias, Khadvas, Kors, Kusanes, Lavas or Lors, Mers, Nágaris, Nekádis, Rajputs, Rinds, and Sesodias.

Agnikulas.

The direct evidence is not strong that the four tribes of Agnikulas, which were re-born in the fire-pit of Mount A'bu to help the Bráhmans against the Buddhists and their foreign allies, were Gujars.[3] The four tribes are the Chohán, Parihár, Parmár, and Solaṅki. These names like the name Gurjjara are probably adaptations of tribe or stock Khazar or Húṇa names to Indian meanings.[4]

Chohán is supposed by Tod to be Chaturhán four-handed. The name may perhaps be Chaghan which, originally meaning white, is applied by Hiuen Tsiang (A.D. 630) to Chaghánia or Hissar on the north branch of

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old practice which prevails among the Kirghiz of Issyk-kul lake (Radloff Journal Asiatique Ser. VI. Tom. II. page 127) continues of the higher Gujars going to the hills during the hot-weather while the lower classes stay in the plains. Kángra Gazetteer, I. 94.

1 North-West Province Gazetteer, II. 184 and III. 48.

2 MS. Notes April 1895. The patel of Ajmir Haju son of Rodji is a Bhatána Gujar. Ditto. 3 Tod's Annals, Second Edition, I. 86, II. 406.

4 Tod's Annals, Second Edition, II. 407.

Appendix B.
THE GUJAR.
Distribution.
(c) Stock Divisions.
Agnikulas.

the Oxus. In Hiuen Tsiang's time men of this country were employed as soldiers of fortune in Samarkand and are described as brave and fierce meeting death as a refuge.[1] How much of the Skythian, at least how little of the Hindu, belongs to the outlying Chohán is shown by Tod's account of the desert Chohán. Like most outlying Rajputs the desert Chohán dispenses with the sacred thread and keeps himself altogether free from Bráhmanic hindrances. They do not commit infanticide. They have no prejudices in eating: they make no hearth *choka*, their cooks are of the barber caste. What of their food is left they tie up and eat cold.[2] It is remarkable, as showing how a waning tribe disappears into subdivisions of more prosperous communities, that in Ajmir where they ruled 1000 years no Chohàns are now to be found.[3] A distinguished branch of the Chohàns, who may be a trace of the Hára-Húṇas, are the Hára Chohàns of Bundi and Kota in Rajputána[4] who also occur in small numbers in the North-West Provinces.[5] Chohàns, claiming half-Rajput descent, are with the Chechis the most powerful of sixty-two Gujar divisions in the Panjáb Gujarát.[6] The Chohán was the last created of the four Agnikulas. According to Chand the Chohán bard neither the Parmár nor the Solaṅki had proved a marked success and the Parihár was almost a failure. Vishnu's image, the four-armed Chohán, destroyed the enemies of the Bráhmans. His Luck or guardian Mother was the Hopefiller Ásápurana. It is notable that without the aid of a Luck or Mother the Agnikulas failed to slay the enemies of the Bráhmans. As fast as the demon was slain from his blood others sprung. The Mothers drank the blood and made the passing of life impossible. It is noteworthy that the worship of Ásápurana seems confined to classes of northern origin.[7] The adoption of these fierce blood-drinking mothers seems to be the result of a compromise between the Bráhmans and the strangers the newcomers being unwilling to give up this part of their former worship. The territory given to the Chohán was Makávatinagara that is Ghar-Mandala two settlements near Jabalpur. The account is from Chand the bard of the Chohàns and doubtless unduly exalts the position and prowess of his own clan.

Parihár.

According to Chand the Chohán bard the Parihár said by Tod to be Pritikadwára or earth-portal, was the third champion. The usual Sanskritised form of the name is Pratíhára or door-keeper. He was created by Rudra and rose from the flame, black and ill-favoured bearing a bow. When he went against the Bráhmans' enemies, his foot slipped and he was kept to guard the gates. The Luck or Śrí of the Parihárs is Gájan Máta. He received the desert as his country and according to Chand never rose to high power. The evidence that the Parihárs were

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[1] Beal's Buddhist Records, I. 33-39. The form Chaghán seems to remain in the Gujarát name Chaganlál which is not uncommon among Kshatris, Vániás, Sonárs, Lohárs, and other craftsmen.

[2] Tod's Annals, First Edn. II. 308. That they wear no sacred thread seems doubtful. Comp. Ditto, 321.

[3] Rajputána Gazetteer, I. 78.

[4] Rajputána Gazetteer, I. 55, 221.

[5] Elliot's Races North-West Provinces, I. 126. In Kashmir and Gilgit Hára means all. Vigne's Káshmir, I. 359.

[6] Gujarát Gazetteer, 50-51.

[7] Besides of the Chohàns the Wishfiller is the guardian of the Meds or Mahars. Compare her temple at Mahar in Kachh. (Elliot's History, I. 523; Káthiáwár Gazetteer, 121.) Of the Jadejás Tod (Annals, I. 585) says every Rajput adores Ásápurana the Wishfiller and before any undertaking prays to Sakambhari.

Appendix B.

THE GUJAR.

Distribution.

(c) Stock Divisions.

Parmárs.

Gujars is complete. An inscription from north Rajputána dated A. D. 959 (S. 1016) calls the same chief both a Parihár and a Gurjjara.[1]

The Parmárs were the first created of the Agnikulas. Indra made an image of *dhúba* Cynodon dactylon grass, sprinkled it with the water of life and threw it into the fire-fountain. On pronouncing the life-charm, *Sajivan Mantra*, a mace-bearing figure slowly arose from the flame shouting *Már Már* Slay Slay. He was called the Parmár or foe-striker, received Sanchair Máta as his Luck, and Ábu Dhár and Ujjain as his heritage. The saying 'The world is the Parmárs' shows the wide spread of Parmár rule. Two accounts indirectly make the Parmárs Gurjjaras. The first states that the Gurjjara Chápas or Chávaḍás were a branch of Parmárs;[2] the second states that the Gurjjara Osváls are Parmárs.[3] Again Rája Húṇa, by whose dynasty the famous Baroli temple was built, when (A.D. 720) he came to help Chitor against the Arabs, is said to be of the Parmára race.[4]

Solaṅki.

After Indra created the Parmár Brahmá framed an image of his own essence, and threw it into the fire-pit, and repeated the life-charm. A figure rose with a sacred thread round his neck a sword in one hand and a *veda* in the other. He was called Cháulukya or Solaṅki because he came from the palm *culaka* of Brahma. He was given Keonj Máta as his Luck, and Anahalapur as his heritage. Tod[5] notices that the Gurjjaras, whom he styles the aborigines apparently in the sense of name-givers of Gurjjara-ráshtra, claim to be of the same origin as the Solaṅki Oswáls the leading class of western Indian Jains, from whom the Jain hierarch is chosen.[6] As Gurjjara is a common surname among Oswáls this claim supports the theory that the Solaṅki is a Gurjjara. Many other Rajputána classes claim Solaṅki descent, the Gujars of Sonte and Kotario, the Sonárs and other craftsmen of Bonkan, and the Bhils of Maidanoh, Ogunah, and Panurwa.[7] Inscriptions refer to the roaring Gujar, *Garjjarad Gurjjara*, the Solaṅki. In poems Bhím Solaṅki is called the Gujar,[8] and, on account of his good qualities, the guardian or S'rí of the Gujara princes is said to have become of her own choice his bride.[9] Further when in A.D. 1240 they supplanted the Solaṅkis, the Vághelás are described as dallying with the Luck of the Gurjjara kingdom.[10] Again the passage in the Rás Mála[11] describing how the headman of the Khadwa Gurjjaras at Unja near Anahilaváḍa called Siddharája (A.D. 1089-1143) his uncle

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1 Prácbínalekhamálá, I. 53-54. 2 Watson in Ind. Ant. IV. 145.

3 Trans. Royal Asiatic Society, III. 352.

4 Tod's Annals, II. 422 New Edition; Rajputána Gazetteer, III. 57.

5 Western India, 209 note.

6 Compare; The Jain Hierarchs are chosen from Oswáls. The Oswáls are descended from the Solaṅki Rajputs of Anahilavaḍa. Tod's Western India, 183, 465.

7 Tod's Western India, 209 note. That the Solaṅki is a Gujar and the Dakkhan Chálukya (A.D. 610-740) is closely connected with the Solaṅki or Rajputána Chaulukya leads to an interesting trace of the Gurjjaras in the eleventh century. Alberuni (A.D. 1031) tells of Karnátas who served as mercenaries in Mahmúd Ghaznavi's armies and accompanied him in expeditions against Merv Herat and even Samarkand. As the word Karnáta is used of the Dakkhan-Kalyán army who were attacked by Rája Bhoj of Málwa (Epigraphia Indica, I. 230) it seems to follow Mahmúd's Karnátas were Gurjjaras. 8 Rás Mála, I 222.

9 Kirtíkaumudí, II. 2 in Epigraphia Indica, I. 21. The inference that these references prove the Gurjjara origin of the Solaṅki is doubtful. Múlarája in another passage (Epigraphia Indica, I. 294) is described as taking captive the fortune or luck of the kingdom of the Chápoṭkaṭas.

10 Kirtíkaumudí, I. 272. 11 Rás Mála, I. 176.

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THE GUJAR.
Distribution.
(c) Stock Divisions.
Solańki.

and sat on the state cushion seems to imply some stock or family connection between Gurjjaras and Solańkis. Finally it is to be noticed that, according to Mr. Beames,[1] the Gujaráti language is a development of the early form of Hindi spoken by the Chálukyan Rajputs and by them brought into Gujarát. Of the rivalry between the ousted Chávadás and the ousting Solańkis, which though smoothed by the court bards must have been keen, a trace remains in the Bhinmál legend that until the Shrimális asked the Solańkis to come to their help to keep back the Songara Ráthods (A.D. 1300) the Shrimális had never taken water from Solańki hands.[2] The fact that Dhedas and Wághris claim Solańki origin may be due to a common Gurjjara vein. It may also be explained by the practice of dependent tribes taking the name of their patron's caste.[3]

In considering the Gurjjara claim to the Agnikula tribes the probable date of the starting of the Agnikulas is of importance. The latest date must be considerably earlier than A.D. 720, since in that year all the Agnikula chiefs joined to defend Chitor against the Arabs.[4] Although the names of the kings given in the bardic lists sometimes disagree with those of the inscriptions none of which so far carry the line further back than about A.D. 800, the genealogies seem to agree in pointing to the fifth century legend as the initial date.[5] This evidence, so far as it goes, supports the view that the Agnikulas represent sections of the great White Húṇa and Gurjjara horde.

That the legend is in agreement with widespread Bráhmanic practice is shown not only by the corresponding purifying by fire of the Konkan Chitpávans, but by the fact that in Madras a large section of the people, including the Pallis, are called Vanniyár the fire castes from the Sanskrit *vahni* fire.[6] That the special ceremony of a fire-pit was required to make possible the admission of Gurjjaras or other foreign conquerors does not follow from the Ábu legend. The cases of the Maitrakas of Valabhi (A.D. 490-520) and of Dadda III. (A.D. 670-700)[7] of the Broach Gurjjaras prove that a stranger could rise to be a Kshatriya without any special initiation. The object of the Ábu fire-pit was to raise special champions who being Bráhman-created would be higher than other Rajputs.[8] The choice of fire as the cleaner would appeal to the Gurjjara tribes the bulk of whom at or soon after their entry into India were fire and sun worshippers. The details show a determination on the part of the Bráhmans to outdo the Buddhists who had hitherto been so successful in converting the new conquerors to Buddhism. In the legends Buddhists and evil spirits are so mixed as to be the same. Some great effort was wanted to make Bráhmanism more popular than Buddhism. How far to gain this

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[1] Ind. Ant. III. 32. [2] MS. Note Bhinmál 21st March 1895.
[3] Compare Rás Mala, I. 163. [4] Compare Tod's Annals, II. 405.
[5] The Chohán tree gives thirty-nine princes the last Prithiviraja born A.D. 1159 or succeeds say A.D. 1200. Allowing the slightly excessive average of twenty years to a reign the thirty-nine reigns take the founding of the Choh....s to A.D. 420. Tod who thought the date of the fire-pit was about B.C. 150 says: The list of thirty-nine must be incomplete as it would place the creation several centuries after Vikramaditya B.C. 57: Annals, I. 87. The other bardic genealogies bring the origin of the Paribár Parmár and Solańki pretty nearly to the same date as the Chohán origin.
[6] Oppert in Madras Jour. Lit. and Science of 1887-88 page 118.
[7] Bhagvánlál's Early Gujarát, Bombay Gazetteer, I. Part I. 116.
[8] Compare the Chohán bard Chand (Annals, II. 407). Of the thirty-six royal races the Agnikula is the greatest; the rest were born of women. These were created by the Bráhmans.

object the Bráhmans were prepared to go is shown by their admitting as Bráhmans the Median or north-west Persian Magha sun-priests many of whose practices were repulsive to Bráhman ideas. The device of the fire-born Kshatriyas seems closely connected with what is known of the great White Húṇa conqueror Mihirakula (A.C. 500-550). According to the legends in Hiuen Tsiang and in the Ra'jataraṅgini this great warrior began by a leaning to Buddhism, but disgusted by the Buddhists' want of interest in his conversion he determined to stamp out their religion. That with this object he caused the deaths of hosts of unresisting Buddhists the Bráhman accounts admit as fully as the Buddhist accounts. But while the pious Buddhist mourns that Mhiirakula's murders must for ever keep him in the most terrible of hells[1] the Bráhman rejoices in Mihirakula's glory gained in spite of the breach of all laws because he trusted and helped the Bráhmans. In his case, as in the case of the Sesodias, Bráhmans tolerated the continuance of a foreign sun-worship, even the bringing in of hateful foreign priests to rank as Bráhmans, on condition that the chief object of worship of the king should be a Brahman god and that the king's leading interest should be the advancement of Bráhmans.[2]

Bhagarávats.

Among the Gujars of Ajmir is a division of Bhagarávats said to mean forest Gujars. Of Bághji the founder of the Bhagarávats who was half-Gujar half-Rajput the following story is told.[3] Bághji's father Har Rámji a Solaṅki came seeking service with Ajipál the Chohán. On his way near the city Har Rámji stopped at a potter's. He found the house-mother in tears. Her son had been chosen as sacrifice for a tiger that killed a man a day at the Chamunda pass near the city. Har Rámji took the place of the potter lad and slew the tiger. After slaying the tiger Har Rámji went to Pushkar to bathe. A Chohán woman, a nun, Nila, sister of the ruling prince, noticed Har Rámji. She saw two heads; Har Rámji's head and the tiger's head.[4] As she looked she conceived and told Har Rámji to ask for her hand as a reward for slaying the tiger. The king agreed. On the ninth month a boy was born with a tiger's head and a man's body. He was called Bághji. When he grew Bághji became very fierce and the king ordered him to guard the toll at the Ghughra pass. In Shrávan Bághji got a silk rope and made it a swing. The village girls hearing of the silk swing went out to swing. Bághji said each girl who wanted a swing should go round once and swing with him. The girls were of all castes. All the girls took a turn with Bághji and then swung. When the time of the marriage of these girls came Bághji claimed them all. The talk of the girls at cotton spinning showed Bághji's claim was true. Bághji was called and asked why he had done this violence. He said I have done it. He was told to take the girls. He stretched out his arms and embraced thirteen. The Bráhman who cooked Bághji's food claimed one girl. Of Bághji's twelve wives each had two sons. These were the founders of the twenty-four Bhagarávats.

Chandelas.

In Meywár and in Ulwár mention is made of Chandelas as a division of Gujjars.[5]

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[1] Beale's Buddhist Records, I, 172.

[2] Compare Darmesteter in J. As. X. 70 note 3; Fleet Indian Antiquary, XV. 215-252; Reinaud's Mémoire Sur L'Inde, 393.

[3] This story was told by an Ajmir Bhát. Tod (Annals, I. 185) tells the same swing tale of Bappa the founder of the Sesodias.

[4] An odd case of the belief that the slain passes into the slayer.

[5] Rájputána Gazetteer, II. 41; III. 206.

Appendix B.
THE GUJAR.
Distribution.
(c) Stock Divisions.

In Kachh settled Chárans are called Gujjars: unsettled Chárans Nesaks from *nes* a bothie or steading. The Nesaks hold a lower place marrying Gujar widows which the Gujar Chárans refuse to do.[1] It does not seem safe to conclude from this that Chárans are of Gurjjara race. It seems more likely that as the Gujar Chávaḍás were the leading class the stricter of the Chárans were called Gujars as a term of respect.[2]

Chápas or Chávaḍás.

Special interest attaches to the Chápas or Chávaḍás first because of the undoubted proof that they are Gurjjaras and second from the fact that it was mainly through the Chápas that the Gurjjaras gave their name to Gujarát. The proof that the Chápas are Gurjjaras is the statement of the astronomer Brahmagupta, who, writing at Bhinmál in A.D. 628 under the Gurjjara king Vyághramukha, states that the king belonged to the S'rí Chápa dynasty.[3] That the stock-name Chápa was Sanskritised into Chapoṭkaṭa that is Strongbow, did not prevent Chávaḍá or Chaura the name in commoner use being derisively used and explained as *chora* robber.[4] Though the Válas or Bálas of Valabhi are not identified as Chápas the fact that they are Maitrakas or Mihiras that is Mers and therefore Gurjjaras is established. As the Mihiras conquered Valabhi before the close of the fifth century the bardic dates which establish the Chauras at Dwárka and Bet in the fifth, at Somnáth, where they are said to have founded a temple to the sun and at Diu in the sixth, at Vadhwán and Panchásar during the seventh, and at Anabilaváḍa in north and Chápanir (Champanir) in Central Gujarát, which the legend states was called after Chápa its founder, during the eighth century, are confirmed.[5] The importance of the Chápas in Rajputána is shown by six of the Márwár chiefs claiming to be Champávats.[6] Other traces of Chápa rule seem to remain in the Happa tract in south Márwár where Chauras are still found,[7] and in the Chápa region of Kachh which in A.D. 1075 the Sammas or Jadejás found in the occupation of the Chaoras.[8] Chápa also, though the caste people oppose the derivation, seems the ori in of Chápadias the name by which the Shrávaks of Chorwál, the Chauras' land that is the coast of Verával Mangrul and Porbandar, are known in Bombay, and not the turban which neither for size nor shape seems specially suited to the nickname roof or tile. Such widespread

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[1] MacMurdo Lit. Soc. Bom. I. 306-7.

[2] But in Mallani (Rajputána Gazetteer, II. 276) are certain Chárans who are of Bhat origin and are called Chárans out of religious respect.

[3] Quoted in the History of Bhinmál, Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I. page 138. This statement is supported by the fact that the temple erected to Jaishekar (A.D. 700) the Chávaḍá ruler of Panchásar was dedicated to him as the Gurjar lord. Forbes' Rás Mala, I. 34.

[4] The Chauras mentioned in the Mahábhárata as degraded from the want of Bráhmans (Muir's Sanskrit Texts, I. 482) are the Choras or Cholas of the east coast of India. Cunningham (Numismatic Chronicle 3rd Ser. VIII. 49) notices the name Chorsari meaning Khorasáni. This comes closer to Chor, but Chávaḍá or Chaura seems a more likely origin of the pun.

[5] Bet and Dwárka, Tod Western India, 256-437; Káthiáwár Gazetteer, 109, 589; Somnáth and Diu, Tod's Annals, I. 101. That this Chápa was not as the legend states a Bhil, except in the sense of a Strongbow, is shown by Siddharája (A.D. 1094-1143) after the death of Ra Khengar committing the management of Sorath to a military officer named Sajan a descendant of Jámba or Chámpa the companion of Vanrája (A.D. 720-780). Forbes Rás Mála, I. 171.

[6] Tod's Annals, II. 176.

[7] Tod's Annals, II. 296, 303.

[8] McMurdo in Jour. R. A. Soc. II. 227; Elliot's History of India, I. 267-68. It is remarkable that the Kachh Chauras (Cutch Gazetteer, 68) claim to be Agnikulas. They further correctly state they came from the west of the Indus and settled at Okhamandal that is Bet-Dwárka, at Div, Patan-Somnáth, and Panchásar.

ascendancy in Gujarát north of the Narbada and in Káthiáwár seem to justify Dr. Bháu Dáji in giving the sixth and seventh century Chauras, with the Gurjjaras of Valabhi and Broach, the credit of introducing the name Gujarát, which he holds is Gujar-guarded rather than Gujar-settled.[1] Another credit which the Chaura can fairly claim is the forming of fleets which spread the power of Gujarát from Sokotra to Java. That the Chauras of Dwárka claim descent from Kanaksen (or Kanishka) of Lohkot in Kashmir who came south during the second century after Christ is an interesting case of the rule that the conqueror adopts the traditions, the rules, not uncommonly even the names of the people he conquers.[2] An interesting and separate trace of the Chápas remains in Chhaori a subdivision of the Saháranpur or Gujarát-Bignor Gujars.[3] As the name Chápa is apparently an undoubted Gurjjara (and therefore Khazar) stock-name it is interesting to find the Barmek ministers of Harún-al-Ráshid (A.D. 792-813) claiming relationship with the race of the Chápa Khán of Balkh.[4] If the Barmeks are Chápas and the Chápas are Khazars it is curious that perhaps the latest raid of the north Khazars into south Armenia was in A.D. 798 to avenge the death among the Armenian hills of the daughter of the Khákan of the north Caspian Khazars who was on her way south to marry a Barmek.[5] Two points may be noted in conclusion that the Chauras referred to in Sanskrit writings as lapsing from the position of Kshatriyas because they have no Bráhmans are not the Gurjjara Chauras, but the Cholas or Choras of the eastern Madras coast.[6] The second point is that the Chauras of Kachh still claim to be one of the Agnikulas.[7]

Chechi.

In Panjáb Gujarát the Chechi with the Kalkenia are the most powerful branch of Gujars. They claim half Rajput blood.[8] The similarity in name suggests Tod's Khichi[9] a branch of Chohánsestablished in the remote Sindh-Ságar Duáb comprising the tract between the Behrut and Sindh and with a capital called Khichpur Patan. The Chechi Gujars have an importance from being the chief branch at Pokharn or Pushkar the great place of Gujar pilgrimage. Formerly Chechi Gujars used to levy a gold piece or *kanak* on all pilgrims to Pushkar.

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[1] Jour. B. B. R. A. Soc. IX. xxiv. The references to Java in Vol. I. of the Bombay Gazetteer notice the remarkable agreement between the Chaura introduction of the name Gujarát and the Javan legend that the father of the Gujarát prince who settled in Java about A.D. 605 had lately changed the name of the country to Gujarát. From their settlements along the Káthiáwár coasts the Chauras led across the seas the excellent seamen the Mihiras or Mers. When they moved their capital inland they still kept up a navy and set apart a quarter of Anahilaváḍa for the use of sailors.

[2] Káthiáwár Gazetteer, 589. Compare in Alberuni the case of the Turk rulers of Kábul annexing the great Kanishka as an ancestor. The Su-S'aka adoption of Málava is an instance of the conqueror taking the name of the conquered. It is remarkable that when the Chohans conquered south Márwár like the S'akas they took the name Mallavi. The practice seems based on a feeling of luck. If the conquered name is continued its influence or Luck (S'rí) will be housed or pacified. So, as already noticed, of Múlarája (A.D. 961) the founder of the Solaṅki line of Anahilaváḍa kings, the guardian goddess or Śrí of the Gurjjara princes, conquered by his eminent qualities, became of her own choice his wife (Epi. Ind. I. 21). Again Múlarája is described as taking captive the Fortune or Luck of the kingdom of the Chapotkaṭa princes (Ditto, I. 294) and later (Ditto, 272) the Vághela (A.D. 1219-1304) is said to dally with the Luck of the Gurjjara kingdom.

[3] N. W. P. Gazetteer, III. 184.

[4] Bombay Geol. Soc. II. 69 (1838).

[5] Tarikh-i-Tabari (A.D. 837-922) Arab Text, III. 648.

[6] Compare Muir's Sanskrit Texts, I. 482.

[7] Cutch Gazetteer, 68.

[8] Panjáb Gujarát Gazetteer, 50-51.

[9] Annals, II. 445 (New Edition, 418).

Appendix P.

The Gujar.

Distribution.

(c) Stock Divisions.

Chechi.

They made the levy because they were lords. The Chechis belong to the Nekádi division. The first Nekádi was the son of a cow. He lived at Matra; his name was Ganpat. Gujar Gopal came to Pokarn. Gujar begat Pashupal, Pashupal Urjan, Urjan Purjan, and Purjan begat Baba Nánd, Baba Ahir, and Ichernánd, and Bilianánd and Dhankpalnánd. From these children eighty-six branches or *náks* have sprung.[1] In Ajmir Khichi or Chechi occurs as a division of Rajputs, Jats, Mers, and Gujars.[2] According to the Rajputána Gazetteer[3] Pushkar was held by Chechis till about 700 years ago when a band of Sanyásis came and killed the Chechis who were in possession of the different bathing places. The Sanyásis turned out the Kanphati Jogis who were temple priests and each took charge of a shrine. A chief interest in Pushkar is that it is the holiest place for Gujjars to be burned and that this burning pit is said to be the fire altar where the marriage between Bráhma and Gáyatri a Gujar girl was celebrated. The special connection between Gujars and Bráhmans to which the Agni Kund or Ábu fire-pit bears evidence is shown by the temple to Bráhma in Pushkar, said to be his only temple in India, being built by Gopal Parakh an Oswal of Gwalior and therefore a Gujar who though a Jain keeps his tribe's early respect for the worshipfulness of Bráhmans.[4]

Jháwlas.

Among the Gujar subdivisions of the Panjáb are the Jávlas or Jháwlas apparently a remnant of the famous tribe of White Húṇas ennobled by owning the two great White Húṇa conquerors of the fifth and sixth centuries Toramáṇa and Mihirakula.[5] It does not follow that because a trace of the Jávlas remains among Gujars they at the first belonged to the Khazar or Gujar tribe. This may be a case of the migration canon that the waning senior comes under the wing of the waxing junior. Still it is to some extent evidence of the close connection of the Khazar and the White Húṇa elements in the great fifth century invasion.

Kalhenias.

In the Panjáb district of Gujarát Kalhenias are, with Choháns and Chechis, mentioned as the three leading divisions of Gurjjaras.[6]

Khadwa.

The great Khadwa class of Gujarát Kanbis appears in Rajputána as Kharia Gujars. The Kharias, of whose name there seems no explanation, are both among Rajputána Gujars and among Gujarát Kanbis considered a lower class than the Levas or Lors. This social inferiority is perhaps due to a greater unwillingness to give up Central Asian customs. They seem to have continued to sacrifice and eat cattle after the Levas.[7]

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1 These *náks* are: Ad, Ahir, Ambavata, Ariya, Aswár, Badána, Bajád, Bámsar, Báwda, Bhálot, Bhárwál, Bhásad, Bitan, Bod, Bukan, Byonk, Chád, Chhepat, Chichár, Dading, Damar, Dhaidamak, Dhákar, Dharamdia, Dhingar, Dhoshan, Doi, Gádhdia, Gántita, Gorshya, Guglia, Gunjal, Horshang, Jángad, Kálas, Kalya, Kángas, Kasana or Kashana, Kanvar, Katária, Khári, Khatána, Khoji, Khordwa, Kodi or Koli, Korana, Kuárda, Kura, Kurách, Ládhi, Latália, Legad, Lidiya, Loda, Lulu, Luni, Lyali, Márwan, Mher, Mindar, Mundan, Munjhi, Mutan, Nalya, Nánd, Narohan, Nekhade, Nilu, Pacholi, Padiár, Padya, Panvad, Phámda, Phárak, Poshwál, Ragal, Shirádhana, Sorath, Takatas, Tanwahya, Tanvar, Tekdia, Toras.

2 Bhát Kálu Pema the Bhát of the Kurádia Játs in Ajmir.

3 Rajputána Gazetteer, II. 69.

4 Rajputána Gazetteer, II. 67, 69. Another connection between the Gurjars and Pushkar is that at Pushkar Rája Nahar Ráo Parihar was cured of skin disease. Rajputána Gazetteer, II. 69.

5 Panjáb 1891 Census, III. 116.

6 Panjáb Gujarát Gazetteer, 50-51.

7 Rajputána Gazetteer, I. 162. The subdivisions of the Rajputána Kharias are: Doralia, Jhathwára, Niskaria, Sipwár, Solania, and Sua.

Appendix B.

The Gujar.

Distribution.

(c) Stock Divisions.

Kors.

They eat animal food and drink liquor, like the Jats they talk Brijbáka, and, in the hills, are semi-barbarous with sword and spear.[1]

In Kors subordinate traders of the Sindh Khatri caste the name Gurj or Gurz has been traced.[2] The Hindu traders who pass through Central Asia as far as Moskow and St. Petersburgh belong to the Kors division. These Kors seem more likely to be Lohánas or Bhatiás, that is Turks, than Gujars.

Kusanes.

The Gujar subdivision of Kusane on the Indus and Jamna[3] suggests a recruitment from the great S'aka tribe of Kushán. Before the arrival of the White Húna horde the power of the Kusháns had been broken by Samudragupta (A.D. 370-395) and Chandragupta II. (A.D. 396-415). The existence of a Kushán subdivision of Gujars (so far as it goes) seems to favour the view that the Kushán and Gurjar are distinct not the view that they are the same.

Lavas or Lors.

In Ajmir the division of Lava or Lor seems to be found among all tribe and place subdivisions.[4] According to the Ajmir patel (A.D. 1894) all Ajmir Gujars whether Bhatána or Chechi are Lavas or Lors. Lava is the same as Lor and they are higher than Khári to whom the Lava gives neither a daughter nor a pipe. According to their story Krishna and Nánda were Lors. While the Lord Krishna was grazing his cows near Matra, some Gujar women and a Chamár woman passed carrying curds. Krishna took away the curds. The descendants of the Gujar women whose curds were robbed were Lors and the descendants of the Chamár woman were Kháris. The name Lava or Lor is according to the bards taken from Lava a son of Ráma. It seems more probable that the use of the name Lava or Lor is due to the adoption by the Gujars of the traditions of the people whom they ousted in Márwár and in Central India. Among the traditions adopted was the story of the conquest of the country by Kanaksen, apparently the family of Kanishka (A.D. 78) the great S'aka or Kushán. Kanaksen is said to have come from Lohkot. This has been taken to be Láhore. It seems more likely to be the famous fort Lohkot in Kashmir.[5] The Laurs in Bhurtpur have a peculiar music. They include five subdivisions Chadri, Kisaira, Kumhár, Merdi, and Sirande.[6] The division of Lava Laur or Lor, together with the less important branch of Khári Kharia or Khadwa, have the special value of showing, what has long been carefully concealed in Gujarát, that the great body of Pátidárs and Kaubis in north Gujarát and in Broach are Gujars by descent. That the Gujarát Kanbis are Gurjjaras is supported by the similarity between the sharehold tenures in Panjáb Gujar villages and the Bhágdár and Náryádár tenures in Kanbi villages in Kaira. Though the divisions Lor and Khadwa have not been traced in the Panjáb, it is not uncommon at Dwárka to find that Kanbis of north Gujarát and Gujars from the Panjáb satisfy themselves that they are both of the same stock. The accuracy of this identification is of special interest as the Kanbi and Pátidár of north Gujarát is the best

[1] Rajputána Gazetteer, I. 162. [2] Jour. As. Soc. XXXV. II. 113.

[3] Cunningham's Arch. Survey Report, II. 5 .

[4] That Lor and perhaps Lava may point to a former settlement in the old north Sindh capital of Alor is supported by the Lava Kanbis of Káthiáwár who trace their origin to the kings of Alor.

[5] Compare Tod's Annals, I. 215. Alberuni (Sachau, I. 208, 317) describes Lauhur as the north frontier of India, the strongest place he had seen, the haunt of our (Ghazni ?) traders. [6] Rajputána Gazetteer, I. 162-163.

Appendix B.

THE GUJAR.
Distribution.
(c) Stock Divisions.
Lavas.

class of husbandmen in the Bombay Presidency as well as the most important and characteristic element in the population of Bombay Gujarát. The Gujars of north Khándesh, who, during the tenth century, moved from Bhinmál in south Márwár through Málwa into Khándesh, include the following divisions Barad, Bare, Chawade, Dode, Lewe, and Rewe.[1] The following statement made at Junágadh in January 1889 by Mr. Himabhái Ajabhái Vahivátdar of Junágadh a Nadiád Pátidár by caste seems to settle the question of the Gujar origin of the Pátidárs and Kanbis of Bombay Gujarát: I am satisfied the Gujarát Kanbis and Pátidárs, both Lavas and Khadwas are Gujars. We have nothing written about it, but the bards and family recorders know it. Both Lavas and Khadwas came from the Panjáb: this is the old people's talk. The Bháts and Waiwanchars say we left the Panjáb twenty generations ago. A famine drove us from the Panjáb into the land between the Jamna and the Ganges. About fifteen generations ago the Lavas came to Ahmedábád, it is said through Khándesh and brought with them Khándeshi tobacco. The Kanbi weavers in Ahmedábád Surat and Broach did not come with the Lavas. The first place they came to was Champanir. We can still know that we are the same as the Panjáb Gujars. We have the same way of tillage. Our plough is the same, our turban is the same, and we use manure in the same way. Our marriage customs are the same, both of us wear swords at marriage. Ramchandra had two sons, one Lava one Kush. From Leva came the Levas and from Kush the Kadwas. I have talked with Panjáb Gujars at Dwárka. They say they have Bhágdári and Narvádári villages.

Mers.

No more important advance to a correct knowledge of Gujarát population has recently been made than Dr. Hultsch's correction of the Valabhi epithet of the founder Bhatárka (A.D. 480 - 500) from the phrase 'That he gained fame by the blows dealt on the great armies of the Maitrakas' (that is Mihiras Meds or Mers) into the phrase 'That he gained fame from the blows dealt by the great armies of the Maitrakas' that is by the armies of which he was leader. It follows that the Valabhis or Balas who ruled Valabhipur, and are the ancestors of the Sesodias, are Mihiras or Mers. If the arguments as to the date of the Gurjjara arrival in India and regarding their connection with the White Húna horde are correct, it follows that the Gurjjaras and the Mihiras are either the same or are comrade tribes in the same invasion. The chief traces of Meds are in the country near Ajmir in Rajputána and in west Káthiáwar and to a less extent in Márwár. In Sindh Mers doubtless remain hidden by the overlayer of Islám. According to the writers in the Rajputána Gazetteer Mer is not a tribe name but is derived from the Sanskrit Meru a hill and is a general term applied to hillmen, especially to the people of the hilly tract south-west of the open district of Ajmir.[2] But Mers are not found solely in the Aravali hills. They have been long settled in the plains of Gujarát Márwár and Sindh. Of no tribe except the Jats is the importance and power from the seventh to the eleventh century so well established as of the Meds or Mers. That the Maitrakas of late fifth and of sixth century inscriptions are the Meds or Mers and that they took a leading part in the great White Húna invasion of the fifth and sixth centuries, Dr. Bhagvánlál's

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[1] A. Cumine Esq., I.C.S. Collector of Khándesh, March 1896.
[2] Rajputána Gazetteer, I. 41, II. 50 - 51.

Appendix B.
THE GUJAR.
Distribution.
(c) Stock Divisions.
Mers.

history places beyond doubt.[1] That both in the Panjáb and in Rajputána the title of respect to a Gujar is Mahar, Mihir, or Mir[2] seems to show that the form Mihira or Maitraka adopted in the Mer inscriptions of the fifth and sixth centuries was chosen as more honourable than their tribe-name Gurjjara. The Ajmir Mers say Mers and Gujars are the same. In Rajputána the rule of inheritance to land is the same among Gujars and among Mers.[3] The Márwár Mers are little bound by Bráhman rules. They grant divorce and marriage with complete freedom.[4]

According to their Bhats or bards,[5] the Ajmir Mers belong to four branches or *náks* Chohán, Punwár, Gehlot or Sesodia, and Padiar a division which has the special interest of being the same as the Agnikula division except that here the Gehlot takes the place of the Solanki. The Bhát of the Kachhi or Ghelot Mers knows about the Ábu fire-pit. He quotes

Aspat, Gajpat, Bhupat, Narpatjag Sansár,
Analkundse upana, Partham putlachár.

The horse-lord, elephant-lord, land-lord, and man-lord:
from the fire-pit arose these four forms.

The Bhats of the Chohâns profess ignorance of the Ábu purification. They say All were created by Brahma. The first and greatest was the Chohán. They quote:

Dhár is the greatest of cities.
The greatest of *dhárs* or edges is the sword edge.
The clan with the most people is the Chohán:
The clan with the most land is the Punwár.

The home of the Rajputána Mers is the sixty *kos* strip from Kushangadh to Dewer. The Punwárs first settled at Dhár. From Dhár they went to Ábu, from Ábu to Dháng, from Dháng to Nimbola, and from Nimbola to Ajmir. In Ajmir are Chohán Mers (some of whom have become Musalmáns and are known as Chitas), Punwár Mers, and a few Gehlot Mers. That these Mers are the same as Gujars is shown by the sameness of their home-guardians or *kuldevis*, Jinamata, Kálika of Dhár, and Kailana of Dáng.[6] Every Sunday evening before sunset they worship Suraj-Maháráj the Sun Lord. No Bráhman takes part. In a foot-round circle on the floor which has been cleansed with cowdung a silver *phul* or sun-face is set, fire in a small iron ladle is laid near the medal, a cup of water and balls of sweetened wheat-bread are also laid. The headman of the family throws a little *ghi* or granulated butter into the fire, bows to the sun-face, and prays 'Oh Lord Sun guard the lives in this house and give us plenty.' The rest of the sweet-bread is eaten by the family or distributed to the caste. Unlike the Gujars the Ajmir Mers do not describe the time of day by the Lord Sun's position in the sky. The *kuldevi* is worshipped on the bright eighth of each month. The day's supply of milk is made into *khir* or rice-pudding offered to the Mátá and eaten by the family. Like the Gujars the Mers have no pregnancy rites. Each branch *nák* has its own Bráhman. Except that a Bráhman or Gujar-Gor frames the horoscope the sun-worship

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1 The theory that the Meds were a stranger Central Asian tribe is not new. Compare Elliot's History, I. Appendix.
2 Rajputána Gazetteer, I. 80; II. 39.
3 Rajputána Gazetteer, I. 80.
4 Márwár Castes, 45.
5 Details from Ráma Banna of Khwájapura seven miles south of Ajmir, Bhát of the thirty-five branches of Punwár Mers and from Patel Lákhu Meda and Punwár Mer patel of Khwájapur recorded by Khán Sáheb Fazl Lutfullah Faridi in March 1895.
6 With this Kailana goddess compare the Kalhenia division of Gurjjaras in the Panjáb Gujarát Gazetteer, 50-51.

Appendix B.

THE GUJAR.

Distribution.

(c) Stock Divisions.

Chohán.

and other birth ceremonies are performed by the mother without the help of a Bráhman. No Bráhman is required for the twelfth day and other death rites. Though if one is available he is called in. Only the women wear the sun-face: men wear a rough image called *jhujhár* of some ancestor who has been slain generally in a cattle raid.

Of the Ajmir Chohán Mers the bard of the Káchhi or Ghelot Mers remembers eighteen of twenty-two divisions. Among the eighteen the Hula and the Hara suggest a Húṇa element.[1]

Bálod Mers.

According to the head Jat Bhát at Ajmir (April 1895) the highest division of Mers are the Bálod Mers. This they seem to owe to being the strictest Hindus forbidding all *nakh* and other irregular marriages.[2]

Mors.

That the Mori of Chitor, to help whom against the Arabs the Rajput chiefs gathered about A.D. 720 and whom Bappa the Sesodia ousted,[3] was not a representative of the ancient Maurya family but a later comer seems probable by his relation to the White Húṇa chiefs of Alor in north Sindh and to Bappa the Sesodia chief who ousted him. In the desert Tod found the Mers and the Mors both claiming a Bhatti origin probably the result of enrolling themselves in a time of trouble under Bhatti protection.[4]

Mers.

It is notable that a subdivision of the Dakot Bráhmans of Márwár are Mers.[5]

Nágaris.

The Nágari is one of the leading tribes of the Gujars of the North-West Provinces. They are in special strength in the district of Bulandshahr.[6] Nágaris also occur among Bráhuis along with Mingals (Mins) and Mihiranis (Mihiras).[7] In Bundi in Rajputána the state is served by a division of Nágari-Bohora Bráhmans.[8] These references are of special interest as favouring the view referred to below, that the Nágara Bráhmans of Gujarát are of the Gurjjara race of Nágaras.[9]

Nekádis.

Among the Gurjjaras of Ajmir the purest class of Gujars is said to be the Nekádis.[10] This probably means the most strictly Hindu, as purity depends in the corresponding cases of the Punya Játs and the Bálod Mers on forbidding second *nakh* and other informal marriages.

Rajputs.

In Tod's opinion though Bargujars and Birgujars were Rajputs, the ordinary Gujar was not a Rajput. The increase of knowledge since Tod wrote (A.D. 1814-1820) shows that many tribes of admitted position among Rajputs are of Gujar origin. According to Haju son of Rodji, the Gujar Patel of Ajmir, twelve Rajput divisions are Gurjjaras: Three Jhálas,

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[1] The eighteen divisions of Chohán Mers are: Abheràja, Aivar, Bagdecha, Bálesar, Bila, Chaher, Chita, Dádria, Deváda, Hádá, Hula, Kamkháni, Khincha, Khenvar, Morecha, Narabána, Pádecha, Sonagara.

[2] These Bálod Mers are apparently the same as the Bálas or rulers of Valabhi who have the honour of founding the great Sesodia or Gehlot family the first among Hindus.

[3] Tod Annals New Ed. I. 188-189, 206. The dates of the Arab raid and of Bappa are uncertain. Tod (Annals, I. 203 New Ed.) gives A.D. 728 as the capture of Chitor by Bappa the founder of the Sesodias. But if a Valabhi origin is admitted Bappa can hardly have reached Chitor before the end of the eighth century. According to Tod the Mori was subordinate to if not a division of the Parmáras of Ujjain. Ditto ditto.

[4] Annals, New Ed. II. 295.

[5] Márwár Castes, 72.

[6] N. W. P. Gazetteer, III. 48.

[7] Pottinger's Beluchistán, 75.

[8] Rajputána Gazetteer, I. 221.

[9] Compare Epigraphia Indica, I. 295-303.

[10] Notes from Bhát Kálu Pema of Baduwáda twelve miles or 8 *kos* west of Ajmir the Bhát of the Kuradia branch of Játs in Ajmir. April 1895.

Appendix B.

THE GUJAR.

Distribution.

(c) Stock Divisions.

four Chandávat-Bads, two Shakthávats, two Ráthods, and one Sarangdev Pavár. Haju says Gujars and Rajputs join in Rámchandar but the Sesodias and Kachhváhas are nearer Rámchandar than are the Gujars. He further states that though all Gujars are not Rajputs no Rajput becomes a hero unless he is suckled by a Gujar woman. *Gujarika dudh; Naharika dudh*, Gujar's milk is Tiger's milk. A Rajput who has not been suckled by a Gujar is a *gidad* or jackal.[1]

Rinds.

The division Gurchani of the great Beluch tribe the Rinds, if Gurchania is correctly supposed to be Gurjjara, would be a case of shelter-taking, the stray Gurjar seeking protection under the strength of the Rind tribe.[2]

Sesodias.

The evidence is fairly strong that the Sesodias or Gehlots, the premier Hindu family in India, are of Gurjjara origin. This much seems admitted that Bala is the oldest name of the Gehlot or Sesodia and that the Bálas represent the rulers of Valabhi.[3] That the Valabhi dynasty were of Gurjjara descent may be accepted, since it has been shown that Bhatárka (A.D. 480-503) the founder of the family was a Maitraka Mihira or Mer. Further, the statement that the children of Bappa the founder of the Sesodias are called Agniupasi Suryavanshi sunborn fireworshippers is in agreement with a Gurjjara origin.[4]

The main doubt regarding the Bálás who were the ancestors of the Sesodias is this. Are they part of the great White Húṇa wave that conquered Káthiáwár about A.D. 470 and who when established as Kshatriya rulers adapted to themselves the traditions of the great Kushán and Kshatrapa conquest of western India in the late first or early second century after Christ. Or are they in truth the representatives of the Kshatrapas and S'akas. The case of the Turk rulers of Kábul in Alberuni's time (A.D.1030) working into their family tradition all legends belonging to Kanishka, the Kanaksen of the Bálás and Sesodias, shows that in themselves the statements of the legends as to descent from the Kusháns cannot count for much. The case of the Chávaḍás of Okhámandal claiming descent from Kanaksen who sat in Krishna's throne in Dwárka is an example from nearer home.[5] It seems to follow that the conquering Mihiras assumed the name Vála from the ruling family from whom they wrested the city Válabhi. At the same time it is

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[1] MS. Notes, Ajmir April 1895. [2] Pottinger's Beluchistán.

[3] Tod's Rajasthán First Edn. I. 102. Cunningham (Ancient Geography, 318) says about a century after their expulsion from Balabhi (this requires altering as the date of their expulsion was not earlier than A.D. 770) their representative Bappa or Vappaka founded a kingdom at Chitor and his son Guhila or Guháditya gave to the tribe the new name of Guhiláwat or Guhilot by which they are known.

[4] Tod's Annals, New Edn. I. 190. The tradition (Asiatic Res. XVI. 293; MacMurdo Trans.Bomb. Lit. Soc. I. 259) that the first capital of the Guhilas was Medapála is worthy of notice.

[5] Káthiáwár Gazetteer, 589. It is also to be remembered that Rána the title of the honoured family of Udaipur is not their own title but is a title won from the chief of Mándor (near Jodhpur) in the twelfth century (Tod's Annals, I. 213). The Mewár title is Raul according to Tod a Skythian word (Ditto) certainly still an odd priestly word applied to a class of medicine-men in the east Panch Mahals who make brass horses dance on a brass platter. This practice of the conqueror adopting the traditions even the name of the conquered seems based on the wish to secure to the new ruler the luck of the old. Cases are noted above (page 489 note) where the object of the conqueror was admittedly to woo and win the spirit or luck of the former dynasty. If Alberuni had known how he was taken in by the claim of the Hindu rulers of Kábul to be descended from Kanishka he might have added this to his list of opposites between Hindu and Turk: While we (Turks) strive to destroy every trace of the conquered dynasty, the Hindu strives to destroy every trace of his own conquest.

Appendix B.

THE GUJAR.

Distribution.

(c) Stock Divisions.

Sesodias.

difficult to suppose that all the Valas of Káthiáwár date from the Valabhi dynasty that lasted from A.D. 470 to A.D. 770. The chance is that some of the earlier element who perhaps took their name from the Bahikas of the Mahábhárata survived. Such a survival is not in disagreement with the view that the Balas who founded the Sesodia family fled from Valabhi about A.D. 750-770 when the Sindh Arabs destroyed the city; and that the dynasty which ruled Valabhi from A.D. 525 to A.D. 770 were Mihiras or Gurjjaras. The division of the Gohels into Gotchar and Uni suggests an element from each of the main sections of the White Húṇa horde.[1] In connection with the disputed origin of the name Gohel it is to be noted that the Dabistán refers to a Koheli tribe of Kshatriyas in the Panjab Gujarát.[2] Gohil is one of the three main divisions of Porbandar Mers. The Bháts of the Porbandar Gohil Mers and of the Mewár Gehlots are the same. At marriages the Porbandar Gohil Mer women celebrate in their songs the bridegroom as king of Mewár and Chitor.[3]

(*d*) Lost Gujars.

In connection with (*d*) or Lost Gujars it is remarkable that the Rajputána Gazetteer questions General Cunningham's statement that Márwár was once ruled by a Gujar dynasty declaring that the local annals contain no record of such a dynasty nor any remnant of the Gujar race.[4] This disappearance of the name Gujar is to some extent intentional. In Kachh the Musalmán fashion of calling Shrimális Gujars is considered a taunt. In Gujarát neither Vániás Lohárs nor Kanbis like to be called Gujars.[5] Of lost Gujars, besides minor tribes and the already described Agnikulas three leading cases occur, Gujarát Kanbis, Márwár Osváls, and Ratnágiri Karhádes. Of Gujarát Kanbis details have been given under Lor and Khaḍwa. There seems no reason to question the conclusion that Gujarát Lava and Khaḍwa Kanbis are of Gujar origin. Of the Gujar element in the Shrávaks of Western India the existence of the divisions Gujar, Gujar Jain, Gujar Vánia is proof.[6] The connection of the Shrimális with Bhinmál the capital of the great Gujar dynasty of Márwár (A.D. 500-1000) is beyond question. One division of Bhinmál Shrimális claims a Paramára Rajput origin.[7] So common among Dasa Shrimális is the surname Gurjar that the Musalmáns call Shrimális Gujars.[8] The Oswáls, called from the ancient city of Osianagarí eighteen miles north of Jodhpur,[9] are still more important not only from their numbers and their wealth but because from among them is chosen the head of all Shrávaks in Western India. The tale that the Oswáls were originally Solaṅki Rajputs converted to Jainism because of the recovery from snake-bite of the son of a chief is generally accepted and is probably historical. According to the Jain lists[10] the Usas or Oswáls are descended from the Vaisya chief Áma about A.D. 743 (S. 800). The divisions are :

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[1] The Kumarpál List A.D. 1184 in Tod's Annals, I. 81. [2] Dabistán, II. 194.

[3] Letter from Mr. W. T. Morison, I.C.S. Administrator Porbandar dated 14th February 1895. These Gohel Mers seem to be the Asila Gehlots who are said to have returned from Chitor to Sorath about A.D. 740. The Ain-i-Akbari has 50,000 Gehlots in Sorath. Tod's Annals, 3rd Edn. I. 189.

[4] Rajputána Gazetteer, Jodhpur, II. 230. [5] Ráo Bahádur Himatlál Dhirajlál.

[6] Trans. Royal Asiatic Society, III. 355. [7] Epigraphia Indica, II. 40-41.

[8] Reply from Dáma Shrávak, 1st May 1893.

[9] According to Dr. Bühler (Epigraphia Indica, II. 40-41) Osia is a worn form of the Sanskrit Upakiśa. [10] Dr. Bühler Ep. Ind. II. 40-41.

Appendix B.
THE GUJAR.
Distribution.
(*d*) Lost Gujars.

I. A Senior branch with ten stocks *gotrás*, Uháda, Chájeda, Nádula, Náhatá, Mummiya, Rájakoshthágára, Yadugada, Lálana, Luniyá, and Sodhá.
II. A Junior branch with two stocks, Nágada and Shota.
III. An extra branch with one stock, Kumkumalola. To this stock belongs the Nagar Seth of Ahmedábád who claims kindred with the Sesodia Rajputs of Mewár.

Among instances of minor classes who have forgotten their Gujar origin may be noticed the Takkas or Tanks who according to Colonel Tod are of the same race as the Agnikulas.[1] Again certain Ahirs seem closely connected with Gujars. In Káthiáwár settled Ahirs are called Gujars.[2] But Ahir is a word of loose application. Graharipu the Abhir of Junagaḍh who fought Múlarája Solaṅki in A.D. 961 was a newcomer a Sindh Chudásama.[3]

Gurjjara Traces.

It has been noticed that the skill of the Gurjjaras as bowmen may have brought some of the invaders of low origin or beaten in battle to be called Bhils. The Bhillas of Chap-pan near the source of the Banas suggest a settlement of Chapotkaṭas or Chápas.[4] Lauriyah the name of the finest tribe of Nerwer Bhils suggests an origin in the Gurjjara division of Leva or Lor.[5] And the Mihira Bhils, said to be descended from a Pawár of Dhár, seem to shew a Mihira descent.[6]

The worship by Mewár Bhils of a white ram and a horse looks as if the tribe who practised it had Gujar or other northern blood.[7]

Karhádes.

The third case of lost Gujars is the Ratnágiri and Sátára community of Karháde Bráhmans.[8] That the Karháde Bráhmans have a strong stranger element is borne out by the unfriendly story that Parashurám made them out of the bones of an ass *karhád*. This though doubtless an example of unfriendly meaning-making implies in the community some foreign or irregular origin. And that till lately (A.D. 1800) the shadow of human sacrifice attached to the Karhádes supports the story of their special descent. The name is from Karád the sacred meeting of the Krishna and the Koina in the Sátára district of the west Dakhan. The old (second century A.D.) name both for Karhád and for Kolhápur is closely alike. Karahátạ and Karahátạka apparently called after Kshaharáta or Khagaráta that is the family or stock name of Nahapána, who, a Śaka or Pahlava from the north, about the beginning of the second century (A.D. 78-120) conquered Málwa the Konkan and the Dakhan at least as far south as Karháda. His success and the magnificence of his religious gifts made Nahapána a centre of legend, and the mace on his coins seems to have raised the suggestion that he was a re-birth of the famous mace-bearing

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[1] Rajasthán Calcutta Ed. I. 92, 96. Compare Cunningham's Ancient Geography, I. 322. This is supported by several traces of the name Tanka in Broach immediately to the north of the Broach Gurjjara kingdom. [2] Bombay Gazetteer, VIII. 135.

[3] Dr. Bhagvánlál's Early Gujarát, Bombay Gazetteer, I. Part I. 159.

[4] Tod's Western India, 31. [5] Malcolm's Trans. B. A. Soc. I. 71.

[6] Malcolm's Trans. B. A. Soc. I. 79 : Tod notices (Western India 31, 33, 35) that many of the Jesalmir Bhils claim a Rajput descent. [7] Compare Tod's Western India, 34.

[8] In Navsári in south Gujarát is a small community of long established Karháde Bráhmans who are sometimes styled Gurjar Karhádes. The evidence seems to show that these Karhádes, who have adopted the dress speech and ways of Gujarát Bráhmans, came from the south with some Marátha conqueror (perhaps the ancient Maráthás or Ráshṭrakúṭas) (A.D. 743-974). They are called Gurjars not because Gurjar is their surname but to distinguish them from the Dakshani Karhádes who have come into Gujarát with the Gáikwár or modern Maráthás.

Appendix B.

THE GUJAR.

Gurjjara Traces.

Karhádes.

hero Parashurám. His great public works in the Konkan and the arrows beside the mace on his coins seem to combine in the tale that by shooting his arrows seaward he reclaimed the Konkan.[1] The fact that they took their name from Karhád makes it probable that the Karháde Bráhmans were Bráhmanised strangers or had at least a S'aka strain and further that they moved down the Kumbhárli pass to Chiplun and from Chiplun colonised the Rájápur and south Ratnágiri coast. In the sixth century when the White Húṇas or Gurjjaras were in power and sending forth colonies or during the seventh century when they were hard pressed in northern India and in Sindh by Turks and Arabs and by the revival of the local chiefs whom they had conquered, White Húṇa or Gujar settlements seem to have been formed along the Konkan Goa and Kánara coasts.[2] When the colonists or the refugees settled in Alibág and in Ratnágiri they would find a common northern strain in the Karhádes and combining with the local tribe seem to have added a new division which adopted the name of Gurjjara. The surname Gurjjara is common; among the Rájápur Karhádes it is almost universal. Its early adoption is proved by the form of the word which is Gurjjara not Gujar. That it is a name which the clan consider somewhat discreditable is shewn by the tales invented to explain its existence.[3] Besides the sameness of name inquiry has satisfied Mr. Mahipatrám Ruprám[4] that the house and family guardians of the Karhádes are the same as the Gujar guardians. The commonness of the name Gurjjara among Karhádes shews that it is something more than a special surname held by the descendants of individuals employed in Gujarát, and the fact that the surname is common on the coast, especially in the Rájápur sub-division and is rare in Dakhan families, and that where it occurs it can in most cases be traced to a connection with the Konkan, all support the view that the Karháde Bráhmans of Ratnágiri are largely of Gujar origin.[5]

Results.

The following is an estimate of the effect of the Gujar layer that overspread the population of Gujarát and of Káthiáwár between the fifth and

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[1] Compare Early Gujarát Bombay Gazetteer, I. Part I. 24, 25; J. B. B. R. A. Soc. IX. 19. That Nahapána was held to be a reappearance of Parashurám is supported by papers in the Mackenzie Collection (Wilson's Mackenzie Collection) which make Parashurám the founder of a kingdom in the Dakhan in the first century after Christ. A further connection is the defeat of the Haihayas by Parashurám (Muir's Sanskrit Texts, I. 457) and the defeat of the Andhras who are also Haihayas by Nahapána and his son-in-law Ushavadáta.

[2] A White Húṇa settlement seems to explain Al Masudi's (A.D. 914) account of the beautiful white people of Cheul near Alibág who were half-Turk (that is White Húṇa) half-Indian: who had a fire temple near the town: and who kept the specially White Húṇa practice of having companions of the king whom he treated with close friendship and who were bound to sacrifice themselves when the king died.

[3] The full title of the head family of Karhádes in Rájápur is Gopál Pádhya Gurjar Mahámahopádhyaya. The surname Gurjar is held by the best known Upádhyaya families in this part of Ratnágiri. In Bhálavali Rájápur a family of Upádhyayas as far back as the twelfth century had the surname Gurjar-Patvardhana. Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, I.C.S.

[4] Vanráj Chávaḍá.

[5] Two points may be added. A common surname among coast Karhádes is Oze a word which like the Osia origin of Osvál, in accordance with the practice of dropping the initial guttural and of turning *r* into *z* may be a corruption of Gurjjara or Guzar, who are still known in Ratnágiri tradition as Hujars as well as Gurjars (Mr. V. B. Jogalekar, 23rd April 1893). The second point is that according to some informants the proper surname is not Gurjar but Moghe (Mr. V. B. Jogalekar) apparently Magha the name given to the Persian or Śaka Bráhmans who were imported by the Gurjjaras or White Húṇas to conduct the worship of the Sun. It is notable that the late Ganesh Shástri of Indor who made himself famous by going to England was a bearer of the historical seafaring name of Gurjar. (Professor Abáji Vishnu Káthawate.)

Appendix B.

THE GUJAR.

Results.

the thirteenth centuries. His enemies easily twisted the characteristic of the great bowman the Gurjjara, the Chápoṭkaṭa or Strongbow, into Bhilla the archer. Chápa the Bhil is a type of the attempt to lower the newcomer to the level of a wild tribesman. Nor is it doubtful that some branches of the early tribes had both body and mind bettered by the mixture of Gurjjara blood. What indirectly benefited some of the Bhíls was a more marked gain to certain classes of Kolis. The helpful improvable type of Talabda Koli is mainly a Med and till the Musalmán times was known as Med. It is from this class of Kolis that among Kanbis the infiltering of outside blood still secretly goes on. This introduction of Koli blood is objected to if it is discovered. Still by the wise of the Kanbi caste it is perhaps secretly approved, seeing that it prevents rebellion against Pátidár privileges, while if the irregularity comes to light it may fairly be argued that Kolis of Med origin can rightly if secretly marry with Kanbis and Pátidárs who it is known are of the same Gujjara or Mihira descent.[1] The strong Gujar element among both Áhirs and Chárans has been noticed above. A similar element is probably present among Rabáris and Bharwáds.

That the Gurjjaras were great builders the ruins of Márwár and north Gujarát bear witness. In the old Gujar capital of Bhinmál the memory remains of the special classes of builders the Sompuras who are also associated with the lake at Pushkar and with the temple at Somnáth, and the Devala or Deora Rajputs (a branch of Choháns) whose name is punningly derived from the great Bhinmál temple to the Sun or Jag Svámi which they have the credit of building. Of the value of the Gujar as a cultivator no addition is required to the proof given above that the best husbandmen of Western India the Leva and Khaḍwa Kanbi and Pátidár of north Gujarát is a Gujar. Apart from any dislike to the term Gurjjara as savouring of uncouthness, the fact that Kanbi or Kumbi (probably) means the man with the holding (*kumbáva*) is enough to explain how Kanbi came into use to distinguish the hall-marked holder of land from the less reputable herder of cattle. A trace of the Gujar in connection with cultivation remains in north Khándesh where *Gujari* is the word for the weekly vegetable market apparently because the bulk of the market gardeners are the lately (A.D. 1000) arrived Gujars from Málwa who have not forsaken their original tribe name. Of the great Gujar sailors, Meds Chaváḍas and Gohils, no direct trace is known to remain except the Gujar captains and mates who still visit Bombay from the coast of Makrán.[2] Of the Gujar as a merchant the Shrimális of south Káthiáwár and many divisions apparently of similar Gujar origin through Solaṅkis and other Rajput tribes contend with the Osváls for the highest position among merchants.[3]

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[1] When the *Bhava* or go-between is publicly proved to have passed a Koli girl as a Kanbi the Kanbis of Kaira rise in wrath. That the wrath is at the clumsiness not at the fraud of the go-between is supported by the consideration that so long as it is not made public the intermarriage of Kanbis and Kolis goes on unchallenged. So odd a laxness among a caste who can afford to be scrupulous seems to imply the knowledge that a Med Koli girl is no unequal match for a Kanbi who by race is a Mihira. Details are given in the Kaira Gazetteer.

[2] A modern instance is Sidhoji Gujar in A.D. 1698 the admiral of Rájáram's Marátha fleet. Kolába Gazetteer, XI. 146.

[3] Dr. Bühler (Epigraphia Indica, II. 40) describes the Oswáls as the noblest and wealthiest community of Jains. He notices (Ditto, 41) that Gurjjara occurs among the tribe names of givers in the Shatruñjaya inscriptions. Gurjar Vániás are of two divisions, Visás of whom only three families are left and Dasás of whom about 300 families are

Appendix B.
THE GUJAR.
Results.

Of Gujars as soldiers the importance has been shown in detail. That foreign tribes could rise to the rank of Rajputs and Kshatriyas was till lately so stoutly disputed that thanks are due to the Kshatriya Valabhis for showing they were originally Maitrakas or Mers and to Dada III. (A.D. 680-700) of the Broach family of Gurjjaras for showing how the worship of the Sun was given up for the worship of Śiva and how by the study of the works of the great sage Manu and by being careful to keep the castes to their proper duties he was raised to the rank of Kshatriya, was ennobled by a Karna pedigree, and that after this ennoblement the family ceased to admit themselves to be Gurjjaras.

The Gurjjara as a Bráhman.

What marks the Gurjjara or White Húṇa as the most religious of northern invaders is that their own imported medicine-men were openly acknowledged to be Bráhmans. According to one account these new Bráhmans were Maghas from the distant land of the Śakas: according to another account they were Bráhmans from Gandhár or the Kábul Valley. Priests of this class seem to have accompanied each separate host of invaders. One set appears with Mihirakula in Kashmir; a second with the Oswáls in Márwár; a third with the Chápas at Dwárka. In the decay of Sun-worship these Maghas have sunk to be either Bhojaks that is ministrants in Krishna's temples or Shevaks that is family priests to Shrávaks or Jains. The case of the Ratnágiri Karhádes some of whom say that their true surname is not Gurjjar but Moghe or Magha, has been already discussed. Gujar subdivisions among the Rajputána Bráhmans of Bundi[1] and Ulwar;[2] among the Gaur (Thánesvar) Bráhmans of Márwár[3] and the North-West Provinces;[4] and a Mer subdivision of Dakot Bráhmans, all strengthen the Gurjjara claim for unusual religious susceptibilities.[5] Two classes of special interest remain; the Pushkar Bráhman of Pokarn near Ajmir and the Nágar Bráhman of Gujarát, perhaps the most beautiful and intellectual of Western Indian Bráhmans who for at least the last nine hundred years have been a political power in the province.[6] The Bráhmans of Pushkar, which may be called the religious head-quarters of the Gujars, admit that their names are not to be found in the list of acknowledged Bráhmans. They explain this by an oversight. But the general belief is that Bhopat through whom they trace was a Mer.[7] The account of Márwár castes identifies the Pushkars with the Sindh Bráhmans who annoyed Bhinmál and robbed it of its daughters.[8] Tod's information was that the Pushkars were the workmen (Gujars by caste since the lake and the old temples are claimed as their work by the Gujars) who dug the great lake at Pokarn and who in reward were raised to be Bráhmans and who still worship their original guardian or breadwinner the *khudali* or pickaxe.

Nágars.

The Nágars remain. The special appearance of the caste, their peculiar character, the strangeness of the name, and their taste for state manage-

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found in Ahmedábád Anklesvar Cambay Dholka Parántij Surat and also in Bombay and in Poona. These Gujar Vániás claim to have come to Gujarát with the "Emperor" and to be the same as the Upper Indian caste of Hindui-Mughals from whom they say they have adopted the veiling of women and other Musalmán practices. Ráo Bahádur Himatlál Dharajlál, Dec. 1895.

[1] Rajputána Gazetteer, I. 221. [2] Rajputána Gazetteer, III. 204. [3] Márwár Castes, 59.
[4] Elliot's Tribes of the N.-W. Provinces, I. 103. [5] Márwár Castes, 72.
[6] Dr. Bühler Epigraphia Indica, I. 295. [7] Rajputána Gazetteer, II. 70.
[8] Márwár Castes, 61. Details given in the account of Bhinmál (Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I. Part I. page 464) show that the Gujar origin of the diggers of the Pushkar lake is still (A.D. 1898) freshly remembered.

Appendix B.

THE GUJAR.

Results.

Nagars.

ment and for fighting have always kept alive the belief that the Gujarát Nágar is of foreign origin.[1] The name which well informed writers have accepted as Nága not Nágar[2] an origin which both the legends and the practices of the tribe support, suggests that as in other cases the name Nága points to an origin in one of the northern tribes of conquerors.[3] In explanation of their name the Nágars quote the saying: 'The place where are Bráhmans rich in the Veda, perfect in conduct and austerity is the real city.'[4] To them their title Nágara is a compliment pointing to their caste as the highest type of Bráhman in Gujarát. As in similar cases it seems probable that a pleasing pun has saved from death some old historical name which otherwise changed conditions might have tempted its holders to put out of sight. It is remarkable that Nepál, as it were the other bank of the river of immigration from which the earlier settlers have withdrawn, gives as in Gujarát a class of Nagar, explained as Nagar Kotia and also of Bhatela or Mhástán Bráhmans and that the Nágar Nepál Bráhman bears few traces of the strict ritual correctness which is supposed to have gained for his fellow-tribesman in Gujarát the name of Nágara. The existence of Nágara Vániás in Gujarát favours the view that the original Nágar race was not Bráhmanical and may therefore be the Nágari branch of Gujars to which reference has already been made.[5] One of the leading tribes of the Gujars of the North-West Provinces who are in special strength in the district of Bulandshahr is of the Nágari clan.[6]

The Gurjjara as a God.

The special religious fervour that marks the record of the Gujar or White Húṇa is shown in their worshipful dread of the devotion of a Bhát or a Cháran, in the eagerness of their widows to be *sati* true unto death, in the frantic self-sacrifice of the *jaohár* where children women and warriors perish together. The stories that gathered round the great Mihirakula (A.D. 500-550) shew a religious warrior, pitiless, of god-like strength and success. The praise of the Rájataraṅgini, even the grudging acknowledgments of Hiuen Tsiang, seem to imply that Mihirakula was held to be a god. His self-worship as Mihireshvar suggests that he accepted the glory that was thrust upon him. At the A'bu fire-pit the divine or religious element in the newcomers is admitted in the *Culuk* (*Solaṅki*) rising out of the flame wearing a sacred thread, and in one hand carrying a sword and in the other a Veda. Mr. Mahipatrám Ruprám[7] preserves legends that the early Gurjjaras on their way south and east from the Panjáb were led by inspired warrior-Rishis. One tale tells how in the absence of the men a few old Rishis and a Gurjar woman held the fort of Nágarkot against an assault of the hill tribes. In reward the woman became the guardian Bhaváni the home goddess of all

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1 In an inscription of Kumárapála (A.D. 1143 - 1174) Vadnagara is called Nagara. Dr. Bühler (Ep. Ind. I. 295) thinks this is the original home of the Nágars. It seems doubtful whether Dr. Bühler intends to suggest that the name Nágara comes from Nagara the city. The inscription (Ditto, page 303) does not support such a derivation. It describes these Bráhmans as descended from the Nágara race.

2 Dabistán, II. 142.

3 Inscriptions as late as A.D. 1000 mention the marriage of a Paramára with a Nága princess in Rajputána. Ep. Ind. I. 229; Ind. Ant. XIV. 75; Cunningham's Arch. Surv. Reports, II. 310.

4 Muir's Sanskrit Texts, I. 130.

5 It is remarkable that in a census of this caste drawn up for Sir J. Jacob, only 343 of a total of 1263 Nágara families returned themselves as Bráhmans. Bom. Gov. Sel. New Ser. XXIII. 29.

6 N.-W. Provinces Gazetteer, III. 48.

7 Vanrája Chávaḍa.

Appendix B.

THE GUJAR.

Results.

The Gurjjara as a God.

Gurjjaras including the Karháde Bráhmans.[1] At Pushkar the holy head-quarters of the Gurjjaras Brahma, annoyed by the absence of Sávitri, purified a Gujar girl by passing her through a cow and made her his wife and called her Gayatri.[2] When Sávitri appeared and found the marriage completed she cursed Gayatri's wedding altar: 'May this altar be you Gujars' burning-place.' The curse was not fruitless, for forty miles round all Lor Gujars bear their dead to burn them at the marriage altar and from 200 miles the ashes of the dead are brought to be dropped in the pool. In spite of Sávitri's anger the Gurjjaras did not neglect their honoured sister. They built a temple to Brahma and by his side placed the Gujari Gayatri.[3] Another Gurjar who has gained a place among the guardians is Devji of Bednor in Márwár. He lived 700 years ago, worked miracles, and is now the chief divinity of the Ajmir Gujars. The still more remarkable acceptance of the specially religious genius of the Gujar is the fact that the Jains or Shravaks receive Gurjjaras to their highest religious honours. Among the Jains of Western India the pontiffs are taken from the Osvál division of Baniás and are therefore of Gujar origin. Men of this class have risen even higher than pontiffs. Some winning *moksha* or absorption have become Tirthankars and Siddhas that is Supreme Lords.[4]

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1 Vanrája Chávada.

2 Rajputána Gazetteer, II. 39. 3 Tod's Annals, First Ed. I. 774.

4 Trans. Royal As. Soc. III. 337-352. Temples near the great Nága shrine at Angkor in Cambodia with a four-faced head of Brahma struck Mr. Fergusson as a singular revival of the ancient and in other places outworn worship of the great Hindu first cause. Only in one place in India it is usually said is there a shrine of Brahma. This place is Pushkar or Pokarn lake seven miles north of Ajmir. Have the two worships in Rajputána and in Cambodia any connection in date and in the persons who built and who worshipped in them. The dates are not far apart; the eighth or ninth century is a probable period for them both. The builders and the worshippers at Pokarn may with fair certainty be taken to have been Gurjjaras. The attempt has been made in the note on Western India in Cambodia (Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I. Appendix) to trace how a tribe of northerners may have passed down the Kábul and across the Kashmir valleys, over the Himalayas and by the back of the Himalayas and down the valley of the Yangtzskiang have reached Yunnan and Ankkor. If the chain of evidence is not too weak the tribe or horde who made this remarkable migration were the White Húṇas. It has been shown with fair probability that the Mihiras and the Gurjjaras who formed leading elements in the great White Húṇa horde were Khazars that is were White Húṇas. The Khazars and White Húṇas were notable respecters of Bráhmans. According to the Rájataraṅgini Mihirakula the great White Húṇa champion (A.D. 500-550) who had waded through streams of Buddhist blood was glorified after death because of his respect for Bráhmans. The Khazars or Gurjjaras were raised to special rank above all other Rajputs because they were Bráhman-made in the fire-pit on Mount Ábu. So pleased with their devotion was Brahma or the Bráhman spirit that he adopted as his wife a Gurjjara Gayatri. That the Pushkar or Pokarn Bráhmans are partly if not entirely Gurjjaras seems the explanation of their peculiar position. To the Khazars whether in Cambodia or in Ajmir no deity would seem more worshipful than Brahmadev the divine Bráhman. There therefore seems fair ground for holding that the builders of the Brahma temple at Pushkar and of the Brahma temple at Angkor were the same tribe. To what deity were the two shrines raised? Many villages in Western India, especially in the south, have shrines of Brahmadev. Some of the wilder Konkan tribes sing to and worship Brahmadev. The object of worship with the wilder Konkan tribes is the young Bráhman priest: the object of worship with the Belgaum villager is the ghost of some Bráhman who was proved troublesome after death and who among the Konkan Kanbis is known as Brahma Rákshas the Bráhman fiend. There is also a temple to Bráhma the creator at Kolhápur.

APPENDIX C.

MISCELLANEOUS.

(1) CASTES.

Baja'nia's or Musicians, also called Dholis or Drummers, are found in small numbers chiefly in central and northern Gujarát. They claim to take their name from their patron Vajai Máta. They are divided into Parmárs and Nághors who eat drink and smoke together and intermarry, the members of each branch being forbidden to marry among themselves. They are strongly built and have well cut features. Their complexion is black, their hair lank, and their eyes small and bright. The men sometimes have beards and generally wear the hair long.

The men dress in a waistcloth a waistcoat and a roll of cloth wound round the head. The women wear a robe a bodice and a loose petticoat. Their ornaments are made of tin and brass. Their home tongue is Gujaráti. As they move about the country during the fair season they live in booths; in the rainy season they live in temporary huts roofed with grass and branches. Their furniture includes earthen pots, wooden mortars for pounding rice, and grindstones. They carry with them large cloths with which they construct their tents. These as well as their kit are carried on the backs of donkeys. They eat flesh of all kind except the flesh of the pig and the cow and they drink liquor. Their ordinary food is kodra, banti, and maize. They eat food cooked by almost all classes including Musalmáns, but will not touch food prepared by Dhedás, Chámadiás, and other depressed classes. They also refuse meat prepared by *Darjis* tailors, because at their weddings Darjis offer their god the image of a cow made of *gol* or molasses.

They earn their living by beating drums at weddings, by performing athletic feats on ropes, by carving the legs of cots, and by selling wooden ladles and mortars for pounding rice. They also make baskets, repair grindstones, and work as field-labourers. They carry off cattle and are guilty of other field offences. Under a headman or *Náik* they move about in gangs of ten to twelve. They are forbidden entering each other's beat on pain of excommunication. They remain in each camp sometimes for a fortnight. They belong to the Bijmárgi sect and believe in demonology and witchcraft. They keep no household gods. They hold one Sámbhai Náik in special veneration as he is said to have lost his life in performing a wonderful athletic feat. They also worship the goddess Khodiár.

At the birth of his first son a Bajánia feeds his friends with wheat flour mixed with coarse sugar. On the sixth day after a birth a lamp is lighted in the lying-in room and near it wheat flour is strewn. They call no Bráhman to officiate at any of their ceremonies. The uncle of the bride or an elder member of her family presides on the day of marriage. The bridegroom's father pays twelve rupees to the bride's father of which four rupees are spent in purchasing clothes for the bride. On the day fixed for a marriage, which usually takes place in the rainy season, a square is formed outside the bride's house by setting four empty earthen pots one at each corner. A bamboo frame festooned with mango leaves is raised

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BAJÁNIÁS.

over these pots. In the presence of the bride's father or other elder male relation the bride and the bridegroom walk four times round the square and stand facing Bajána in Káthiáwár. They then offer a cocoanut to a lamp which is lighted or to a pot which has been filled with water in honour of Sámbhai Náik. No ceremonies are performed at a woman's first pregnancy. Bajániás bury their dead. Rice balls are offered on the tenth and eleventh days after death and castepeople are feasted on the twelfth day when a cot and some clothes belonging to the deceased are given to his sister's son. The widow marries the younger brother of the deceased and divorce is allowed. Before marriage the widow receives a double share from the earnings of the band to which her husband belonged, because, they say, the widow of Sámbhai Náik was allowed a double share on her husband's death. Caste disputes are settled by five leading men. They do not send their boys to school and as a class are poor.

BHOIS.

Bhois, Palanquin-bearers and Fishers, 37,263 strong, are found all over the province. According to their own story they are Rajputs from Lucknow in the North-West Provinces. They have nine subdivisions Bakoriás, Bhathvás, Gadhediás, Gudiás, Kárs, Máchhis or Dhimars, Mális, Melás, and Purabiás. Of these Mális and Bakoriás eat together and intermarry; Mális Gudiás and Kárs eat with one another but do not intermarry; the rest neither eat together nor intermarry. They are strongly built and dark like Kolis. The men generally wear a tuft of hair on the head and in north Gujarát the beard. Except the Purabiás whose home speech is Hindustáni, they speak Gujaráti. Some of them live in houses with walls of brick and mortar and with tiled roofs, but most of them in huts with mud walls and thatched roofs. A few houses have bedsteads, grainhusking pestles, and brass and copper pots; but most have earthen cooking pots, grindstones, a wooden pitcher, and fishing nets. Besides coarse grain they eat fish and the flesh of goats. They drink liquor and take opium. The men wear a coarse waistcloth reaching to the knee, or a pair of trousers, a jacket, and a turban, or a piece of cloth wound round the head. The women wear a petticoat, a shortsleeved jacket or bodice, and a cloth thrown over the head. The women's ornaments are silver or brass wristlets, lac or wooden bracelets, silver or brass anklets, and a silver necklace. Fishing, growing waterchestnuts, and carrying palanquins or litters are their chief means of livelihood. Some till lands and work as field labourers; others tend sheep and goats and sell grass or fuel and *bábul* tooth-brushes; some are household servants and water-carriers as Pakhális or Bhistis, and some, like Bhangiás, winnow the street dust for grains of gold and silver.

Bhoi fishers fish only in small streams and pools. They use both hand-nets and stake-nets. The hand-net or *háth jál* is a casting net. The stake-nets are of two kinds. One called *nadi* or *bhandar* is described as fixed across a stream and strengthened at intervals by stakes, which are not fastened into the ground, but tightened by a couple of ropes at either end. This net is sometimes used as a drag-net hauled by ropes against the stream. A similar net, the *supra jál* or *beheri*, has a bag or purse in the middle. In these nets the smallest mesh is about one-sixth of an inch in diameter. During the rains the Bhois fish at night. They work generally in couples, wading in pools and still places where the flood-waters have overflowed the regular river banks. As they move along one of them holds a wisp of burning hay near the surface of the water, and while the fish are drawn by the light to the top his partner entraps

them in a net. The nets used for this torchfishing are of three kinds: (1) the ordinary hand-net, *chhogia* or *háth jál*; (2) the *kandia*, a piece of netting about four feet square, which is thrown over the fish as he shows on the water, and is then beaten smartly with a stick; (3) the *jámda*, a net about four feet long with a piece of bamboo passed through both ends. In fishing with the *jámda* each fisher holds an end of the net in one hand, and, as they move along, they dredge the pool. Harpooning is said to be unknown. These methods of fishing by torchlight are specially successful in the case of the *ráu* fish, which in times of flood leave the main stream and rest in pools and backwaters. The Bhois are so at home in the water that the alligator will, it is said, from fear of them swim across a pond or a river to get out of their way.

Besides fishing, Bhois grow water-chestnuts *singodás* Trappa bicornis. The water-chestnut is an important food-plant containing a great deal of sweet starch not unlike the common chestnut. It is eaten either boiled or ground into flour for fast-day cakes. The nuts are planted in moist pond-bottoms in June, and, as the pond fills, the nuts send to the surface a cellular stem and bulbous head, from which proceed brown spear-shaped floating leaves. In September white flowers like the jasmin show themselves among the leaves and give place to a profusion of nuts which are ready to be taken off in October. The cellular stem is attached to the mud by fibrous creeping roots, which extend under the mud and throw up new stems to the surface. A few pounds of nuts set wide apart will fill a whole pond, and an acre will yield 400 pounds weight (10 *mans*) and be worth about Rs. 30. The cultivation of the pond-chestnut is very trying and can be undertaken only by Bhois, as the leaves have to be constantly cleared of a voracious worm which multiplies rapidly, and, if not watched, prevents the nut ripening. In clearing the plants of these worms the Bhoi swims all over the pond resting his chest on a pair of inverted earthen pots and closely examines every leaf, crushing the worms between his forefinger and thumb. Except in Native States palanquin-bearing has almost died out. Bhois as a class are poor. The Panch Mahals Bhois live to a great extent by growing water-chestnuts and water and musk melons, but their fondness for drink has sunk most of them in debt. Many of them are suspected characters and have a poor name for honesty. Most Bhois worship Mothers or *Mátás*, though some of them are Bijmárgis, Rámánandis, Shaivs, and Vallabhácháris. In the Panch Mahals they keep in their houses Meladi Máta, the image of a deceased woman of the family who is worshipped when they intend to harass an enemy or to exorcise an evil spirit, in which art several Bhois of Godhra have special skill. In other parts of the province they have no house-gods and except on holidays do not visit Hindu temples. All but a few in Broach are said to believe in sorcery witchcraft and omens. Their chief holidays are *Diváso* in June-July, *Gokul A'them* in July-August, and *Navrátri* in September-October. Some of them visit the ordinary places of Hindu pilgrimage. Their priests are Modh and Audich Bráhmans whom they call Pandits and to whom they pay Rs. 2 to Rs. 4 at marriages and deaths. No ceremony is performed on the birth of a child. After the sixth day some worship the goddess Chhathi. The mother remains impure fifteen to thirty days, after which she does her usual work. Except among a few no name-giving or food-giving ceremonies are performed. Their marriage pregnancy and death rites do not differ from those observed by Kanbis. Marriage between near relations is forbidden. Widows are allowed to marry, and, except among the Bhois of Broach, divorce is easy. Few Bhoi boys attend school.

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PADHÁRIÁS.

Padha'ria's are found in small numbers in almost every village bordering on the large lake and fen area known as the *Nal* in the Dholka and Viramgám sub-divisions. They are said to be Kolis who were put out of caste for eating dead animals and retired to the borders of the *Nal*. Padhāriás both men and women find their chief occupation in cutting grass and digging out grass roots and selling them to other villages. The men also, like Vághris, fish and catch duck which they eat or sell to Musalmáns. Their chief food is *bir* that is the roots of the grass which after digging they pound into pulp with a wooden hammer. The pulp is then made into bread, which with dry onions is their daily food. Only when they have been lucky in fishing and snaring can they afford the luxury of millet or wheat bread. Those who are rich enough to own a net catch wild duck by spreading a net over the patches of grass where ducks alight to feed. Others lie in the morning in the grass and reeds and catch ducks by their legs as they alight. Ducks when caught have their wings broken and fetch about an anna a-piece. The Padhāriás are Hindus in religion and like other low caste Hindus of the Nal Kántha worship Hingláj Mátá. Other Kolis look down on them and they marry among themselves only. Padháriás are very badly off. The destruction of life they cause makes them hateful to the higher class Hindus to whom the taking of life is the one deadly sin. The men are tall and stalwart, dark-skinned and with large rolling eyes; the women also are above middle height, lean, and dark. Well-to-do Padháriás dress like other Kolis. Before marriage the bridegroom pays the bride's father fifty rupees. If the husband dies unless she can repay the bridegroom's family or his subdivision of the tribe these fifty rupees the widow must marry the brother or other male relation of her husband. In Shápur, Upardal, Jhámp, and Siál where they are found in numbers the Padháriás form a *jamát* or community the richest being chosen patel or head. In villages where they are less in number they accept the village patel as their head.

PAVÁYÁS.

Pava'ya's also called FÁTDÁS or HIJDÁS that is eunuchs, are found in small numbers in the Kadi division of Baroda and in the State of Navánagar in Káthiáwár. The class is recruited from both Hindus and Musalmáns, who consider themselves the creatures or rather the temples or homes of the goddess Bahucharáji. Except that they do not dine together Paváyás from Hindu and from Musalmán families are closely alike. According to their tradition a king of Chámpáner named Báriya was unhappy because he had no son. He was a devout worshipper of the goddess Bahucharáji and through her favour a son was born who was named Jeto. This Jeto was born impotent and Báriya, out of respect to the goddess through whose favour the son was obtained, set him apart for her service. Bahucharáji appeared to Jeto in a dream and told him to cut off his private parts and dress himself as a woman. Jeto obeyed the goddess and the practice has since been kept up by the men who join the class. Impotence is the indispensable qualification for admission into the caste. When an impotent man asks to be admitted he goes to one of the Paváyás who puffs into his right ear, bores both ears with the point of a needle, and administers to him a solemn oath never to steal and never to act as a pimp to any private woman. The novice is admitted on probation. He eats coarse sugar, puts on woman's clothes, receives a new name, and has a feast given to his castepeople. The new names are feminine names, generally ending in *de*, such as Dhanáde, Jhinide, Ládude, and Khimde. The probationary period lasts from six to twelve months during which the conduct of the novice is carefully watched and his impotency tested by

prostitutes. When impotency is established, the next important ceremony is the cutting off the genital parts. For this purpose the novice bathes, dresses himself in clean clothes, and worships the image of the goddess. He prays to her to grant a propitious day for the operation. If at the first sitting the required day is not granted he continues such sittings till the goddess conveys her assent. If the operation is performed on a day approved by the goddess the result is seldom fatal. The texture of the penis and testicles of the impotent are said to be naturally fit for castration, the nerves being weak and insensitive. Behind a screen set up for the purpose the lopping is performed with a razor by the person himself without any assistance. This is held to correspond to a birth ceremony which makes the patient a member of the caste. After the operation the patient lies for three days on a cot on his back without moving. During that time thirty pounds of sesame oil is continuously poured on the part lopped off. For ten days more or till the wound is healed it is now and again washed with a decoction of *bordi* Zizyphus jujuba and *bábul* Acacia arabica bark. On the sixth day after the operation coarse wheat flour mixed with molasses and clarified butter is distributed among the castepeople. The patient remains screened for forty days during which he eats light food. Clarified butter is his chief nourishment and he is forbidden the use of redpepper oil and asafœtida.

In A.D. 1880 the Gáckwár of Baroda forbade castration in his State to the great sorrow of the Paváyás, who say that by thus remaining in their natural condition they displease the goddess and that during seven future lives they will remain impotent as a punishment for failing to sacrifice the useless member. Paváyás bury their dead. After death the body is washed and laid on a cot covered with a sheet and perfumed. The body is shrouded in a clean coverlet for burial. As they are neither males nor females the Paváyás do not touch the coffin which is carried and the burying is performed by Musalmáns, the companions of the dead standing by mourning. On the *dasa* or tenth day and on the *chálisa* or fortieth day after a death the dearest companion of the deceased is bound on pain of expulsion to feed the castepeople and the Musalmán bier-bearers. A tomb is raised over the dead. They keep images of Bahucharáji in their houses and worship them daily and when on begging tours are careful to visit her shrines in the Chuvál. They keep both Hindu and Musalmán holidays.

The Paváyás are dark well built and tall with feminine features and gestures. They wear the hair long and have smooth faces without mustache or beard. They wear a long waistcoat and a petticoat. They live on coarse grain, but have no objection to eat fish and the flesh of sheep and goats. They drink liquor and take opium. They live as beggars singing the praise of their patron goddess Bahucharáji. In begging they stand in front of some villager clap their hands and offer him the usual blessing "May Mother Bahucharáji do you and your children good" or "Ado Bhaváni, that is Rise goddess Bhaváni." If any one fails to give them alms they abuse him and if abuse fails they strip themselves naked, a result which is greatly dreaded as it is believed to bring dire calamity. They beg in bands within certain beats and receive fixed yearly dues in kind or in cash from shopkeepers, carpenters, tailors, shoemakers, goldsmiths, Lohárs, Bhátiás, Bharváds, Dhedás, Sathvárás, and Chárans. They also receive fees from every Kanbi on the birth of a son, and in most parts of Gujarát when a son is born to a barren woman or to a woman who has had no male issue, Paváyás are called

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and made to dance in front of the house. In Navánagar they used to purchase orphan girls for prostitution, but this practice has been stopped. Social disputes are settled by four or five leading men of the caste who have power to excommunicate any member who has been found guilty of committing theft or acting as a pimp to any private woman. The person outcasted is readmitted on paying a penalty.

RÁVALIÁS.

Ra'valia's or **Ra'vals**, 30,400 strong, are found all over Gujarát and Káthiáwár. They appear to be of Rajput origin and are subdivided into Sákhiás that is clansmen also called Bháts meaning bards, and Váháliás that is carriers. Sákhiás are divided into Jogi Rávals, Máru Rávals, and Patái Rávals. Though as a rule both Sákhiás and Váháliás eat together and intermarry, the Jogis do not mix freely either with the Patáis or the Ma'rus. Surat Rávals are divided into Khambátis Rájbharás and Surtis, and Ahmedábád Rávals into Báriás Bháliás Bhoiniás Makvánás and Udliás. The five Ahmedábád subdivisions eat together but do not intermarry. Among Rávals as a rule persons of the same clan do not marry and marriage with girls on the maternal side is disallowed. All are nominally vegetable-sellers and keep asses to carry vegetables. They also employ themselves in carrying grain from villages to towns.

As a class Rávals are tall, well built, dark and sunburnt. The men shave the face except the mustache and whiskers, which they allow to grow long and tie their whiskers behind their ears like Káthis and Rajputs. They speak Gujaráti. They dress in a waistcloth *dhoti*, a small jacket *bandi*, and an ochre-coloured headscarf *phália*. The women are short, dark, and stout. The women spin wool at home to make saddle-cloths. They live in huts of reed and palm leaves. Except in Kaira where they are said to eschew fish and flesh, Rávals eat fish mutton and fowl and drink liquor. Some of them take opium. They live by beating drums, by begging grain or cooked food, and by casting out evil spirits. The Váhália Rávals tend sheep and asses and work as carriers and labourers; some weave coarse tape and a few cultivate land. Some of the owners of asses are well-to-do having a stock of 200 to 300 head. The tapeweavers are badly off owing to jail and other competition. They are Hindus in religion worshipping Hingláj Mátá and having a name for special piety. Their priests are ascetics *sádhus* of their own caste who officiate at all their ceremonies except at marriages when they call in a Tapodhan Bráhman. They believe in witchcraft soothsaying and evil spirits. As a rule Rávals perform only birth marriage and death ceremonies. When a child is born the mother is considered impure and keeps her room from twelve to thirty days, at the end of which she goes to a well, bows before it and fetches water, and is allowed to leave her room and mind the house. On the sixth day a little vermilion powder and redlead, a pen and a piece of paper with inkstand, and a folded turban with an iron arrow fixed into it if the child is a boy, and a piece of a robe bound with wire if it is a girl, are laid on a low stool in the lying-in room, and on the thirteenth the child is named and cradled by women neighbours who are asked to the house. A Tapodhan Bráhman priest is asked to the bride's house where the bridegroom comes and is married to the bride at a lucky moment. The ceremony is completed by the pair moving round a raised altar where a sacred fire is glowing. On the evening of the twelfth day after a death they set a low stool before a lamp made of rice-flour paste fed with clarified butter and on the stool lay rice, wheat, vermilion, flowers, fruit,

and cocoa-kernel and sit near it all night. On the anniversary of a death the chief mourner shaves his face clean and a Rával priest officiates at the death ceremony. Rávals allow widow-marriage the younger brother having the choice of marrying his elder brother's widow. The husband is at liberty to leave his wife at any time but the wife cannot leave the husband without his consent. The right of inheritance remains with the male line. They have caste councils and headmen in large villages.

Thoris.

Thoris, a wandering tribe, are found in small numbers all over Gujarát. They are divided into Garásiás and Makvánás who differ in no way except that intermarriage is not allowed. Though apparently partly at least of Rajput descent, Thoris are one of the classes whose touch is held to pollute. Of the cause of their degradation no tradition remains. They support themselves by making and selling bedsteads called *kathrots* or *chátvás* with frames of wood and mattresses of coarse tape. Thori women sell or barter for grain plaited reed baskets. They used to carry salt. They neither labour nor beg. They sometimes earn a little by singing and playing on a lute. They are reputed to be cattlelifters and pilfer. They travel in bands of ten to fifteen making small reed or *sarkat* huts when they halt and carrying the reed baskets and bedsteads on asses when they move. They form two bands one settled in Kapadvanj who travel in Dholka Kaira and the Panch Mahále, the other whose head-quarters are at Mándva close to Chándod on the Narbada who seldom pass beyond Rewa Kántha limits. When at their head-quarters during the rains Thoris do no work beyond tending goats which they place in charge of Rabáris or shepherds when they start on their tour. In moving from place to place the well-to-do show much kindness to the poorer families supplying them with asses to carry their kit. Their home tongue is a rough Gujaráti and they understand Hindustáni. The men wear a waistcloth *dhoti*, a jacket *bandi*, and a long narrow headcloth called *fália*. The women wear a petticoat of red and white cloth and a loose bodice. Their ornaments are brass bangles and brass anklets with loose-set stones which rattle as they walk. The men shave each other and rarely call in a barber. All social disputes are settled by a committee or *panch* whose decision is final. On the day of the birth of a woman's first child, the women of the band come to the house sing and name the child each receiving a present of molasses. The men also come to congratulate the father and are entertained with liquor. Except in honour of a woman's first child no ceremony is performed on the day of a birth, but after the third or fourth day women come to the house and name the child. A woman remains impure for a fortnight after childbirth and for a fortnight longer is not allowed to fetch water or to cook. All marriage ceremonies are performed by a committee or *panch* not by a Bráhman. Thori girls are not married till they are old enough to live with their husbands. On the marriage day a cloth-booth or tent is raised in front of the house of the bride's father. In this booth the committee sit and in front of them two heaps of rice are piled and on one of the heaps is set a lighted lamp of *ghi* or clarified butter. The bride is carried in by her sister's husband and set on the open side of the tent facing the piles of rice. His sister's husband carries in the bridegroom who pays the bride's maternal uncle a rupee and a half and is seated on the bride's right. The bride and bridegroom stretch out their right hands, the bridegroom's hand resting on the bride's. Two members of the committee tie round the right wrists of the couple a string to which is fastened a wedding-nut or *midhal* and wind cotton thread round the two wrists. A ball of cooked rice is

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dropped into the right hand of each of the couple which they smell and throw behind them. The ceremony ends by the bride giving the bridegroom cooked rice to eat. In the after-part of the day the father of the bride entertains the caste with cooked rice and *ghi* preceded in the case of the men by a draught of liquor. In the evening with singing the bride is taken to the bridegroom's. She remains five days, returns for five days to her father, and after five days more is led with singing to her husband. Before the wedding the father of the bridegroom pays thirty rupees to the bride's father, five of which are given to the committee to be spent in liquor. The bride's father presents the bride with a goat and a basket-making knife. Relations also give both bride and bridegroom money presents of from a rupee to a copper. A widow may marry her husband's brother or if there is no brother one of his relations on the father's side. The only rite in connection with remarriage is that the castemen are given liquor and the castewomen molasses and that the father of the bridegroom makes the bride a small money present as dowry. Any one dying of small-pox or of any one who dies without having ever had small-pox is buried. All other bodies are burnt. On the third day after death relations make millet balls mixed with *ghi* and molasses and throw them to dogs to eat. On the twelfth day after the death of a man and on the eleventh day after the death of a woman the castemen are feasted on cooked rice and *ghi*. Children are feasted on the fifth day after the death of a child. Bechra is the only deity worshipped by Thoris. They make a cloth-shaped image of a woman, burn a *ghi*-fed lamp in front of the image, and call it Bechrá Mátá. On *Dasara* in October they sacrifice and eat a buffalo or a goat in Bechra's honour. When threatened with cholera they also eat buffalo or goat, the mess being mixed with that of the hen or of some other animal, but pork and beef are prohibited. They never employ Bráhmans.

VÁGHRIS.
History.

Va'ghris numbering 109,583 are found in all parts of Gujarát. According to their own medium-priests or Bhuvás the name Vághri means Tiger-like, but a more likely derivation is from the *vágads* or sandhills of the Rajputána desert. It may however be derived from *vágurs* or *vághars* meaning net, in which case Vághris would mean a tribe of netters. The Vághris of Gujarát probably belong to the Bágri tribe inhabiting the Ba'gar country, a tract between the south-western border of Hariana and the Shara in the North-West Provinces.[1] They are said to have sprung from the Sansyas or Sansis, a well-known race of plunderers in the Panjáb and other countries. Originally they were Rajputs but they have degenerated to a very low social position. The progenitor of the Sansi family was one Sans Mull from whom sprang the Bágris, Budhuks, Gidias, Harburiás, Kichacks, Kunjurs, Moghias, and others, their clan names varying with the country they inhabit. The children of Mullania the younger brother of Sans Mull are the Beriahs Kolhátis and Doms, who are also variously called according to the territory in which they mostly reside. As the Sansi tribe multiplied and their means of subsistence diminished they migrated and divided into clans which were variously called, but those who stayed in Márwár obtained the name Bágoras or Bágris. Whether they were so called from the country of Bágar which they chiefly occupied before their dispersion or whether that country obtained its name from them is not clear.[2]

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[1] Elliot's Races of the North-West Provinces, I. 9. The Vághris are said to be probably an offshoot of the Koli tribe. Ind. Ant. II. 154.
[2] Hervy's Report, 48 footnote.

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History.

Their name, which seems to connect them with the *vágads* or sandhills of the north Rajputána desert, and their cringing gipsylike ways suggest both their descent from some tribe of Jats and their origin from some invading Skythians or other northern conquerors who on the defeat of their masters by Hindu kings mingled with Bhils, Kolis, and other low tribes and sank to a degraded position. Though the variety in features is very great, a resemblance is often traceable to a Negrito-Mongolian type. Both among men and women the high cheek bones and narrow eyes are often observable combined with thick lips massive jaws and flat noses. The black hair though not woolly is mostly wavy. Vághris are superior to Dhedás but inferior to Kolis. In appearance and occupation they seem associated with fowlers and birdcatchers known as Párdhis or Phansi-Párdhis. According to their own account they are Chohán Rajputs whom Vihát claimed as her own and made Vághris. Their surnames do not favour a separate tribal origin. The names Bráhman, Chaván, Cháran, Koli, Kumbhár, Pinjáro, and Vánio suggest a mixed people, descendants of men of higher classes who, either in times of famine, or from a passion for a girl of the tribe, or from some breach of caste rule, sank to be Vághris. It is at the same time possible that the Vághris took these higher class names, because they formerly held service under Rajput and other high class families. That the Vághri community contains an element of higher caste outsiders seems beyond doubt.

Of the origin of their tribe their Bhuvás, literally fathers or priest-mediums, give the following account:

As there are Siva and Sakti so there are Bhagwán and Vihát[1] Devi the Vághris' guardian. In the Satyug Vihát and Bhagwán quarrelled. Vihát said "If I suffer Bhagwán to live, more flowers will be offered to him than to me. I will kill Bhagwán. I swear that till I kill Bhagwán I will wear nothing but ochre or *bhagwa* clothes." She pursued Bhagwán to Bharuch where Bhagwán circumvented her and succeeded in building her into the Kákaria *kotho* a bastion of that city. When Vihát was entombed in the bastion, Bhagwán took refuge with the Navsovigrola Devi or Guardian of Nine Hundred Ships, who hid him in the lower regions of Pátál. In her bastion tomb from the sweat of her breasts Vihát made a man and gave him the small hourglass-shaped *dáklo* or Vághri spirit-compelling drum. At the sound of the drum the entombed Vihát began to sway backwards and forwards like one possessed till the Kákaria bastion shook and burst in two. Vihát passed out wearing her ochre garments. She drove into the ground the lower end of a banner-staff, and the staff bent in the direction of the Guardian of the Nine Hundred Ships where Bhagwán lay hid in another of the Bharuch bastions. On her way to Bhagwán's bastion Vihát met the Guardian of the Nine Hundred Ships. She welcomed Vihát speaking her fair and saying "Sister, be pleased to enter one of my ships and sail. But first take off your travel-stained robes and array yourself in garments of mine." Forgetful of her vow Vihát agreed. "One more point" said the Guardian of the Nine Hundred Ships as they entered the vessel, "Promise to do no harm to any one whom I may produce before you." Vihát promised and Bhagwán appeared. He prayed to be forgiven and Vihát pardoned him. In honour of their reconciliation Bhagwán presented Vihát with a buffalo as her

[1] This Vihát is probably Visát or Vishát. It seems to have its root in *vish* or *vesh* an entrance and thus to be the gate-guardian and so the female form of Vishnu.

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carrier or *váhan* and the Shipguardian with a male goat. Viját returned to her home in the village of Bhankoda ten miles north of Viramgám. After a time Vihát started to destroy certain demons who had seized Dwárká. She slew all but one, and, wearied with her labours retired to Mount Meru the Indian Olympus, where she slept twelve years. While Vihát slept the survivor of the Dwárká demons taking the form of a young buffalo went to Akula the home of Mahádev and Párvati. Though Mahádev tried to dissuade her, Párvati took pity on the lean stranger. She not only persuaded Mahádev to keep the buffalo with his bull but to promise to make him strong and fat. To fulfil this promise Mahádev gave the buffalo his charmed wristlet to chew. The buffalo swallowed the wristlet knowing it would make him immortal. From that hour the buffalo waxed so lusty that he ordered his field-fellow Mahádev's bull to tell his master to give him his wife Párvati. On hearing this audacious request Mahádev upbraided Párvati for the evil result of misguided pity. Mahádev knew that so long as the bracelet remained in the buffalo he could do the buffalo no harm. Mahádev sent the drummer made of Vihát's sweat to waken the goddess and ask her to relieve him from his difficulty. The drummer carried a pair of *khákhra* Butea frondosa leaves which by the power of Mahádev turned into a *dáklo* or hourglass-shaped drum. At the sound of the drum Vihát awoke. "I will come" she said. When she reached Mahádev she asked him to bring her Párvati's clothes. These she put on and appeared before the buffalo demon and said "I am Párvati. I am ready to marry you if you make the seven rounds with me on your back." The demon agreed. Vihát mounted him and pressed him so hard that he bellowed with pain. On on he gallopped, but do what she could Vihát could not weary him. He had the charmed wristlet still within him. By chance Káli Máta saw Vihát and resolving to help her turned herself into the small Devli or Indian robin. The Devli flew into the open mouth of the panting buffalo and picked from his brain the immortality-conferring wristlet. The buffalo fell dead and Vihát drank his lifeblood. When Mahádev was giving each caste its rank one precept remained. This Vihát claimed for her chosen drummers. "They are my worshippers or *jágrittyas*" she said. So they were first called Jágris.[1] Afterwards, because the Jágris drank buffalo's blood which no animal but a tiger drinks, they came to be called Vághris or Tigers.

Divisions.

There are four divisions of Vághris: CHUNARIÁS or limeburners who are also cultivators and fowlers; DÁTANIÁS who sell twig tooth-brushes; VEDUS who grow and sell the *aria* a species of gourd and live in cities; and PÁTÁNEJIS who trade in wood and bamboos and sell chickens. They are also subdivided into Talabda, Pornála, Márvádi, Kánkoria, Saránia, Badia, Dhandári, Tori, Chámta, Chunára, and others. The Talabdás and Pornalás neither eat nor drink with other divisions. The other divisions are of a lower grade and eat and drink together but do not intermarry. The Tálabdás marry only among themselves. In Vánkáner there are two main divisions of the Vághris one of which is again subdivided into forty-four sections as Sorankhia, Charolia, Kedval, Shrikáni,

1 There is in north Gujarát a class of men who live by the prostitution of their daughters who are also dancers and musicians called Jágris and Jégrans. They also claim descent from the musician of a Devi. But these Jágris are far higher in the social scale and more well-to-do than the Vághris and are also a handsomer race. They are Hindus and flesh-eaters and wine-drinkers like the Vághris but would be much scandalized to own the Vághris as cousins-german.

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Divisions.

Lohia, Kuthia, Vaghelia, Bhesjalia, and others. All these were originally Rajput Garásiás but degenerated afterwards. None of these intermarry. The second main division is that of the Vedvás who are mostly found in Márwár. These two main divisions neither eat nor drink together nor intermarry. In the Panch Mahâls there are many subdivisions, the chief among them are Phatia, Kankodia, Chuvalia, Dandach or Dhandaria, Vahola, Márvádi, Verula, Datania, Vedna, Chunaria, and Vasla. Their surnames are Vághela, Parmár, Solanki, Chohán, Ráthod, Sodha, Dangerathia, Vehnua, Maknigia, Kochdia, Baralia, Keplia, Jotania, and Kanjia. In Surat their subdivisions are Ughádpagia, Metrái, Khoblávala, and Buchia. In Dhandhuka there are three divisions of the Vághris, Lakadiás or woodcutters, Vedariás or graziers, and Gámadiás or villagers.

Appearance.

Vághris are a rather small slightly built people for north Gujarátis. Few of them are above the middle height, but all are wiry and well proportioned. Their strength and powers of endurance are great and they attribute this power to the eating of the *gho* and *sandha* reptiles of the lizard species which a Vághri prizes very high. They are darkskinned, generally with coarse and irregular features, but light and active. A few of the younger women are well made and comely. As a rule both men and women are dirty and slovenly, and, though often well-to-do, always in rags and with the whine and fawning ways of beggars. Some of their Bhuvás wear the topknot and beard and some the whisker and mustache. They speak Gujaráti. They live in small portable huts with mud walls erected by themselves. They always travel under a headman in bands of from five to ten with their families and animals staying two or three days in one place. Their furniture is a charpoy or bedstead, a handmill and a set of pots mostly earthen, a brass saucer *tháli*, and a cup *vátka*. The ordinary food of the Vághris is juvár or kodra, bávto, and bájri. Rice is sometimes gleaned at harvest time. Excepting the cow and jackal they eat all animals including the pig. They do not eat carrion nor as they say other than Hindu food. Their favourite food is the flesh of the iguana or *gho* and *sándha*.[1] Some are given to opium, but all drink spirits. The men are poorly clad in a pair of short breeches or waistcloths. They do not generally wear long coats. Their headdress is a scarf. The women are dressed in robes and petticoats and bodices. They wear silver earrings worth about 8 annas and wooden bangles on their wrists. They do not use anklets. Vághris go to work in the fields when there is work to be had. At other times they keep *mahuda* Bassia latifolia and *ráyan* Mimusops hexandra trees. They pay a lump sum to the owner of the trees and sell the produce. They grow vegetable and fruit for sale. They generally keep fowls and sell eggs, catch birds, and go as shikáris or hunters. At other seasons they move from village to village, repair grindstones, rear sheep goats and cattle and sell them. Some are labourers. The Vághris of Nadiád earn their livelihood by painting. Some keep pack-bullocks and work as carriers. As the people of the upper classes do not keep them in service and as there is no special work for them, Vághris earn a livelihood by various means. They closely imitate the call and voice of game and wild animals; they catch birds and make Hindus pay for letting them go. They supply the twigs used in tooth-cleaning and they fish in rivers. They chiefly depend on begging. They beg also under the disguise of *jogis* or astrologers.

[1] The *sándha* is a reptile of the lizard species but darker and fatter and lives in the sand.

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They traffic in green parrots which they buy from Bhils and sell for profit. They have a bad character for stealing. A few Vághris are said to have benefited in Ahmedábád by the introduction of steam factories and a few have laid out their money in ornaments and in building houses. They trade in young bullocks which they take in droves to all parts of Gujarát, from Sirohi in Rajputána to Bulsár, and sell to cultivators giving their customers a year's credit.

Religion.

Vághris are Hindus by religion. They have religious preceptors of their own. They take a 8-anna silver piece and whisper in the ears of their disciples "Be immortal." They need no Bráhman priests for betrothals marriages or deaths, but sometimes give small presents of a copper or two to a Bráhman if he visits their houses and makes a *chándla* or redpowder mark on the forehead. The *gor* of the Vághris is an Audich Bráhman. The Bhuvás or priest-mediums play an important part in many Vághri ceremonies. A Bhuva is a male child born after the mother has made a vow that should Vihát grant her a son she would devote him to Vihát's service. No Bhuva may cut or shave his hair on pain of a fine of ten rupees and no Bhuva may eat carrion or food cooked by a Musalmán. The Vághris believe in spirits and lucky and unlucky days and omens. In the Panch Maháls many of them are called spirit-slayers. They believe that all diseases are caused by spirit-possession. The Bhuvás are the only Vághris into whose bodies Vihát Máta enters. Except these Bhuvás men of the Vághri caste are seldom possessed. Among the women cases of possession are not uncommon. They believe that their *dáklo* or hourglass-shaped drum has power to force the possessing spirit to give its name and state on what terms it will leave the possessed. It is by a Bhuva that all marriages, ordeals, and rites in Vihát's honour are performed. The Vághris have no special birth or naming ceremonies but at marriages the skirt-tying and shrine-circling are under the direction of the Bhuvás or priest-mediums. Vághris worship gods and goddesses, chief amongst whom are Dagaiya, Hanumán, Kálika, Khodiár, Mahárāj, Meladi, Thakor, Varbhani, Hadkai, and Vihát. They also worship the planets and elements.

Holidays.

Vághris keep four yearly holidays: Holi at the *Fágan* (March-April) fullmoon; Gokal Ashtami or Krishna's Birth-night, the dark eighth of *Shrávan* August-September; Navarátra, the Máta's Nine Nights, and the Diváli or lamp feast in October-November. On the Gokal Ashtami in August-September they make a clay Krishna. The women sing and dance before him and next morning throw him into the sea. On Navarátra or Máta's Nine Nights they fast and some of them keep images of the goddess in their huts. Very few observe other Hindu holidays. Vághris go on pilgrimages. Their ancestors are Vir and Narsejo. Among them Gokhario of Kadi and Motido of Sihor are considered great saints. They do not belong to any particular sect.

The Vághris pride themselves on the chastity of their women. When a family returns home after a moneymaking tour to Bombay or some other city, the women are taken before Vihát and with the women is brought a buffalo or a sheep which is tethered in front of Vihát's shrine. They must confess all even their slightest shortcomings. "Two weeks ago when begging in Pársi Bazár-street a drunken sailor caught me by the hand. Another day a Miya or Musalmán ogled me, and forgive me, Devi, my looks encouraged him." If the Devi is satisfied the sheep or buffalo shivers. The Bhuvás cut off its head and after

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offering a few tit-bits in the goddess' fire the tribe holds a feast on its flesh. If the woman fails to make a clean breast of her shortcomings Vihát refuses her offerings, and, in her wrath, sickens or slays some member of the family. If a Vághri woman's chastity is suspected her husband asks a Bhuva to attend at Vihát's shrine. He brings his wife along with a buffalo and sheep before the Mother. The sheep and the buffalo are tethered in front of the shrine. The husband makes the woman swear to tell the truth. The woman swears her innocence. The Bhuva addresses the Mother: "Mother, if this woman has committed no sin be pleased to take the sheep." If the trembling of acceptance seizes the sheep the woman's innocence is half-established. The Bhuva again turns to the Mother and says "If this woman is guiltless be pleased to take this buffalo." If the buffalo trembles and falls the woman is guiltless and the Bhuvás attack the buffalo and sheep with their swords and slay them. Another ordeal is for the suspected woman to spread a cloth in front of the Mother. On this cloth the woman drops a handfull of grain generally wheat. The woman says either odds or even. If for eighteen continuous times the woman is right she is innocent. When in the first form of ordeal the victim is not accepted, or in the second form if the woman's choice proves wrong, the Bhuvás sit in judgment and fine the suspected man who has to suffer alone. The woman lives with her husband as if nothing had happened, only a little lowered in the estimation of her neighbours.

Vows.

When a Vághri determines to make a vow to gain a wife, a child, or success in life, he buys a buffalo and takes it to Vihát's temple and tethers it. He tells the goddess his wish. From that time Vihát takes charge of the buffalo and sees that it neither strays nor is stolen. If the vow-maker's prayer is answered the Bhuvás are consulted and a day is fixed for the sacrifice. In the evening the Bhuvás come to the vow-maker's house. The vow-maker and his friends form a procession to Vihát's temple. First come the musicians, one beating Vihát's drum, a second clashing cymbals, a third blowing the long horn or *bhungal* which Lakshmi gave the Vághris when Vihát gave them the drum. Then come the Bhuvás dancing garlanded with flowers and tossing their heads as if possessed. The women accompany chanting the song of Mahádev's messenger which aroused Vihát on Mount Meru after her twelve years' sleep. On reaching the temple the Bhuvás beat the buffalo with the flats of swords and knives. If the buffalo trembles they know Vihát has accepted him. One of the Bhuvás cuts off the buffalo's head and other possessed Bhuvás leap forward and drink the gushing blood either tiger-like by sucking the wound or after catching the blood in their hollowed hands or in a cup. Next the Bhuvás make a *havan* or fire-offering to Vihát by throwing into a glowing fire in front of the Mátá's temple spiced pieces of the liver, the heart, the brain, and the flesh, repeating these words:

> Mother, we offer thee this sacrifice for the good thou hast done and will still do. Suffer us to share in thy leavings. Are not we eaters of what thou hast left?

After this the raw flesh including the head is divided equally among all and the shares are taken to each house or hearth and eaten. The horns which alone are left are thrown on the roof of Vihát's temple. The following is an account of a Vághri who arranged to offer a sheep to Mother Death in return for the gift of a son. About an hour before sunset four Bhuvás came bringing a black sheep. The four feet and brow of the sheep were washed and sprinkled with redpowder and chrysan-

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themum garlands were thrown round its neck. The vow-maker and a band of men and women gathered in front of his hut. With them were four musicians, two with *dáklo* hourglass-drums, one with cymbals, one with the long horn *bhungal.* About half an hour before sunset they started in procession for Mari Mátá's temple. In front of the procession went two masters of ceremony; the chief a burly graybeard in a red turban his face covered with redpowder; the second a smaller man also in a red turban. The masters have the black sheep in their charge which they lead and drive and sometimes carry in their arms. After the musicians follow the four Bhuvás, their hair streaming, their necks circled with loose chrysanthemum garlands, their bodies bare to the waist. They dance waving their arms and tossing their heads. They are possessed by Vihát Mátá. Then follow a few men and thirty or forty women all singing as they go. When they reach the space in front of the temple the company gathers under the banian tree, the women at some little distance behind maintaining a constant chanting.

The two managers place the sheep which stands quiet and trembling close to the shrine of Mother Watcher. Behind them the drummers trumpeter and cymbal-clasher play with fierce excitement, the drummers wriggling their bodies now laughing now nodding, again tossing their arms, shouting the praises of the goddess, throwing their heads back as the wind-like force of the goddess pulses through them fuller or fainter. Between the musicians and the shrine the dancers go round in a small circle greatly excited. As the goddess stirs in them they wave their arms and toss their heads, sometimes standing sometimes sitting. They move in a circle without shouting or other noise, sometimes with a stiff jerkiness sometimes with a graceful flowing step. While the four Bhuvás dance and toss and the women chant, the second manager brings the brass platter with the cocoanut and the red and yellow powder close to Mother Watcher's little shrine. He breaks the cocoanut and pours some of the milk over the head and back of the sheep. He scatters red and yellow powder over the sheep and pours palm juice over its back from a bottle. The sheep shakes its head violently, a sign that it is accepted by the Mother.[1] 'Máta ki Jay' 'May the Mother win' shout the whole company of Vághris. A loud roll of the temple drum gives the signal for the sacrifice.[2] The second of the managers steps forward sickle in hand. He draws the sheep into the open space a yard or two from the small shrine and with two cuts across the neck and some sawing of the throat severs the head from the trunk. He at once lays the bleeding head at the mouth of the Rakhwál Máta or Mother Watcher's shrine. While the headless body struggles on the ground, the

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[1] The sense of considering the shaking or trembling of the sheep a sign of acceptance is that the trembling is thought to be due to the entrance into and possession of the sheep by the Mother. It is an instance of the great religious law that God enters into and possesses the offering. Of other examples of the law may be noted the Hindu *prasád* or sacred food offered to idols and the Christian sacraments.

[2] This is explained as showing the chief Devi's wish that the sacrifice should proceed. More correctly the drums show the *muhurt* or lucky moment. That moment is the *muhurt* when the guardian influences are strongest and the *kál* the time or death influences weakest. Still even at the luckiest moment an element of ill-luck is present. It is to scatter this element of ill-luck, this crowd of ill-omened spirits that the drums are beaten at the moment of sacrifice: that shouts and the clash of drums and trumpets fill the air when the Sati's or widow-immolation pyre is lighted; that a cry is raised and guns are fired at the instant of marriage. The Gujaráti proverb says 'May the *Dev* or good influence come and the *Dait* or bad influence go.'

other master presses it, and as the blood gushes out, he catches the flow in his hollow hands and pours the blood over the round red-painted stone where lives the Devi.[1]

One or two of the company scrape the blood off the ground and drop it over the Devi. Meanwhile the four Vihát-possessed Bhuvás keep tossing their heads and circling to the fierce drumming and trumpeting, and the band of Vághri women keep chanting their refrain. One of the four Bhuvás dances before the dead sheep and bending over it clutches the wool under its belly in both hands. The fierceness of his tossings and convulsions shows how Vihát in him longs for her draught of blood. But in Bombay, at least in public, the sucking of victims is forbidden, and one of the masters prevents the Bhuva's attempt and makes him rejoin the other dancers. One of the men lifts the dead sheep in his arms, the drummers and hornblowers start, and the company follows to their homes where the sheep will be cooked and flesh and liquor served to all. The sheep is cut in pieces, cooked in one place, and the mutton distributed to all, and enjoyed at a joint feast by those who can attend. The fit passes off the four possessed Bhuvás. They stand quietly tidying themselves and tying their loose hair. They take off their chrysanthemum garlands and throw them high into the banian branches. Except the bleeding head at the mouth of the shrine and two pools of blood on the ground no trace of the sacrifice is left.

Marriage.

Among Vághris a girl is married between the age of 10 and 15 and a boy after the age of 10. Twenty rupees are given to the bride's father together with a suit of clothes for the bride. At the time of the betrothal the bridegroom and his parents come to the bride's house where dinner is served, after which they go back. A few days before the marriage a booth is erected before the houses of the bride and bridegroom. The boy is asked to dine at the girl's house and when he approaches the house he is waved with a light. He is then taken to the marriage altar or *chauri*, a raised clay platform about four inches thick and about two feet square. On the platform are placed betelnuts and eight coppers. A Bráhman priest officiates in some cases while in others one of themselves acts as priest. The bride and bridegroom are made to bow to Ganesh and afterwards, when their clothes are tied together, they take four turns round the *chauri* and sit on a quilt. A fire sacrifice or *hom* is performed and a member of their caste joins the hands of the bride and bridegroom. A dinner is given to the caste in honour of the occasion.

Among Vághris of the Panch Mahals, the family goddess is first installed in the house before and during the marriage. The bridegroom when he approaches the bride's house is waved with a light. No Bráhman priest officiates at the marriage. The younger brothers of the bride and bridegroom or some of the Vághris themselves act as priests. The brows of the bride and bridegroom are marked with vermilion. Marriage-wristlets of the *midhal* Vanguieria spinosa nut are tied round

[1] It is interesting to find so clear an instance of the rule that the red smearing of Hindu gods and god-indwelt stones, trees, and animals represents blood-smearing like the bloodsmearing of their door-posts by the Passover-keeping Jews. This practice of bloodsmearing suggests the still wider law that the luckiness of red is because red represents blood. Further the story in the text of Vihát sucking the blood of the dying buffalo demon and the name-giving practice of the Vághris of sucking the blood of victims shows that blood is lucky because it is the early food and drink. The life of the victim which passes into the drinker scares the demons Thirst, Hunger, and Weariness.

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the wrists of both the bride and bridegroom and the skirts of their garments knotted together. They are made to bow before the goddess and their hands are joined together. The wristlets as well as the knots are untied by the men who at first tied them and they are rewarded in cash or kind by the parents of the bride and bridegroom. The bride and bridegroom are then fed with *kansár* that is wheat-flour mixed with clarified butter and sugar and the marriage is complete. In the fifth or seventh month the pregnant woman is bathed and dressed in clothes presented by her father. Her lap is filled with rice and a cocoanut and she is asked to walk a few steps. Friends and relations are feasted and the woman goes to her father's house for her confinement.

Birth.

There are no birth ceremonies among the Vághris. After the birth of a child the mother remains apart for six to ten days. A woman of the caste serves as midwife. On the sixth night a figure of Brahmá is laid on a low stool with a lamp fed with clarified butter and a sword or knife. The child is bathed and dressed and its forehead marked with vermilion. It is then made to bow before the low stool and children are fed with molasses and boiled juvári. The aunt of the child then names it, having first consulted a Bráhman priest or some old man or woman of the caste. At Gogha, in the case of the birth of a male child the mother remains apart for six days and in that of a female child eight days. On the sixth day bread of juvár flour weighing five-sixteenths of a seer is made, a thin layer of cotton is laid on the hands of the boy and a pin made of the stalk of the *pipal* Ficus religiosa leaf is placed under his pillow. The mother adores and names the child. In the Panch Mahâls on the sixth day women are invited and each treated to a sixteenth seer of cooked wheat flour mixed with sugar *shira.* Water is brought in a vessel, some gold and fire are put into it and after a little of it has been drunk four times out of a cup of swallowwort or *ánkdo* leaves by the confined woman she is considered pure enough to do her household work except cooking which she is forbidden to do for a month.

Death.

Generally Vághris bury the dead, burning being more expensive. On the occasion of the death of a grown-up member of a family a caste-dinner consisting of rice *múg* and *ghi* is given and about a hundred rupees spent. In the Panch Mahâls the mourners bury the dead, then bathe, and return home. They eat *nim* or Indian lilac leaves, and wash their mouth with water and are considered pure. The son-in-law of the deceased brings cooked juvár from his house and feeds the mourners with it. On the third day the chief mourner shaves his face clean and bathes and takes a ball of wheat from the house of the deceased and places it on the spot under which the body is buried. On the twelfth or some other day a caste-feast is given if the means of the deceased permit. At Gogha on the twelfth day cooked rice pulse and oil are given to the sister's son and to dogs. In Kachh every year or every alternate year a Bráhman priest is called, a new sacred thread is put on, a sacred fire is kindled, and the tail of a cow is bathed in water.

Vághris never marry their girls either on their father's or on their mother's side below the fourth degree. In Kaira marriage with girls on the mother's side is not allowed. Vághris allow widow-marriage as also divorce, but in the latter case the wife must be compensated and a written deed executed. The father has a right over his children. Inheritance descends in the male line. There is no system of adoption among the Vághris. Vághris have their *patels* or headmen. In Nadiád every 400 houses of the Vághris have a patel. All caste dispute are decided by the council of the caste. Vághris are entirely uneducated.

(II.) SEAFARING CLASSES.[1]

Appendix C.

SEAFARERS.

UNDER Seafarers come eight leading classes, MÁCHHIS, KHÁRVÁS, BHOIS, BHÁDELÁS, VÁGHERS, SANGHÁRS, MIÁNÁS, and DHEBRÁS or DHIMARS. To these must be added such of the large KOLI population as are fishers and sailors and live in seaboard towns and villages. Probably all Máchhis and some Khárvás are Koli by origin. Except the Bhois described above (page 504) and some Máchhis who are freshwater fishers living inland, all these classes are saltwater fishers and sailors. The most important of them, the skilful long-voyage sailors known as lascars, are Khárvás, Kolis, and Bhádelás, and to a less extent Vághers and Miánás. The Kachh and Káthiávád Khárvás are of three divisions, Rajput, Koli, and Musalmán, the Rajputs found between Mándvi and Verával, the Kolis between Diu and Bhávnagar, and the Musalmáns, probably Patháns and better known as Kasbátis, chiefly of Gogha. The Bhádelás, who are Musalmán settlers from Arabia, are found in Bet, Diu, Dwárka, Jáfarábád, and the Jámnagar ports. Cambay has a noted class of Khárvás, probably Rajputs, who are ranked highest, and work as skilled tile-turners and house and bridge builders. Of the Broach and Surat Khárvás a considerable number are Mahomedans, and the more skilful of them, both Mahomedans and Hindus and some Koli Máchhis, are skilful seamen and house and bridge-builders, especially those of Ránder and Bhimpor near Dumas. The Vághers and Miánás are found chiefly about the Gulf of Cutch on the Navanágar side, the Vághers about Bet or Dwárka, and the Miánás about Vavánia further east. Once notorious pirates and freebooters, the Miánás are less enterprising sailors than the Khárvás and Kolis and confine themselves to coasting craft. The Sanghárs, once ferocious pirates and better known as Sanganians in history, continue partly as seamen on the north Káthiávád coast and as cattlebreeders and cultivators in Kachh.

MÁCHHIS.

Ma'chhis, 41,861 strong in A.D. 1891, are found chiefly in seaboard cities, towns, and villages.[2] They appear to be Kolis deriving their present name from their occupation of catching and living by the sale of *machh* (Sk. *matsya* fish). They have two divisions, Máchhis proper and Koli Máchhis, who eat together but do not intermarry. In south Surat there is also a colony of Deccan fishermen called Dhebrás or Dhimars (Sk. *dhivara* a fisherman) who dine with the Máchhi subdivisions. Broach has Khárva Máchhis and Dhimar Máchhis who eat together but do not intermarry. In the Panch Mahális Máchhis are divided into groups which do not generally intermarry. The Balsár Máchhis say they were Rajputs, who, in seeking refuge with a sage named Bak Rishi from Parshurám the Kshatriya slayer, were compelled to work as fishermen for their fish-eating rescuer. Their Panch Mahals tradition is that they are the progeny of the sage Gautam who converted a mermaid into a rational woman, and lived with her. Another story is that Bhagván, to punish the fish tribe for biting him when bathing in a river, produced a fish-netter from his body, and assigned to him and to his descendants the occupation of fish-catching to rid the world of the fish nuisance. Máchhis are swarthy short and strongly built. They eat fish and flesh, but eschew beef and

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1 Contributed by Mr. Ratirám Durgárám Dave, B.A., Fellow of the Bombay University.

2 The details are: 19,210 in Surat, 13,058 in Káthiávád Baroda and other native states, 6418 in Broach, 1592 in the Panch Mahals, 1504 in Kaira, and 79 in Ahmedábád.

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MÁCHHIS.

pork. They drink liquor and toddy in south Gujarát, and take opium in the Panch Mahâls. They wear short waistcloths or trousers, jackets, and straw or cloth caps with a strip of cloth *feta* round it. As a class they are hardy and industrious seldom committing crime. They are fond of swimming, ignorance of which is regarded as a drawback. Their women and children generally help them in fishing and in field and house work. Among themselves Máchhi women are rude and noisy and quarrel to such a great extent that the Gujaráti phrase *Máchhivádo* or fishers' quarters answers closely to Billingsgate. Besides catching fish in pools rivers and the sea, Máchhis proper ply boats on hire, sell vegetables, turn tiles, cultivate, and work as labourers. Koli Máchhis also cultivate, but are more enterprising and serve as navigators or *málams* and captains or *nákhudás* on country craft and steamboats earning Rs. 3 to Rs. 5 monthly with board for short voyages between Bombay and Karáchi, and Rs. 8 to Rs. 12 for long voyages to Malabár and other distant parts. The fisherman's favourite goddesses are Shikotari and Hingláj. Except in Bulsár, they are not religious, visiting a temple but once perhaps in their life or when on their marriage day they are by custom compelled to visit the village god. They are strong believers in magic or *muth*, the evil eye, witchcraft, evil spirits, and omens. They employ Bráhman priests. At their caste dinners liquor and toddy are freely drunk.

DHIMARS.

Dhimars or **Dhebra's** are probably Deccan fishers who settled in south Gujarát. Their speech bears traces of Maráthi, and they have the peculiar north Konkan custom of naming their children from the week-day of their birth, that is Mangalio being the name for a boy born on a Tuesday and Budhio of a boy born on a Wednesday. They eat rice, *ámti*, fish, and *tuver* split pulse. When at sea they feed on rice fish and *mug* green gram. A Bráhman officiates at their marriages.

KHÁRVÁS.

Kha'rva's apparently *Kshháravâhas* or salt-carriers, 12,807 strong in A.D. 1891,[1] are found in the leading ports of Kachh, Káthiávád, and the south Gujarát seaboard. They claim Rajput descent, their four branches in Kachh being Jhelun, Jhála, Ráthod and Solanki, and Gohil, Jhálá, Ráthod, and Solanki in Káthiávád. In Porbandar, where they are mostly found, they have such peculiar surnames as Gudhára, Jungi, Khodára, Kotiára, Madhavi, Motivára, Pánjivara, Postária, Solatvára, Seraji, Todármal, and Vándaria. Their Gujarát surnames are Chohán, Gohil, Jhála, Parmár, Sisodia, and Vághela, and their tradition in Surat[2] and Cambay is, that, having taken to salt-manufacture and seafaring, they sunk and came to be called Khárvás. Their Kachh tradition is that they fled from Jhálávad on the persecution of the Emperor Ala-ud-din Khilji in A.D. 1294, and were sheltered by a Máchhi, after whom they took to seafaring. The Porbandar Khárvás and also those in Mángrol, Navánagar, Vanákbáru near Diu, and Verával say that some came from Dwárka and some from the Bhávnagar coast, and disclaim all connection with Cambay Khárvás. Of the three classes of Káthiávád Rajput, Koli, and Musalmán Khárvás, the Rajputs probably date from the time (A.D. 746) of the Anhilváda dynasty, which had assigned them a special quarter in Gogha.[3] They eat with Rajputs and follow Rajput customs. The Koli Khárvás are the descendants of pirates who used to infest the southern Káthiávád coast

[1] The details are: 9989 in Kachh Káthiávád and Cambay, 1422 in Broach, 928 in Surat, 364 in Ahmedábád, 62 in Kaira, and 42 in the Panch Mahâls.
[2] The Khárvás of Bhagva-Dándi in Olpád say they were originally Kolis.
[3] Rás Mála, 245.

and have a strong infusion of Koli blood. They have such local names as Talájia from Talája in Bhávnagar, and Shiále from Shiálbet near Diu. They are found chiefly at Bhávnagar, Jáfarábád near Diu, Mahuva, and Talája, and do not differ from Kolis in their ways.

South Gujarát Khárvás are of three divisions Surati, Hánsoti, and Khambháti. The Khambhátis rank highest, and, while marrying with Suratis and Hánsotis, do not give their own girls in marriage to them. They are of twelve divisions, the chief six of which are Katiála, Máchhi, Mujáfaria, Ságaria, Vádia, and Vejporia, who intermarry between themselves. Dark and stern-featured,[1] they are strong and well built, keeping whiskers but never wearing a beard. All Khárvás dress like low caste Hindus, wearing waistcloths in Gujarát and short trousers or *chornás* in Káthiávád and Kachh. Their women use nose-studs *kánto* in north Gujarát. Except such in Gujarát as have adopted the Sváminarayan and the Kuberji faith, all Khárvás eat fish and flesh, drink liquor and toddy in south Gujarát, and such as can afford it eat opium in north Gujarát. As a class Khárvás are bold and enterprising, and generally honest and true to their word. The Surat Khárvás and the Kolis of Ránder, and more especially those of Bhimpor, are hardy sailors like the Kásbati lascars of Gogha, and are known as the best builders of bridges in all parts of India. The Cambay Khárvás were deep-sea sailors, and as saltmakers were called Agarválás; but since the decline of Cambay as a port, and the closing of the salt works on the introduction of the Imperial salt duty in A.D. 1878, they have taken to labour, house-building, and especially tile-turning. Very few of them are sailors. They remain away for employment during the fair-weather months; and have in many Gujarát towns, and to some extent also in Bombay, monopolized the work of skilled tile-turners. In Ahmedábád and other inland towns, besides tile-turning, Khárvás weave oakum thread, make brooms and mats, trade in, rather than catch, fish, and sometimes cultivate. Their women also in Surat and Broach work in coir, make ropes, do field work, and serve as labourers. In the coast towns and villages of Surat and Broach Khárvás ply boats and serve in country craft and steamers. But the hardiest sailors are of Ránder and Gogha in Gujarát, and of the Káthiávád and Kachh ports from Bhávnagar to Mándvi. They are skilful and daring seamen. They man the country craft[2] that visit Zanzibar, Aden, and the whole coast of India, east as far as Singapore; and are also largely employed and well known as lascars in steam-boats running between Bombay and Europe, in some cases forming the entire crew, earning from Rs. 15 to Rs. 35 and more a month while on board. All Khárvás are strong believers in omens, spirits, witchcraft, the evil eye, and exorcism. They also worship the cow, the planets, and the elements. Such as ply their own craft worship the sea and their newly-moored craft on *Nárel Purnima* or Cocoanut Day, the fullmoon of Shrávan (August-September). Some Gujarát Khárvás are followers of Svámináráyan and some of Kuberji, regularly attending the temples of their faith and worshipping at home the image of the founder. The goddesses Ambáji, Bahuchara, and Bhadrakáli are also worshipped, and pilgrimages are made to Dákor

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[1] Their harsh visage and still more their predatory habits have made their name, especially of Gogha sailors, a by-word in Surat, where it is used to frighten children to sleep, in the refrain *Suo suo báva, Ghoghar ávya*, Sleep sleep, child, the Ghoghars (Gogha pirates) have come.

[2] For details of country craft see Bombay Gazetteer, II. 413-418 and VIII. 226-232.

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KHÁRVÁS.

Dwárka and Banáras. In Kachh they worship the goddess Rhoji and Chámunda, and in Porbandar the Delvádi, Mámai, Padmani, Porával, and Veravari *Mátás* or Mothers. In Mándvi they worship the god Murli Manoharji, set him in a four-wheeled car or *rath* on the 10th of Shrávan Vad (July-August), and drawing it to a pond, bathe the image, and bring it back. Except some Khambháti families, all Khárvás allow polygamy and widow-marriage especially with a deceased husband's brother *diyarvatu.* A sacred thread of two strands is worn when performing *shráddhas* in memory of deceased ancestors.

KÁBÁVÁLIYÁS.

KÁBÁVALIYÁS are a class of Mahomedan Khárvás converts from Hinduism and found in Mángrol, Porbandar, and Verával. The story of their origin is that while at sea they were captured by some people of Dwárka called Kábás who had settled there coming from Kabulistán by way of Sind. The Kábás are described as wearing caps and loose trousers with broad long knives having whalebone handles bound with leather straps to their waists, and killing all those who would not drink of their water. In this way many Hindu Khárvás were converted to Islám, and they say the name Kábávaliya means turned or converted by Kábás. Their surnames are Miyávar, Mukádam, and Pira. Both men and women dress like Hindu Khárvás. They are enterprising sailors going to Mozambique, Maskat, and Mombasa. They worship Khadar Pir, whose shrine is on a rocky sand-mound near Porbandar. Their customs are like those of Hindu Khárvás, making a *tika* or browmark on the forehead at marriages, allowing widow-marriage, and also the custom of the elder brother's widow marrying his younger brother *diyarvatu.*

VÁGHERS.

Va'ghers[1] numbering about 9000 are partly Hindus but chiefly Musalmáns, originally of a common Rajput stock. They claim to be the earliest settlers of the Okhámandal peninsula in north-west Káthiávád, but have now spread along the south coast of the Gulf of Cutch, and are found in Okhámandal and most of the coast villages and towns of Hálár in the Navánagar State. The Hindu Vághers number 3000 in Okhámandal alone, having twenty-four villages entirely peopled by them in which they hold *girás* lands granted to them by the Vádhel chiefs of Áramda near Dwárka. In Navánagar limits about sixty families are settled at the shrine of Pindára and a few in Navánagar town. The Miánás numbering 2602 of Bella, Mália, and Vavánia, as also the Bhádelás numbering 2978, belong to the same tribe as the Mahomedan Vághers, both being Sunnis by faith. That some of these two classes were Hindus appears from their surnames Chámadia, Chávda, Dal, Jam, Mánek, and Subáni. The Hindu Vágher surnames are Bhagár, Bhatad, Dina, Gád, Hathal, Kára or Kála, Ker, Mánek, and Sumania. The Vágher legend is that Krishna, being harassed by the demon Kashásur while sporting in the holy Gomti near Dwárka, forced the demon into the earth. The first to issue from the hollow thus made was a Vágher imbued with all the traits of the buried demon. The Kálás among the Hindu Vághers say they were created by Krishna from his body. In a peevish moment the Gopi milkmaids left Krishna and went to the pond now called Gopitaláv near Áramda. Arjun was sent to make peace and persuade the Gopis to

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[1] The name Vágher is popularly derived from *vi* without and *gher* smell, meaning a tiger who is devoid of the sense of smell. In time the term was applied to the Kála tribe who were as cruel and sanguinary as tigers. Another fantastic legend is that the Vághers were so called because they cooled the gods on a visit to hot Okhámandal by *gher* (or enclosing) of *vá* or wind, and thus refreshed them. Bombay Gazetteer, VIII. 587.

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VÁGHERS.

return. The delicate nature of the errand made Arjun vain, whereupon, to humble Arjun, Krishna created four males from the sweat of his body, who robbed Arjun and the milkmaids of all their belongings. The progeny of these four men is called Kála or Kába.[1] The tradition of the Máneks, who are Sindh Jádejas, is that in the eleventh century Okhámandal was divided between the Herols and Chávdás, who were treacherously murdered by some Ráthods whom both sides had invited to settle their feuds. The Herols took refuge with the Vághers and got incorporated with them. Later Hamirji, a Vádhel prince of Kachh, married a Herol girl, and their issue classed as Vághers took the title of Máneks and became the rulers of Dwárka and south Okhámandal.

As a class Vághers, whether Hindu or Musalmán, are a fine-looking race, strong hardy and enterprising, and capable of enduring fatigue. Like Rajputs, Rabáris, and Chárans, the Vághers part the beard in the middle curling the ends behind the ears. Their women also are well built and hardworking, but unlike Rajput women, they seek outdoor work and help their husbands in cutting mangrove or *cher* bushes for fuel, and in catching fish. The mother-tongue of all Vághers is a corrupt form of the Jádeji or Cutchi dialect. Out-doors they speak a mixed Gujaráti, excepting Hindu Vághers a few of whom can talk Gujaráti. Reading or writing is unknown among Mahomedan Vághers, but some of the Hindus have studied Sanskrit, and are well read in the Hindu Shástras. As a class Vághers are dirty in habits, ignorant and superstitious, and wanting in self-respect. By nature they are restless, turbulent, impatient of control, and still have predatory leanings, especially the Vághers of Okhámandal, who rose against constituted authority four times between A.D. 1816 and 1873, since when they have settled down. By occupation Vághers were at first fishers, then pirates and freebooters, and are now (A.D. 1900) landholders, fishermen, and especially the Musalmáns, hardy long-voyage sailors to Calcutta, Ceylon, Karáchi, Madras, the Malabár Coast, Maskat, the Persian Gulf and Zánzibár, also to south-east African ports. They go in their own vessels commanded by Vágher captains or *nákhudás.* The Okhámandal Vághers still hold their *girás* lands, but the soil is poor, and from A.D. 1860 they pay a tax of one rupee a family to His Highness the Gáekwár. By religion the Musalmán converts are Sunnis. The Hindus hold Ranchhodji or Dwárkádhish, lord of Dwárka, in great veneration, styling him their great-great-grandfather. All Vághers come to Dwárka on the Bhim Agiáras holiday, the eleventh of the bright half of Jeth (May-June), when they bathe in the Gomti and worship Ranchhodji. The family bards or Bárots of the Vághers are Rávals living at Bára near Saláya. They do not eat food cooked by Musalmán Vághers. Hindu Vághers gladly give their daughters in marriage to Musalmán Vághers who can pay for them.

KOLIS.

Of the large **Koli** population of Gujarát, those settled on the seaboard from Kachh to Daman are chiefly sailors and fishers. It is not possible to ascertain their number, which must be large, as besides Kolis proper who

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[1] Another tradition is that the original inhabitants of Okhámandal were divided into three tribes Kába, Moda, and Kála. The Kábás were known in the days of Krishna as the savage people of Sauráshtra, the modern Káthiávád, but the race is said to be now (A.D. 1900) extinct. The Modás also have disappeared. Traces of the Kálás are still to be found, and it is from this tribe that the present Vághers are said to be descended. Krishna is believed to have subjugated Okhámandal after a struggle with the Kálás. Bombay Gazetteer, VIII. 587.

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Kolis.

live by fishing and seafaring, there is a Koli division among both Máchhis and Khárvás who must have been originally Kolis, and have taken to fishing. The Koli fishers of the Surat seaboard say they have settled there for several generations. They have no connection with the early tribes, the Vághris, or the cultivating classes. They are of two divisions, Koli Máchhis who cultivate and work as seamen, and Máchhis proper who fish and ply boats. These two divisions dine together but do not intermarry. Scantily clothed, their women wear tiers of brass and glass bracelets from the wrist to the elbow. They live in small mud houses. Their food consists of *juvár* Indian millet bread with curds or whey and vegetables or fish. Rice is occasionally eaten at noon by those who can afford it. Toddy is drunk both by men and women in the evenings, giving up a meal if necessary for a draught. Almost every family keeps fowls and ducks, whose eggs are taken for sale to Surat. Most Koli Máchhis are servants of Anávla, Pársi, and Musalmán merchants whose boats they man. They are paid by the trip, 5 rupees for Bombay, 8 rupees for Goa, 12 rupees for Karáchi, and larger sums for East Africa, the Persian Gulf, and Arabian ports. Free rations of rice and dry fish, with at times vegetable or spilt pulse, are supplied by the shipowners. The rations are served by the captain *tandel*, the average monthly cost for each seaman being about Rs. 3 a head. Their earnings go to pay off debts contracted by their wives during their absence. Before starting on a voyage, they break a cocoanut over the prow of the ship-goddess for God-speed. In June and July they put out to sea to fish; coir from Malabár is made into ropes, cloth from Surat is worked into sails, while some sails are bought ready-made in Bombay. Few Koli fishers spin cotton yarn. Many go to work on the railway, and are noted bridge-builders.

Festival.

The fishers and sailors of south Gujarát have a special festival called *Chhadi Nom* or Mace-Ninth on the ninth day of the dark half of Shrávan (August) when a great fair is held, and a mace brocaded and garlanded is taken in procession. The festival was begun by the Játs of Upper India, and is especially observed now in Broach and Surat by Bhois Máchhis and Khárvás, and also by Dhedás and Bhangiás. In Broach it was introduced by a Bhoi from Bágad near Delhi, and in Surat by Ját couriers who were messengers between Delhi and Surat. The story is that in Bágad lived a Rajput chief. His devoted wife Bachál served the saint Gorakhnáth for twelve years for a son. On the saint promising to grant the boon, Bachál's sister personated her and swallowed the two barley corns given by the saint and intended for her sister. When Bachál came before the saint, he saw how he was imposed upon. His bag having no more barley grains he gave Bachál a piece of perfumed bdellium *gugal* to swallow. The saint cursed the impostress that her issue would be killed by Bachál's son. Twin sons were born to the sister and one to Bachál. The former were named Arjan and Surjan, the latter Gugo. On Bachál's sister's death, the twins were bred up with Gugo. After Gugo succeeded his father he began to ill treat the twins. With the help of a snake-god, Gugo married a damsel named Sirial of Kámru or Assam. One day while returning from the chase he asked water of a woman at a well. She declined, and the incensed Gugo broke her pitcher with a pebble from his sling. Her husband was their family priest; and out of spite he fomented a quarrel between Gugo and the twin brothers. The twins invoked the help of the Dehli Emperor, while Gugo was befriended by invisible gods and goddesses. In a battle a Bráhman named Narsing received a fatal stroke, and saved Gugo who

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Festival.

daubed Narsing's forehead with his blood and promised that he would be worshipped. The twins were killed and on Gugo showing their heads to his mother Bachál, she cursed him. Gugo prayed to the earth to swallow him, but the earth would not receive him until he recited the *kalma* or Musalmán profession of faith, and became a Muslim. He recited the *kalma*, was received by the earth, and over the spot a tomb was raised enshrining him as a *pir* or saint. His wife Sirial, who being just then married was yet undivested of her marriage wristlets, passed her days in prayer standing on one foot. Taking pity on her, God sent four angels with a mace *chhadi* to Gugo, bidding him keep company with Sirial. He obeyed, and when the family went to their summer house to put off mourning, Sirial went richly dressed veiling herself under a white robe. Bachál noticing her dress and finery by accident, abused her, when Sirial promised to show Gugo to his mother. One night as Gugo was returning on his green horse after his visit, Bachál took hold of his bridle. Gugo promised that thenceforward he would come and spend three days in the year with Sirial and half a day with Bachál. The earth-swallowing day being the eighth of Shrávan Vad at eleven in the morning, the *chhadi* holidays begin on the seventh and end at midday on the 10th of Shrávan Vad. In memory of the maces carried by the angels when they went to reconcile the saint to his family, maces or *chhadis* are the chief feature of the festival.

In Broach a Gaud Bráhman initiates and receives half a rupee for his services. In the saint's shrine is a niche as in mosques. The priest makes seven palm-prints of milk and clarified butter in the niche for Gugo, Bachál, Sirial, Narsing, the twins, and their mother. For the three and a half days of the saint's earthly visit a lamp is kept burning in a copper dish in honour of him as Jháher Pir or the manifested saint. Worship is daily offered to the prints and the garlanded lamp. The devotees sit in front of the lamp, smear their foreheads with ashes, tie a red cotton thread round their necks and a black woollen thread round their ankles. They gaze at the lamp, a tremor sets in, and they are supposed to be possessed by the spirit of the Pir. They begin to leap and dance; and in this state of excitement beat their backs with heavy iron chains which are believed not to hurt them as being Pir-possessed. Some of the possessed hold in front a tuft of peacock feathers and wave it over hundreds of children brought before them to ward off evil spirits and bring them good luck. On the last day the maces or *chhadi* are carried in procession with the sacred lamp burning, while the blessings of the Pir are invoked by loud cries of *Bolo miyáki madad* that is Seek the help of the Miya (Pir). In front of the procession walks one of the possessed, carrying on his wrist the balanced perpendicular mace *chhadi* about twenty feet high gaily festooned and garlanded. A number of their women follow chanting the praises of the Pir, while many possessed devotees dance wildly beating their backs with iron chains.

Sanghárs.

Sangha'rs, Hindus and Mahomedans, 466 strong, are found in sixty sea coast villages of the Gulf of Cutch and in five Navánagar towns. They are said to be Sindh Rajputs who came with the Jádejás to Kachh in the thirteenth century and to Káthiávád in the sixteenth century. They are a strong well built set of men and generally listless, but some faithful if well treated. They speak the Sindh-derived Jádeji dialect at home and Gujaráti out of doors. They claim descent from Sangan,[1] a

[1] A village in Okhámandal which becomes submerged at high tide was a noted haunt of pirates, and is still (A.D. 1900) called *Sangan Kotra* or Sangan's Foot.

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Sanghárs.

notorious pirate who spread his power to Khámbhália in Navánagar, and later as far south as Porbandar. Mahmud Begada took Bet and Dwárka from Sangan's son Bhimji, and cleared the pirate coast, but Bhimji's son recovered his lost possessions. For several centuries the Sangárás or Sanganis, called Sanganians in the eighteenth and nineteenth century naval annals, were daring pirates, so far exceeding their Vágher associates in ferocity that their name became synonymous with pirate along the Káthiávád coast. The Káthiáva'd Sánghars are now indifferent seamen soldiers or menials, and a few hold *girás* lands. In Kachh such as live near the sea coast are sailors; but most have *girás* lands and cultivate. The women, both Hindus and Mahomedans, go out for work and observe no *pardah* or veiling. By creed some are Hindus and some Mahomedan converts, who follow Islám partly. Some Musalmán Sanghárs have Hindu names. Hindus and Musalmáns do not intermarry, and the Hindus do not take food from Musalma'n Sanghárs. At marriages Mahomedans mostly follow the Hindu ritual. The Mahomedans are not particular in their prayer hours or in attendance at mosques for prayers, nor have they a religious head like the Vohorás and Khojás. Whether Hindus or Musalmáns, most Sanghars bury their dead.

Piracy.

The genius for seafaring shown by the actual and direct historical connection between the Gujarát coast (including Kachh, Káthiávád, and the south Gujarát seaboard from Cambay to Daman) and Asia Minor, Egypt, East Africa, Arabia, the Persian Gulf, Ceylon, and the Malay Archipelago, lends special interest to the seafaring classes of Gujarát. The Gujarát seaboard from Cutch-Mándvi to Daman, with eighty-five large and small ports, has afforded great facilities for seafaring; and several of the chief ports like Broach, Cambay, Diu, Gogha, Mándvi, Mángrol, Porbandar, and Surat have formed at one time or other in Gujarát history the great gateways of classic Gujjar-land enriching Gujarát by serving as outlets for local as well as Málwa produce. But this rich foreign trade, from the mouth of the Indus southwards, was from very early times molested by the same seafaring piratical classes, especially the Kolis, Sanghárs, and Vághers who swarmed along the coasts, chased and plundered ships, cruizing as far as Sokotra and the Persian Gulf, and from the shelter of every creek and headland, in times of unsettled government, ventured to demand with impunity toll on all merchandise that was carried in the Arabian seas.[1] Along the south Káthiávád, Cambay, and south Gujarát coasts these pirates were *Kolis* and to a lesser extent Khárvás, while about the Gulf of Cutch and especially near Bet, Dwárka, and Porbandar, which was their chief haven, Játs, Vághers, Sanghárs, Meds or Mers, and Miánás made their name a terror to merchants. Of these the Sanghárs and Vághers would seem to be the oldest pirates. The plundering habits of the Vághers also called Kábás are preserved in local folklore as from the Epic period, when they plundered the vainglorious Arjun with Krishna's cowherdesses or *gopis* and deprived them of their clothes and ornaments.[2] The Sangádás or Sangari tribe are mentioned by Nearchus (B.C. 325) to the west of the Indus; and, since then, under the names of Sangamars, Sangas, Sangamans, and Sanganians they are known almost entirely as pirates.[3] Pliny (A.D. 70) and probably also Ptolemy (A.D. 150) in his Pirate Coast, refer to pirates, but both

[1] Bombay Gazetteer, VIII. 153.
[2] Bombay Gazetteer, VIII. 271 and note 3. The Gujaráti is *Kábe Arjun lutiyo* that is the Ka'bás plundered Arjun.
[3] Bombay Gazetteer, V. 96.

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writers locate them on the Konkan and Malabár coast. Pliny says that the merchant ships carried a guard of archers. The author of the Periplus (A.D. 247) notices pirate haunts, but in the south Konkan. These would appear to be Konkan pirates. Later the Játs and Meds or Mers seem to have openly practised piracy. In the time of the Baghdad Kaliphs they infested the Tigris and occasionally made raids as far up the Red Sea as Jedda. At one time they are said to have been so troublesome as to have forced the Persian kings to block the mouth of the Euphrates. In the beginning of the eighth century (A.D. 712) it was the excesses of the Sangamaras or Tangamaras associated with the Meds and Kerks of the Sind Coast that brought upon Sind the Arab invasion and conquest. The Chávda kings Vanarája (A.D. 720-780) and his son Yogarája (A.D. 806-841) are recorded to have made great efforts to put down piracy on the west Káthiáwád coast. In A.D. 834-35 large bodies of Játs driven from the Gujarát coasts made a descent on the Tigris. The whole strength of the Khiláfat had to be set in motion to stop them. Later the Chávdás, Mers, and Gurjjaras proved not less dangerous pirates than the Játs. In A.D. 892 Al Biladuri describes as seafarers and pirates who scoured the seas, the Bátia or Bet Mers that is the Mers, and the people of Sauráshtra that is of Somnáth or Verával.[1] Early in the ninth century, during the reign of the Abbási Khalifáh Al Mamun (A.D. 813-833), Muhammad Fazl sailed with sixty vessels against the Meds, and captured Máli apparently Mália in north Káthiáwád after a great slaughter of the Meds.[2] Early in the tenth century (A.D. 915-930), Masudi describes Sokotra as a noted haunt of the Indian corsairs called Bawárij chasing Arab ships bound for India and China. The Sanghárs, Vághers, Mers, and Chávdás were not the only pirates. Towards the end of the tenth century (A.D. 980) Chudásama Graharipu, the Áhir chief of Sorath and Girnár, so passed and re-passed the ocean that no one was safe.[3] In the eleventh century (A.D. 1021) Al Biruni[4] notes that the Bawárij, taking their names from their boats *behra* or *bira*, were Meds, a seafaring people of Kachh and Somnáth a great place of call for merchants trading between Sofála in East Africa and China. In A.D. 1290 Marco Polo found the people of Gujarát the most desperate pirates in existence, one of whose atrocious practices was, in case they might have swallowed their jewels, to force their merchant prisoners to swallow tamarindi mixed with sea-water which induced a violent purging. More than a hundred corsair vessels went forth every year taking their wives and children with them, staying the whole summer at sea. They joined in fleets of twenty to thirty, and made a cordon five or six miles apart. As in the ninth century, they infested Sokotra, a place of great trade, where they encamped and sold their plunder to good profit, for the Christians bought it, knowing well it was Saracen or Pagan gear.[5] In A.D. 1340 Ibn Batuta makes the same complaint.[6] By this time Musalmán ascendancy drove the Rajput chiefs to the coast and turned them into pirates. The most notable addition were the Gohils who, under Mokhdáji Gohil, from his castle on Piram island near Gogha, taken in A.D. 1324 from the Bária Kolis, ruled the sea and levied tribute from every ship till his power was destroyed about A.D. 1340 by the Emperor Muhammad Tughlak Sháh. Before their overthrow

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[1] Bombay Gazetteer, I. Part I. 492 note 3. [2] Elliot and Dowson, I. 129.
[3] Rás Mála, I. 11. [4] Sachau, II. 104.
[5] Yule's Marco Polo, II. 325, 328, 341. [6] Elliot and Dowson, I. 344-345.

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by the Mahomedans, what large ships the sailors of Gujarát managed is shown by Friar Oderic, who, about A.D. 1321, crossed the Indian ocean in a ship that carried 700 people. After Mokhdáji Gohil, the Vája chieftains of Vejalkot in the Gir, and of Jhánjhmer on the east Bhávnagar coast, openly practised piracy. Till the arrival of the Portuguese (A.D. 1500 - 1508) the Ahmedábád Sultáns maintained their position as lords of the sea, and kept in check the pirates, who were terror-stricken by the fate of Mokhdáji Gohil. In A.D. 1498 Vasco de Gama found in East Africa sailors from Cambay and other ports of India who guided themselves by the help of the stars in the north and south, and had nautical instruments of their own. After the rule of the sea had passed to the European, Gujarát sailors continued to show marked courage and skill as merchant seamen and pirates. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Kachh and Dwárka pirates, generally called Sanganians after the Sanghárs, were much dreaded, as causing perpetual trouble to Indian merchants and sailors.[1] In A.D. 1670 Ogilby says that, along with Sindh and Chitor, Sanga bounded Gujarát on the north, which shows that the Sanganians had about this time grown important enough to give their name to the whole of Kachh. In A.D. 1690 Ovington describes them as living between Sindh and Cape Jagat (Dwárka), infesting all the western coast and cruizing to Ormaz.[2] About this time (A.D. 1695) the author of the Muntakhabu-l-lubab speaks of the Bawaril or Sakanas, a lawless sect belonging to Sorath, notorious for their piracies, who boarded small trading craft from Bandar Abbas and Maskat, but did not venture to attack large pilgrim ships.[3] Their boats sailed so fast that they were seldom taken. Though pirates, they were faithful to their promises. In A.D. 1720 Hamilton says that Sangania is their province, Bet their seaport, and a queen their governor.[4] All are pirates recruited from criminals and villains. Before boarding a ship they drink *bháng* or hemp liquor, and when they wear their long hair loose they give no quarter. In A.D. 1750 Grose describes the small cruisers of the Sanganians troubling boats going to the Persian Gulf though they seldom attacked large ships. In A.D. 1772 Vakhatsingji of Bhávnagar wrested Talája from the Nawáb of Cambay, and establishing his authority over the south-east Káthiáváď coast, reduced the predatory tribes who lived on piracy. Towards the close of the eighteenth century Bhátiás from the headland of Chánch near Diu seem to have formed a pirate settlement near Dáhánu on the Thána coast. In A.D. 1792 Major Price notes the cautionary speed with which, in travelling from Surat to Bombay by land, they passed Dáhánu through the Chánsia wilds, the tract of a piratical community of that name.[5] About this time Rennell describes them as from their chief ports of Bet and Arámra, cruizing as far as the Persian Gulf.[6] In A.D. 1799 the Sanghárs, as also the Vághers of Dwárka and the Vádhels of Arámra, were once or twice attacked by British ships of war, but though the pirate fleets were destroyed, their castles were not taken.[7] Between A.D. 1803 and 1808 pirates from Bet established themselves in the ruined temple at Somnáth.[8] In A.D. 1809 they were for a time reduced to order by Colonel Walker. But in A.D. 1816 they again broke out as pirates.

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1 See references collected in Bombay Gazetteer, V. 96 note 11.
2 Voyage to Surat, 438, 446.
3 Elliot and Dowson, VII. 355.
4 New Account, I. 132.
5 Memoirs of a Field Officer, 322.
6 Map of India, 293.
7 Asiatic Annual Register (1803), 183.
8 Low's Indian Navy, I. 274.

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In A.D. 1816 Dwárka and Bet surrendered to a British detachment. After Okhámandal was ceded to the Gáekwár in 1820, the Vághers rose against the garrison and were not suppressed till a British force took and destroyed Dwárka and Bet. Among the pirates found on this occasion were besides Vághels, Bháttis, Khárvás, Lohánás, Makvánás, Ráthods, and the Vádhels a branch of Ráthods, and Vághers. After A.D. 1820 the Vághers remained in a chronic state of revolt, till in A.D. 1857, excited by the news of the success of the mutineers in Upper India, they drove out the Gáekwár's garrison. In A.D. 1865 the Vághers of Okhámandal again became unruly, overran the whole of Káthiáváḍ, and did immense damage before they were finally brought to order in A.D. 1873, since when they have quieted down.[1]

[1] Bombay Gazetteer, VIII. 165.

(III) RELIGIOUS SECTS.[1]

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Gujarát Religious Sects,[2] as followers mostly of Vishnu the second or Shiv the third member of the Hindu Trinity, may be divided into Vaishnavs and Shaivs. A few also worship Shakti or Energy. But the large majority of worshippers are followers of Vishnu the Preserver. These may be further divided into followers of Rám the seventh incarnation, and of Krishna the eighth incarnation, of Vishnu. Among the followers of Rám, the chief are Rámánandis and Rámsnehis, generally found among castes other than Bráhmans and Vániás, including the lowest classes, some of whom are very devout in their faith. Of Krishna-worshippers the chief are Vallabhácháris, Madhvácháris, and Sváminaráyans. The large majority of the Vallabhácháris are Vániás of all castes throughout Gujarát, and Bhátiás Lohánás and Bhansális chiefly in Káthiávád and Kachh. The Sváminaráyans are found chiefly in north Gujarát and east Káthiávád with followers among many castes. Of the minor sects Bijmárgis and Parnámis have a large following among the lower classes chiefly in north Gujarát and Káthiávád. Other sects are of minor importance with a small local following, and are distinguished by differences as to belief, doctrine, worship, or food.

Census Details, 1872.

Details by religious sects are not given in the 1881 and later census returns. Exclusive of Pálanpur and Mahi Kántha, for which returns were not available, the following table shows the distribution of Gujarát religious sects according to the 1872 census.

Gujarát Religious Sects, 1872.

Districts.	Shaivs.		Vaishnavs.					Mixed.		Total.
	Smárts.	Lingáyets.	Vaishnavs.	Rámánujs.	Vallabhácháris.	Sváminaráyans.	Kabirpanthis.	Ascetics.	Sects undefined.	
Surat	47,351	32	20,664	132,721	19,343	3723	4746	942	300,884	530,406
Broach ...	21,903	202	8387	72,695	12,569	3869	12,687	21,593	119,141	273,046
Kaira	47,175	...	6351	206,948	109,316	29,997	11,800	1159	157,009	569,755
Panch Mah//áls.	6421	...	264	3799	5908	538	144	791	212,506	230,371
Ahmedábád ...	64,088	1066	28,007	72,092	110,323	32,481	50,826	2743	349,554	711,180
Total ...	186,938	1300	63,673	488,255	257,459	70,608	80,203	27,228	1,139,094	2,314,758
States.										
Baroda ...	262,870	364	122,383	452,347	148,029	49,504	68,798	8793	665,956	1,779,044
Káthiávád ...	147,312	13,683	316,948	127,168	189,172	153,839	44,727	31,100	571,298	1,595,247
Kachh ..	27,048	...	3160	38,103	36,620	5814	495	3826	188,245	303,311
Rewa Kántha .	27,744	...	8459	33,068	7742	2270	4671	767	399,187	483,908
Cambay ...	4013	16,134	712	16,457	8209	5646	1480	525	14,461	67,637
Surat Agency .	2709	9	540	450	25	6	384	52	115,209	119,384
Total ...	471,696	30,190	452,202	667,593	389,797	217,079	120,555	45,063	1,954,356	4,348,531
Grand Total...	658,634	31,490	515,875	1,155,848	647,256	287,687	200,758	72,291	3,093,450	6,663,289
	690,124		2,807,424					3,165,741		

1 Contributed by Mr. Ratiram Durgáram Dave, B.A., Fellow of the Bombay University.

2 Exclusive of Jains or Shrávaks whose account is given above pages 96 - 115.

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Though the figures given in the statement are for A.D. 1872, they may be taken as fairly representing the present (A.D. 1900) distribution of the Hindu population by sects, as sons generally follow the faith of their fathers. The figures also show that, out of a total Hindu population of 9,012,471 in A.D. 1901 and 11,036,706 in A.D. 1891, most Kolis and the Early Tribes numbering 3,371,431 are probably not followers of the regular Hindu sects. Among individual sects, Shaivs number about one-fourth of the Vaishnavs, of whom again the Rámánujs including apparently Rámánandis, Rámsnehis, and Rám worshippers generally, come first with 1,155,848; the Vallabhácháris, including some of those classed under Vaishnavs, stand second with 647,256; the Sváminaráyans come next with 287,687; and the Kabirpanthis follow last with 200,758. Bráhmans are almost all Shaivs; Vániás, other than Jains, are mostly Vallabhácháris. Some Rajputs, Suthárs, Sonis, Kanbis, and Bháts follow one or other of the above faiths. But the large majority of these and other Hindus are followers of Bijmárgi, Parnámi, Sváminaráyan, Kabirpanthi, and other minor sects.

Objects of Worship.

The chief objects of modern Hindu worship beginning with the Epic age are the Trinity: Brahmá the Creator, Vishnu the Preserver, and Shiv the Destroyer. Brahmá develops in the post-Vedic age from the Rigvedic Brahman; Vishnu a sun-god in the Rig Ved becomes the god of preservation and universal prosperity; and Rudra is a terrible god in the earlier *Rig Ved* hymns, but in the Yajur Ved he is several times mentioned by the name of Shiv and Shankar and also Mahádev. Vishnu's character for preservation is, in post-Vedic mythology, developed in the doctrine of his incarnations or *avatárs*, literally meaning descents to earth, which he assumed for the good of gods and men, Rám and Krishna being the two most worshipped now throughout India, and forming the centres round which the Vaishnav sects have gathered. Rudra or Shiv, though fierce, is besought in the Vedas not only to preserve man from calamity, but to bestow his blessings on man and beast, which may account for his euphemistic epithets of Shiv or auspicious, Shankar or doer of good, Shambhu or origin of good, and Mahádev or great god. His healing powers are mentioned with special frequency in Vedic literature, and he is praised as the greatest of physicians. He alone has been given the name of Mrityunjaya or death-conqueror; and in cases of anxiety, serious illness, and evil planetary influence, prayers called *Rudri* and *Mrityunjay jap* are offered to him at the present day in temples of Mahádev, a Bráhman pouring water over his *ling*, and reciting the Rudrádhyáya or panegyric in honour of Shiv, repeating it eleven times in the Rudri, 121 times in the Laghu Rudra, 1331 times in the Mahá-Rudra, and 14,641 times in the Ati-Rudra.

Epics.

In the Epic period Vishnu prominently figures in his two incarnations. The Rámáyan has for its hero Rám the seventh incarnation of Vishnu at the close of the second or Tretá age, and the Mahábhárat has Krishna the eighth incarnation at the end of the Dvápar or third age. The first and last books of the Rámáyan show how the poem was meant to glorify Vishnu. Rávan, says the story, having obtained from Brahmá the boon of being invulnerable to gods, demigods, and demons, abused his immunity in so terrible a manner that the gods in despair implored Vishnu as the preserving deity to allow himself to be born as man, the particular class whom Rávan had, in his arrogance and contempt, forgotten to include in his boon. Vishnu consenting, is born as Rám and performs the task of overcoming Rávan. At the end of the seventh book Brahmá

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and other gods come to pay homage to Rám and proclaim that he is really Vishnu. This belief has secured to the hero of the Rámáyan the worship of Hindus. Invocations to Nar-Náráyan as representing Vishnu, and to Sarasvati, and Vishnuite doctrines appear in the Mahábhárat. It is the Mahábhárat which includes the famous Bhagvad Gita or the Lord's Lay in which the Supreme Being incarnate as Krishna expounds to Arjun the doctrine of willing performance of duty in all conditions of life. The beauty and power of the language in which this doctrine has been expounded is unsurpassed in any other work of Indian literature. It shows Krishna not only as a divine teacher of human conduct, but also as the best expounder of the highest truths of religious philosophy, and has materially contributed to popularize Krishna worship.

Puráns.

After these two great epics, the Puráns, as works of legendary lore and inculcating devotion to Vishnu and Shiv, have done much to further their worship, the large majority of them recommending the sectarian cult of Vishnu, though some favour the worship of Shiv. Besides other mythical and philosophical matter, they give accounts of the different incarnations or *avatárs* of Vishnu, enumerations of the names of Vishnu or of Shiv; and also contain rules about worship by means of prayers, fastings, votive offerings, festivals, and pilgrimages. Except four Puráns which specially favour the cult of Shiv, the Skand, the Shiv, the Ling, and the Bhavishya, the remaining fourteen are Vaishnav. One Purán, which very often agrees with the Mahábhárat in its subject-matter and corresponds closely to the Indian definition of a Purán, bears the name of Vishnu Purán. The extensive Padma Purán is strongly Vishnuite in tone. The Brahm-Vaivart-Purán is also strongly sectarian and in favour of Vishnu in his form of Krishna. The Márkandeya, though the least sectarian, treats of the question "How could Krishna become a man." The Bhágavata Purán derives its name from being dedicated to the glorification of Bhagavat or Vishnu. It exercises a more powerful influence than any other Purán, and is the authoritative text-book of the Vallabhachári and Sváminárayan sects. Its most popular part is its tenth book *Dashama Skandh*, which narrates the history of Krishna. Both the Padma and Márkandeya Puráns expressly state the doctrine of the Trinity or *Trimurti* that Brahmá Vishnu and Shiv are substantially one. In most of the devotional prayers and hymns of modern Gujarát, Vishnu and Shiv are said to be one being in two forms, *E to banne ek svarup*, that is They two (are) the same in essence. Most modern Gujarát songs are in honour of Vishnu as Krishna.

Besides the Puráns, other books called Tantras were composed to give prominence to the worship of the female counterpart of Shiv. This worship of Energy as Prakriti and Durgá is also inculcated in the Brahma Vaivart, Skand, and Káliká Puráns. A section of the Márkandeya Purán, called the Devi-Máhátmya or Chandi-Páth, is devoted to the praise of Durga. It is commonly read and recited in Gujarát temples of *Mátás* to avert the wrath of the goddess, as also to secure happiness and prosperity. Songs in honor of the *Mátás* are also sung throughout Gujarát, especially on the nine nights or *navrátra* sacred to *Mátá* in the bright half of Chaitra (March-April) and Áso (October).

Thus the concept of the two great gods changed gradually, and the accumulation of legends connected with them gave scope to the popular choice and facilities to the growth and generation of a sectarianism which appears at its best in the Puráns. Some fervent devotees of Vishnu and Shiv, and of the goddesses, became the leaders of religious movements, and

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Apostles.

gradually got a large following. The founder of a new sect and his disciples, in the first fervour of religious zeal, moved throughout the country denying themselves all comforts, thus realizing to the popular mind the living ideals of self-sacrifice. They proclaimed everywhere the religious merit of visiting the shrines of their favourite gods, and the various places and spots rendered famous in their legends as detailed in the Epics, Puráns, and local *Máhátmyas*, or *prashastis* that is glory-describing tracts. Thus grew the several Hindu religious sects, with pilgrimages so dear to all classes of devout Hindus.

The first of such religious founders or apostles, of whom there was an almost unbroken succession from about 700 A.D., was Kumárila, a *bhatta* or learned Bráhman of Bihár. He vindicated the ancient Vedic rites, and stirred up a persecution against Buddhists and Jains, which tradition has magnified into an extermination of the Buddhists from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. Following the Mimámsa school, he ascribed the universe to a divine act of creation, and assumed an all-powerful God as the cause of the existence, continuation, and dissolution of the world. The doctrine of this personal deity, the one existent and universal soul without a second or *advaita*, embodies the philosophical argument against the Buddhists. Kumárila's famous disciple was Shankaráchárya (C. A.D. 800), a Malábar Bráhman, who wandered as an itinerant preacher as far north as Káshmir and died at Badrikedár in the Himalayas at the age of 32. He moulded the later Mimámsa or Vedánta philosophy into its final form and popularized it as a national religion, and since then every new Hindu sect has had to start with a personal God. He addressed himself to the high caste philosopher on the one hand and to the low caste multitude on the other. As the twofold result of his life-work, he left a compact Bráhman sect and a national religion.[1]

Shankaráchárya taught that there was one soul and Supreme God distinct both from any member of the old Bráhman Trinity and from the modern Hindu pantheon. The Ruler of the Universe is to be worshipped not by sacrifices but by meditation and in spirit and in truth. But Shankar realized that such a faith is for the few. To those who could not rise to so high a conception of the Godhead, he allowed the practice of any rites prescribed by the Veda, or by later orthodox teachers to whatsoever form of the Godhead, they might be addressed. But Shiv-worship claims Shankaráchárya as its apostle in a special sense. It represents the popular side of his teaching and the piety of his followers has elevated Shankar into an incarnation of Shiv himself.

Vaishnav Sects.

Of the four cults or *sampradáyas* into which the Vaishnav creed was divided after the twelfth century, one, which in A.D. 1872 is mentioned as having 1,155,848 followers in Gujarát, is the *Shri sampradáya* founded by a South Indian Bráhman named Rámánuj (A.D. 1150), which inculcates the worship of Vishnu as Náráyan, and of Shri or Lakshmi. Two others also inculcate the worship of Vishnu, but as Krishna, one founded by Nimbárka and called the Sanakádi Sampradáya which has no followers in Gujarát; the other called the Sámba Sampradáya, founded by Vishnusvámi a Telugu Bráhman, a modified form of which, started by his disciple Vallabh and called Vallabhácbári, is at present the largest and most influential Vaishnav sect in Gujarát, Kachh, and Káthiáwád with about 647,256 followers. The fourth is the Brahma Sampradáya

[1] Imperial Gazetteer, VI. 209. For another view compare Dutt's Civilization of India, 68-69.

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RÁMÁNUJS.

founded by Madhváchárya, an Orissa Bráhman, worshipping Krishna in various forms, which has very few followers in Gujarát.

Ra'ma'nujs, with a few followers chiefly among Bráhmans and Vániás, have temples in Baroda, Ahmedábád, Dabhoi, Surat, Viramgám, and other towns. Their doctrine is called Visishtádvaita, that is unity with attributes or non-duality with a difference. Under this doctrine Brahmá or Vishnu is a personal God *(paramátmá)* related to the individual soul *chit* and nature *achit* as the spirit is to the body, the individual souls being distinct among themselves and from God. The Rámánujs worship Vishnu as Náráyan. Their *sádhus* wear silk or wool garments, and are scrupulous in keeping caste distinctions and in the preparation and privacy of their meals. A novice is initiated with the name of Náráyan or Vishnu. The special marks of a Rámánuj are a close-shaven mustache; a *tulsi* or sweet basil rosary worn during worship but not at meals, or in sleep, or in the bath, or at calls of nature; "I am God's slave" as the salutation phrase; the discus or *chakra* and the conch or *shankh* emblems of Vishnu branded on the arms from early childhood; and two vertical or slanting lines on the forehead of white clay, a perpendicular red streak for Lakshmi in the middle with a horizontal white clay line connecting the three across the root of the nose, the whole from one to two inches wide, and representing Vishnu's throne. The Rámánuj religious houses in south Deccan are numerous, and held in veneration. Dwárka is one of their places of pilgrimage.

RÁMÁNANDIS.

The **Ra'ma'nandi** or **Ra'mavat sect** was founded by Rámánand (A.D. 1300-1400), a follower of Rámánuj, owing to a difference on the single point of privacy in preparing and taking food on which Rámánuj laid great stress. His disciples are sometimes called *avadhútá* or liberated. His chief seat was at Banáras, but he and his followers have set up many *maths* or monastic houses, generally under a *Mahant* or Superior, many of which have their own special endowments and privileges. He inculcated the worship of Vishnu as Rám with Sita and Lakshman. The initiatory verse is *Shri Rám* and the salutation *Jay Sita Rám*. Their brow-mark is like the Rámánujs and made of *gopichandan* clay found at Positra near Dwárka, except that the red vertical streak is narrower. Various minor sects varying in detail have been formed from the Rámánandis. They admit disciples of every caste, their chief disciples being the great Kabir a weaver, Rohidás a currier, Pipa a Rajput, Dhanna a Jat, and Sena a barber.

The Rámánandi *sádhus* smear ashes over their bodies. Marriage is allowed among a division called Sanjogi, but forbidden to the division called Nágá or naked. The head priest who resides at Kheda in Jodhpur is enjoined celibacy. The *sádhus* officiate as priests at temples, preach to lay devotees, and sing devotional songs *bhajans*. They take alms and observe fasts. The disciple affixes to his own name that of his *guru*, not that of his natural father. They wear no turbans and lie on the bare ground. They regard Rámánand as an incarnation of Rám, just as Vallabhácharya is believed to be of Krishna. Their chief moral tenets are mercy, charity, and a virtuous life. Some of them perform severe austerities such as standing on the head, sitting amidst fire and smoke, and standing or keeping their heads erect for twelve years, believing that the greater the self-inflicted bodily suffering the better the salvation.

RÁMSNEHIS.

The **Ra'msnehi sect**, with followers among Bráhmans Vániás Sonis and Rajputs, was founded about A.D. 1742 by a *sádhu* of Jodhpur named Santdás or Rámdás. The sect has three *gádis*, a large following in Márvád,

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and establishments at Idar, Parántij, Ahmedábád, Baroda, Olpád, Ránder, Surat, and Bulsár. The mental worship of Vishnu as Rám is, according to them, the only religious duty and the only means of salvation. They believe in the unity of the human with the supreme soul, worship no image, and always repeat the name of Rám. Among the rules of conduct for their *sádhus*, truthfulness, control over the passions, a solitary residence, and begging ready-made food from lay followers are enjoined. The use of fire or even a lamp at night is strictly forbidden, and even the touch of a coin is held sinful. They rise and bathe at early dawn and wear an ochre-coloured piece of cloth. Their forehead mark is of white *gopichandan* clay in shape like the flame of a lamp emblematic of divine light. They use a rosary of *ratánjali* or red sandal.

VALLABHÁCHÁRIS.

The **Sa'mba** or **Rudra-sampradá'ya** founded by Vishnusvámi and altered and propagated by his best known successor Vallabh a Drávid Bráhman, is the famous Vallabháchári sect widely prevalent in Gujarát, having 617,256 followers. The philosophic doctrine propounded by Vishnusvámi is called *Shuddhádvaita* or pure non-duality as distinguished from the *Kevaládvaita* of Shankaráchárya and the *Visishtádvaita* of Rámánuj. It teaches that God, though eternal, is endued with a celestial form, and all visible phenomena emanate from him at his will. The individual human soul *jivátmá* is believed to be a spark from the supreme soul *paramátmá*, separate in form but identical in essence. Building on this philosophical basis, Vallabh introduced elements of pleasure and enjoyment in divine worship, rejecting the austerity and hardship of the other sects, and called his cult *Pushtimárg* or creed of spiritual nourishment.[1] Among other articles of his new creed, Vallabh taught that privation formed no part of sanctity, and prescribed that it was the duty of teachers and devotees to worship the Deity, clothing him with goodly raiment and presenting him with choice food. In this new creed the element of love for the Deity predominates, and final bliss is held to consist in this love for the Deity in Goloka the paradise of *go*, that is rays or cows, and obtainable only by offering worship to Krishna with loving devotion as a woman would towards her beloved.

Both mental and physical worship are prescribed by followers of this creed. Mentally the image of Krishna is to be imagined as existing before the mind's eye and to be worshipped without rites or ceremonies. Physically the actual human image of Krishna is to be worshipped with all pomp and ceremony. Vallabháchárya is said to have distributed among his disciples many images of Shri Krishna Bhagván, which are still held in great reverence. In their temples or *mandirs* which are mostly built without porch or spire, images of Shri Krishna in various forms are set on raised platforms, and homage is paid to them by devotees at fixed hours every day. On holidays the image is profusely decorated, seated on a richly carved daïs or swung in fancy cradles of glass, ivory, or wood decked with flowers. Thousands of devotees flock to the temples if but to get a glimpse *jhánkhi* of the Thákorji (image) in all his glory.

Seven daily services or *darshans* are held which are largely attended by male and female devotees. They are (1) *Mangla*, at half-past six in the morning or earlier in the winter, when the image is shown as rising from bed; (2) *Sangár* at eight in the morning, when the image is richly

[1] Pushti-márga is also taken to mean the *márga* or creed that gave nourishment or *pushti* to the declining trunk cult of Vishnusvámi.

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VALLABHÁCHARIS.

attired; (3) *Rájbhog* at noon, when the image is shown as taking a meal after returning from cattle-tending, the delicacies placed before the image being distributed among servants and votaries; (4) *Utthápan* at three in the afternoon, when the image is shown as rising from repose; (5) *Bhogsama* at four o'clock, the afternoon lunch; (6) *Sandhya* or *árti* at about sundown, the evening toilet; and (7) *Sen* after lamplight, repose for the night. On all these occasions the ceremony is much the same, offering flowers, perfumes, and dainties, and waving a lighted lamp *árti* before the image. On holy days instrumental and vocal music accompany the evening *darshan*.

The seven chief seats or *gádis*, presided over by lineal descendants of the founder, are Ahmedábád and Surat in Gujarát; Gokul and Mathura in the North-Western Provinces; and Kánkroli, Kotáh, and Náthdvára in Rajputána. There are also establishments in Bombay, Banáras, Dwárka, Jagannáth, Mathura, and Vrindávan; and in the leading cities and towns of Gujarát, Káthiávád, and Kachh. The Náthdvára shrine, where the deity is believed to have come from Giriráj or mount Govardhan near Mathura, is held in the highest esteem. Initiation of a novice in the Vallabhácháryan doctrine begins in childhood. The first instruction begins between the second and fifth year. The novice is taken to the Maharája, who repeats the formula, *Sri Krishnah Sharaṇam mama*, that is God Krishna is my refuge. After the child is made to repeat the initiatory prayer, the Mahárája passes round its neck a *tulsi* or sweet basil rosary. A later and more important initiation takes place after the eleventh or twelfth year, and at or before marriage for females. After this second initiation the votary is supposed to consecrate his *tan* (body), *man* (mind), and *dhan* (worldly belongings) to the deity. This ceremony is called *Brahma-Sambandh* or connection with the Supreme Being, and enjoins a total surrender of self to the deity.

The Vallabhácharya brow-mark consists of two red perpendicular lines converging in a semicircle at the root of the nose. Though the sect has no *sádhus* or anchorites, some of the followers take the *samarpana* or dedicatory vow, and do not eat food cooked for them by others, avoid even the touch of anybody, nor do they drink water polluted by another's touch. These are called *marjádis*. They do not ordinarily eat from metal vessels but from leaf-plates, and obtain their drinking water in canvas-covered receptacles. Besides the works written by Vallabhácharya, his son Vitthalnáthji, and his grandson Gokulnáthji, their holiest book is the Bhágvat Purán, the tenth chapter of which describes the early life of Shri Krishna, and is the principal basis on which their creed rests. Vallabhácharya the founder was a Telugu Bráhman (A.D. 1479-1531), the sixth successor of Vishnusvámi. His predecessors were celibates; but Vallabh married and enjoined marriage and worldly life to his successors. At Vijayanagar Ujjain and Allahábád his sound learning secured many converts to his faith. He died at Banáras in his fifty-second year, leaving two sons Gopináth and Vitthalnáth. Vitthalnáth died in A.D. 1583 at the age of ninety, leaving seven sons *sát-svarup*, each of whom established a separate seat or *gádi*. Of them the most distinguished for learning and tact was the fourth son Gokulnáthji. Their high position and influence won for them the title of great kings *Mahárája* which is still in use, along with two others, Gosvámi or Gosáinji, lord of cows, and *Vallabhkul*, descendants of Vallabha.

SVÁMINÁRÁYANS.

The **Sva'mina'ra'yan sect,** with 287,687 followers among Bráhmans,

Bhávsárs, Chárans, Darjis, Ghánchis, Golás, Kanbis, Káthis, Kolis, Luhárs, Mális, Rajputs, Saláts, Sathvárás, Sonis, and Suthárs, is the most modern of Vaishnav sects. Its founder Ghanashyám or Sahajánand Svámi was born in A.D. 1780 at the village of Chhápaiya about eight miles north of Ayodhya in the N.-W. Provinces, and was the second son of Hariprasád a Sámvedi Sarvariya Bráhman. His parents dying when he was eleven years old, he became a recluse, and adopted the name of Nilkanth Brahmachári. At that early age he knew the Bhagvad Gita and Vishnu-Sahasra-Nám by heart. In the course of his rambles, which extended from Badrikedár in the extreme north to Rámeshvar near Cape Comorin, he visited Ahmedábád and Bhimnáth near Dhandhuka. He then went from Gopnáth to Mángrol near Junágadh. In A.D. 1799 he began to associate with a body of Rámánandi *sádhus*, and in A.D. 1800 was initiated with the name of Sahajánand. Thus, at the age of twenty, he began to preach the doctrines of his new faith, and with such effect, that Rámánand, the then head of the body, appointed him his successor. Sahajánand then went to Kachh and converted even Musalmáns to his faith. In A.D. 1804 he came to Ahmedábád, established alms-houses *sadávrats*, and began to spread his faith and make converts chiefly among the lower classes. In A.D. 1830 Sahajánand died at Gadhda in east Káthiávád, where his footmarks or *páduká* are still worshipped. During his lifetime Sahajánand being a celibate adopted two of his nephews as his sons. One of them was installed at Ahmedábád and the other at Vadtál.

The tenets of the Svámináráyan faith are embodied in a book of precepts or *Shiksha Patri*, which is more a treatise on practical ethics than pure theology; and the Vachanámrit which forms an exhaustive treatise on all branches of religious philosophy. Their authoritative works are the Vedas; the Vedánta Sûtras of Vyása as interpreted by Rámánuj; the Bhágvat Purán; three chapters of the Mahábhárat, namely Vishnu Sahasra Nám, Bhagvad Gitá, and Vidur Nîti, and the Vásudev Máhátmya chapter of the Skand Purán. The book of precepts strictly prohibits the destruction of animal life; promiscuous intercourse with the other sex; use of animal food and intoxicating liquors and drugs on any occasion; suicide; theft and robbery; false accusation against a fellow-man; blasphemy; partaking of food with low caste people; caste pollution; company of atheists and heretics, and other practices which might counteract the effect of the founder's teachings. The popularity of the faith is ascribed to its great regard for animal life, social purity, and total abstention from the use of intoxicating drinks. Sahajánand prescribed the worship of Nar-Náráyan, Rádha-Krishna, and Sitárám, obeisance at Shaiv temples and observance of the Shivrátri holiday. In doctrine he preached the Visishtádvaita (unity with attributes) faith of Rámánuj.

The sect has two seats or *gádis*, one called *Uttarji* at Ahmedábád, for villages and temples in north Gujarát, including parts of Dholka and Dhandhuka, Limbdi, Wadhwán, Morbi, Navánagar, Rájkot, and Kachh, and also at Ujjain, Banáras, Calcutta, and Jagannáth; the other at Vadtál called *Dakshina Bhág*, for south Gujarát, including Nadiád, parts of Dholka and Dhandhuka, west Káthiávád, Gadhda, Junágadh, Dwárka, Broach, Surat and Bombay, the Vátrak river forming the boundary. The annual income of the seat derived from presents *bhets* and contributions *lágás* from lay devotees is very large. Ordinarily every lay follower is expected to contribute a twentieth of his yearly income, while the more devout is expected to pay a tenth.

Followers of the sect are of four classes, Brahmacháris and Sádhus

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forming the sacerdotal order; Pálás or servants and menials attached to temples; and Satsangis or the general laity. The lay follower on entering the faith does not renounce the world, but lives with his family and pursues his usual vocation, attending the temples and religious services and paying his dues. But before taking his food, he is enjoined to worship the likeness of the founder, which he constantly keeps along with the Book of Precepts. He also worships his footprints on a piece of cloth, and tells his rosary beads repeating his name. The Brahmachári, who must be a Bráhman, dedicates his life to the service of the faith. Certain ceremonies qualify any Hindu not below a Kanbi in caste to be a Sádhu, and a Sanskrit school is attached to the establishments in Ahmedábád and Vadtál to give free Sanskrit education to the *Sádhus*. The Pálás, who form the majority of the *Sevaks*, are recruited from Kolis Rabáris and other low caste Hindus. These two orders have to lead a single life. All these are under the control of the A'chárya or head of the seat, who is a direct descendant of the founder. Though the *áchāryaship* is hereditary, it requires confirmation by a council of four *Brahmacháris* four *Sádhus* and four lay *Satsangis* before accession. The *A'chárya* rises early, and after performing his morning devotions and ceremonies, presides at a meeting of Brahmacháris, Sádhus, and the laity, where religious and moral subjects are discussed; or failing them, the Bhágvat Purán and the Vachanámrit are read and explained. At eleven o'clock they rise for dinner, again meeting similarly in the evenings, and dispersing at about midnight. The *áchárya* adorns the images with costly raiment and ornaments and offers them rich viands. He also waves the *árti* lamp in the morning and evening, when, as a rule, all lay devotees attend, and leave after singing devotional songs or *bhajans*.

The chief duty of Brahmacháris and Sádhus is to spread the faith, moving about the country always in pairs, and preaching for the conversion of the masses. They get food and clothes from the income of the seat. They rise early, offer prayers, and except the infirm, the sick, and those engaged in cooking, attend the six o'clock meeting where the head Brahmachári or Sádhu delivers a sermon or reads from the Puráns or the Vachanámrit. They retire at nine o'clock and read or study till dinner is served at eleven. They then meet at the temple, take a recess at two, reassemble at three, and hold religious discourses till six in the evening. At night supper is served only to the weak, infirm, or weary. The rest read holy texts and retire at eleven o'clock. The *Pálás* are attendants and menials waiting upon the *áchárya*.

Initiation.

The ceremony of initiation begins with the novice offering a palmful of water which he throws on the ground at the feet of the *áchárya* saying I give over to Svámi Sahajánand my mind, body, wealth, and sins of (all) births, *Man, tan, dhan, ane janmana páp*.[1] He is then given the sacred formula *Sri Krishna tvam gatir mama*, Sri Krishna thou art my refuge. The novice then pays at least half a rupee to the *áchárya*. Sometimes the *áchárya* delegates his authority to admit followers as candidates for regular discipleship, giving them the *Panch Vartamán* formula[2] forbidding lying, theft, adultery, intoxication, and animal food. But a perfect disciple can be made only after receiving the final formula from one of the two *áchāryas*. The distinguishing mark, which the disciple is then

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[1] Following a belief that the founder would protect them from the horrors of hell for sins committed.

[2] The popular name of the sect therefore is *Vartamán Panth*.

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allowed to make on his forehead, is a vertical streak of *gopichandan* clay or sandal with a round redpowder mark in the middle and a necklet of sweet basil beads.

A special feature of the sect is that its Brahmacháris and Sádhus being forbidden to indulge in the pleasures of the table, unlike other Hindus, eat at their dinner a mixture of different cooked viands mixed together. Another feature is the scrupulous care with which, in practice, intercourse between the sexes is avoided. No Sádhu may ever touch a woman, even an accidental touch except that of a mother having to be expiated by a whole-day fast. Similarly, should a widow-disciple touch even a boy who is not her son she has to undergo the same penalty. There are separate passages for women in their large temples, and separate reading and preaching halls for women, attended by the wives of the *ácháryas*, with images of Rádha, Krishna, and the founder.

Kabirpanthis.

The **Kabirpanthi sect**, a branch of the Rámánandis, with 200,758 followers among Lohánás, Kanbis, Sonis, Suthárs, Kumbhárs, Luhárs, Darjis, Khatris, Káchhiás, Ghánchis, Bhávsárs, Hajáms, Dhobis, Kadiyás, and Kolis, was founded about A.D. 1380 - 1420 by Kabir (Arabic—the great) also called Dnyáni or the Sage, and Sat Sáheb or the good lord, a low-caste Hindu or Musalmán[1] of Upper India, who, by force of genius, earnest faith, and sincerity of conviction, rose to be one of the greatest religious reformers of India. Though a follower of Rámánand, Kabir went a step further, and tried to unite in one common faith, not all Hindu castes alone, but Hindus and Mahomedans alike, discarding the worship of all forms of the deity, and the observance of Hindu or Musalmán rites and ceremonies. His faith prescribes no initiatory *mantra*, no fixed form of sectarian salutation, no distinctive forehead mark, and no rosary. These outward manifestations are immaterial, the purity of life and elevation of the inner man and perfect faith in God being the sole objects. All men, he asserts, have divine attributes in a greater or less degree, but God possesses the superhuman qualities of freedom from human weakness, power to assume any form, undescribable purity, and irresistible power. The good follower of the faith called *Sádhu* is God's living semblance, who attains everlasting bliss after death. God is eternal, and so is the elementary matter from which He is formed. All things are made of that same matter which pre-existed in Him before they took their present form, just as flesh blood and bone are present in the creative fluid. Kabir's philosophy recognises the identity of the human and the divine soul as with the pure Vedantists. Salvation, according to Kabir, consists in attaining the highest knowledge, that this world is a mere delusion, and that the human and the supreme soul are one. According to Kabir's moral code, life is the gift of the Giver of all that is good, and should therefore not be violated or trifled with by His creatures. In marked contrast with other sects, he preached that universal brotherhood is a cardinal virtue, and the destruction of animal life in any form either of sentient or insentient beings is held to be a great crime. All the chances and changes of life, the varied lot of man, his differences

[1] Kabir's birth and parentage are shrouded in mystery. It is said in the Bhakta Mála that he was the son of a Bráhman virgin-widow, who was unconsciously blessed with a son by Rámánand. She exposed the child, who was taken and adopted by a Musalmán weaver or *jhulaiya*, which is the name by which Kabir calls himself in his *bhajans*.

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KABIRPANTHIS.

in religion, his desires, hopes, fears, love, and all worldly ills are held to be the result of cosmic illusion *máyá*. To recognize the one Divine spirit under these manifold illusions is to obtain emancipation and rest of soul. That rest is to be reached, not by burnt-offerings or sacrifices, but by faith or *bhakti* and meditation on the Supreme Spirit, and by keeping his holy names for ever on the lips and in the heart.[1] Retirement from the world is recommended in so far only as it assists quiet and undisturbed meditation on God and the soul. Among rules of conduct, their *sádhus* are enjoined celibacy, not even to look on a woman, to renounce all distinctions of caste, creed, ritual and forms of adoration, to abstain from all desire of material wealth, to inflict no bodily pain, austerity, or penance, to rise betimes, to bathe always with cold water, and engage in spiritual meditation, and lie on the bare ground. Implicit obedience to the spiritual guide *guru* is also enjoined; but every pupil of the sect is directed to carefully scrutinize the doctrines and acts of his teacher and guide before finally surrendering to his control. But ever afterwards the *guru* exercises absolute authority over lay devotees and often inflicts chastisement for irregular living. Reproof and admonition are followed by prohibition to enter the *guru's* presence, and expulsion from the fraternity is the extreme punishment.

The religious creed of the sect is *Vaishnav* of the Rámánand or Rámavat cult. Kabir himself is said to have originally been a worshipper of the Deity endued with form and attributes as Rám and Krishna. Subsequently he rose a step higher and preached the doctrine of a God without form and attributes. The tenets of his faith are embodied in voluminous works which are mostly in dialogues in different languages, the authors being Kabir and his immediate disciples. They are preserved at the head-quarters of the sect, the Kabir Chaura at Banáras. From these and the devotional songs *bhajans* it clearly appears that though the Kabirpanthis have in the main seceded from Bráhmanism, the founder had an intimate knowledge of Bráhmanic theology and philosophy. Sádhus are recruited generally from high caste Hindus. Caste distinctions are observed to some extent, and among *sádhus* a Bráhman *sádhu* cooks for the rest. Their forehead mark is vertical of white or yellow clay, extending from the tip of the nose to the top of the forehead. Of the two *gádis* of this sect, the chief is the Kabir Chaura at Báhugadh near Banáras. Of the two pontiffs one remains an ascetic, the other is allowed to marry. On the death of either, the head pupil is raised to the *gádi* with the consent of the other heads. These exercise moral influence both over Sádhus and lay followers; and the latter are empowered to depose even the head if he is found to lead an irregular life. The sect has temples where devotees adore[2] Kabir's or the *guru's gádi*, and offer flowers to the books of Kabir. They also sit beside his books on fullmoon nights, especially that of Bhádarva (September-October) singing till dawn the devotional songs *bhajans* composed by Kabir and his disciples.

There are several branches of this sect, Sat-Kabirs, Rám-Kabirs, Hamsa-Kabirs, and nine others. The Hamsa-Kabirs hold that God once assumed the form of a swan or *hamsa*, and they offer their

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[1] Imperial Gazetteer, VI. 219.

[2] This is done in violation of Kabir's doctrine which enjoins purely mental and not physical adoration.

devotions to the Deity in that form. In Gujarát this worship is said to have been first preached about a century ago by one Niyál Dáji of Jambusar.

The **Shaivs,** numbering 690,124 in A.D. 1872, who are commonly Bráhmans, and less often Rajputs, Brahma-Kshatris, Vániás, Kadva Kanbis, Bháts, or Suthárs, are found throughout Gujarát, Káthiáwád, and Kachh. They worship the deity under the name of Rudra, Shiv, Sadáshiv, Shankar, Shambu, and Mahádev in their houses as a family god as well as in their temples, one or more of which are found in almost every village, town, or city. Though Shiv is imagined to be a fair-skinned recluse or *yogi*, having an extra fire-emitting eye, sitting on a tiger skin and clad in elephant hide, with cobras for ornaments and human skulls for a necklace, the moon over his forehead and the Ganges issuing out of his matted hair *jatá*, he is so represented only in cave and temple sculptures and in modern pictures. In Shaiv shrines the *ling* emblem takes his place as the object of worship, which is offered with sandal *chandan*, water, and the leaf of the three-leaved *bel* Ægle marmelos. As with Vishnu, the worship is elaborate in sixteen parts, *shodash pújá* with Vedic hymns and Vedic ritual on holy days, but shorter on other days. None but a Bráhman may recite Vedic *mantras* and worship according to Vedic ritual, which partly explains why castes other than Bráhmans for whom the Puránic ritual is prescribed are not usually Shaivs. In strong contrast with the pomp of Vaishnav temples is the simplicity and solemnity of the worship of Shiv. It is only on his great nights, the dark fourteenths *shivrátris*, and especially that of *Mágh* (February-March), called *Maháshivrátri*, when the god is invested with a brass or silver mask, and in winter when his emblem is decked with refrigerated clarified butter in ornamental shapes called *ghiná kamal*, or the masked god is taken in procession, or on occasions called *Mahárudra* and *Ati-rudra*, costing from Rs. 500 to Rs. 10,000 and more, that there is much to interest or excite the imagination in the worship of Shiv.

The emblem called *ling* or *bána* is of stone, pyramidal in shape, and from three inches to several feet high. The chief of these sacred emblems are called *svayambhu* or self-created and *jyotir* or luminous. The famous temple of Somnáth or Prabhás mentioned in the Mahábhárat has one of these *jyotir lings*, and in the whole of India there are but eleven others like it. Nágnáth, Gopnáth, Nilkanth, and others in Káthiáwád, Bhimnáth near Dhandhuka, Untadia in Kaira, and several Shaiv shrines on the Narbada and Tápti rivers, though less reputed, possess great local sanctity.

The worship of Rudra and Shiv has continued from the time of the Vedic seers to be the cult of the Bráhmans. It was adapted by Shankaráchárya[1] and his successors to popular worship. From a storm-god, he had grown into the Destroyer and Reproducer. The Chinese pilgrims and Indian poems supply evidence of his worship long before the seventh century A.D. Shankaráchárya's teaching gave an impulse to it throughout India, and in the hands of his followers and apostolic successors, Shiv worship became one of the two chief religions of India. As at once Destroyer and Reproducer, Shiv represented profound philosophical doctrines, and was early recognised as the first god or *ádidev* of the

[1] See above page 533.

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SHAIVS.

Bráhmans. To them he was the symbol of death as merely a change of life. His terrible aspects as Rudra, Bhairav, Ugra, Aghor, and Bhim well adapted him to the religion of fear and propitiation prevalent among the ruder non-Aryan races. He thus became alike the deity of the highest and of the lowest castes.[1] Shankaráchárya wrote a number of popular Shaiv panegyrics or *stotras*. A later and popular Shaiv panegyric, called the *Mahiman stotra*, is commonly recited by all devout Shaivs.

Shankar established four seats, two Shaiv at Badrikedár in the extreme north and Rámeshvar near Cape Comorin, and two Vaishnav at Jagannáth or Puri and at Dwárka. At these seats he installed pupils as *ácháryas* or religious heads, and their successive pupils still occupy the *gádis*. The Dwárka seat is called *Shárada Pith* Throne of Learning, and is endowed by the Gáekwár of Baroda, who sanctions the appointment of every new pontiff. The chief duty of the pontiff is to preach and disseminate the doctrines of the Vedic religion, to control the body of friars or *Sányasis*, and generally to supervise the seat. A certain territorial area is assigned to each pontiff, outside which he has no jurisdiction. The Dwárka pontiff, called Shankaráchárya, is a referee in religious questions for followers of Shaivism in Gujárat.

The moral code of the Shaiv school declares it to be a grievous sin to tell a lie, to eat flesh fish onion garlic and similar forbidden articles as food, and to commit theft adultery and offences against society. Followers are also enjoined to give up pride, anger, and ambition, and not to use water, milk, or butter without properly straining them. Every living soul being identical with Brahma, the destruction of animal life is strictly prohibited. So long as a man has not acquired the highest knowledge or *brahma dnyán*, he is bound to observe the ritual prescribed in the Vedas. It is only to obtain a correct notion of the impersonal Brahma that the worship of a deity endued with some tangible form is recommended.

Shaivs use a transverse streak on their forehead. They also put on a necklace of the *rudráksha* Elæocarpus ganitrus berry. The Shaiv ascetics are the Dandis, Yogis, Jangams, Paramahansas, Aghoris, Urdhvabáhus, and Ákáshmukhis.

DANDIS.

The **Dandis** or **Sanya'sis** carry a small stick or *danda* with a piece of tawny coloured cloth attached to it. They shave the hair and beard, wear only a strip of cloth round their loins, and subsist on food obtained ready cooked from the houses of Bráhmans only. They are enjoined to live by themselves in solitude, and pass their time in the study of the Shástras and in pious contemplation. They worship Shiv and also Vishnu as Náráyan. As a distinctive feature they bear the Shaiv mark on their forehead, smearing it with the *tripundra*, a triple transverse line made with ashes obtained from the fire of an Agnihotri Bráhman. They repeat the initiatory *mantras* which is *Om namah Shiváya* Salutation to Shiv, and also *Namo Náráyanáya* Salutation to Náráyan. Some Dandis worship the deity devoid of attributes *nirguna* or passion *niranjana*. Amongst some Yogis the worship of Shiv in the form of Bhairav is the prevailing form, and in that case part of the ceremony of initiation consists in making a small incision on the inner part of the knee and drawing the blood of the novice as an acceptable offering to the deity. Being absolutely prohibited the use of

[1] Imperial Gazetteer, VI. 210-211.

DANDIS.

fire for any purpose, Dandis dispose of their dead by putting them in coffins and either burying or committing the body to some sacred stream. Though originally restricted to Bráhmans Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas as the three twice-born or sacred-threadwearing classes, any Hindu is now allowed to join the order of Dandis, who thus differ from the Dashnámis the primitive recluses of this order who admitted Bráhmans only. The philosophic tenets of the Dandis are of the Vedánta school as taught by Shankar and his disciples. Some interest themselves in the Yoga practices as preached by Patanjali, while some have also adopted Tántrik doctrines.

PARAMHANSAS.

Paramhansa is the highest of the four gradations among Sanyásis, its members being solely occupied with the investigation of the Supreme Brahma without regard to pleasure or pain, heat or cold, satiety or want. In proof of their having attained this sort of ideal perfection, they move about in all weathers, and are supposed never to speak, not even to indicate any natural want. Their attendants receive what is brought to them as alms or food, and feed the Paramhansas with it.

AGHORIS.

The insensibility of the Paramhansas to all natural wants is entirely passive, and therefore inoffensive, but this is not the case with the **Aghoris**. The Aghoris seem originally to have been worshippers of Devi in some of her terrific forms, and to have required even human victims for their rites. They are hideous in appearance and indescribably disgusting in their food. Aghoris are seldom now seen, but a few are believed to be living in the Ábu, Girnár, and Pávágadh hills.

YOGIS.

Like Verági and Sanyási the term Yogi, especially its vernacular Jogi, is popularly applied to vagrants capricious in their mode of living, who mostly use the character for eking out a lazy livelihood. In its literal and much-respected sense, **Yogi** means a follower of Patanjali's Yoga school who is devoted to divine meditation. The Yoga philosophy teaches that, by certain practices, a man is able to obtain complete mastery over matter. These practices are long-continued suppression of the breath or *pránáyáma*, eighty-four different ways of fixing the eyes on the tip of the nose, and effecting by mental abstraction a union between the human vital spirit and the universal spirit which is identical with Shiv as the source and essence of all creation. When this fusion is accomplished it is believed the Yogi is not born again.

There are different classes of Yogis, the chief among them being the Kánphatás or followers of Gorakhnáth, who have establishments in Kachh,[1] Kathiávád, and Ahmedábád. They live as ascetics either singly or in monasteries. Shiv is their preferential object of worship, and they officiate as priests at the celebrated *Lát* or staff of Bhairav at Banáras. They mark the forehead with a transverse line of ashes and also smear the body with ashes. They dress themselves in various ways wearing a tawny coloured piece of cloth round their loins. They are more generally known by the name of Náthpanthis, and consider themselves to be the descendants of Shiv. Among them flourished nine great Náths or lords and eighty-four sages called Siddhas. Itinerant singers called Bhartharis and Rávaliás belong to this sect. Others are Sárangihars who carry a small fiddle and sing religious songs and chant mythological verses in the streets, and Dorihars who sell thread and silk to the housewives of the village. They are all religious mendicants dealing in fortune-telling, interpretation of dreams, and palmistry.

[1] Bombay Gazetteer, V. 85-88; VIII. 155.

Appendix C.

RELIGIOUS SECTS.

Jangams or **Lingaya'ts**,[1] found in small numbers, wear a copper or silver *ling* on their person commonly round the neck or folded in the turban. The Jangams smear their foreheads with ashes and wear necklaces or carry rosaries of the *rudráksha* Elæocarpus ganitrus berry. The ascetic members of the sect wear ochre-coloured clothes.

URDHVA BÁHUS.

Personal torture being of great efficacy in the Shaiv creed, some ascetics adopted certain modes of distorting their limbs and forcing them out of their natural position. Thus the **Urdhva Ba'hus** extend one or both their arms above their head. They also close the fist and allow their nails to grow and perforate the flesh. They are solitary mendicants subsisting on alms. They usually assume the Shaiv marks, and twist their hair in imitation of the *jatá* or matted hair of Shiv.

A'KÁSAMUKHIS.

The **A'ka'samukhis** keep their face turned to the sky till the muscles of the neck become stiffened and retain them permanently in that position. They also wear the *jatá* or matted hair and allow the beard and whiskers to grow. They smear their body with ashes and live on alms. The BHUMIMUKHIS suspend themselves by the feet, generally on trees, with their heads nearly touching the ground, and keep themselves in this position for hours. The NAKHIS let their nails grow, sometimes eleven inches long. The NÁGÁS are fierce warriors. The MUKÁS or dumb men practice silence under vows, sometimes for years. The PÁDAPIDITAS torture themselves with barbed nails in their wooden shoes. The DINYÁTRIKAS measure their length on the ground often for hundreds of miles, while going to their chosen places of pilgrimage.

MISCELLANEOUS SECTS.

Bijpanthis.

The **Bijpanthi** or **Ma'rgi** sect, with a large following among Bráhmans, Vániás, Lohánás, Rajputs, Sathvárás, Mális, Kumbhárs, Luhārs, Darjis, Bhávsárs, Golás, Khárvás, A'hirs, Bábriás, Chárans, Bharváds, Kápdis, Kolis, and Káthis, chiefly in Kaira and north Gujarát, is said to have been founded about 500 years ago by one Ugmasi at Banáras. They believe in an impersonal god, holding that the human and the eternal soul are one. The object of worship is the image of a horse called Rámde Pir,[2] or the flame of a lamp as an emblem of the formless but all-intelligent essence. The initiatory hymn is the Vedic *gáyatri*. The ceremony consists in placing a brass horse, typifying Rámde's horse, on a wooden stool covered with red cloth. Round the brass horse are spread wheat or Indian millet grains, and near it a brass lamp. The sect has *sádhus* who know no caste distinctions, and are enjoined a life of meditation and contemplation. Fasts are kept on the second or new-moon day of every month, and at night they light the sacred lamp or *jyoti*. The ceremony begins with setting out a stool covered with red cloth on which small heaps of rice are arranged having images of Rámde's horse, Ganpati, Hanumán, a *ling*, and an image of Shákti in the centre. Small uncooked wheatcakes are also placed on the stool with wheaten lamps at the corners. In a small earthen plate to the left the goddess Paschimá is installed and a wick ignited. The space between the stool and the goddess is called Mount Meru or the Indian Olympus. Two other lamps are also ignited on the stool over two copper jugs filled with salt and sugared

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[1] Found chiefly in the Southern Marátha districts of Sholápur Dhárwár and Bijápur. See Bombay Gazetteer, XX. 75-85; XXII. 102-115; XXIII. 219-280.

[2] The legend of Rámde Pir is that Ajmalsinh Tuár, a Márvád Rajput chief, went to the temple at Dwárka to solicit a son. The deity gave him a son, who was named Rámde Pir. As enjoined by the deity, the favourite charger of Rámde Pir is the horse now being worshipped.

Bijpanthis.

water. On the mouth of the copper jug is placed a cocoanut. The wicks are made by twining yarn round *nine* sticks. These wicks are dipped in butter, and a votary then holds the ends together and lights them. Below the wicks a butter-filled cup is put with small floating cotton wicks. Sparks from the burning wicks overhead ignite the floating wicks which are called *jyota*. The votaries sit round the blaze, feed it with clarified butter, and sing hymns or *bhajans*. At midnight an offering of sweets is made to the flame and a lighted lamp waved round it. Sweetmeats and cocoa-kernel are then distributed, after which songs describing the exploits of Rámde Pir are sung.

The chief saints of this sect are Ugamsi of Jesalpur; Máldev a Márvád chief and his queen Rupande; Rámde Pir with his wife Nital and their daughter Dáhaldevi; Viramdev, the brother of Rámde Pir; Khokhadio of Dheldinagar; Chaman Shaikh of Sindh; Ratanpuri Gosái; Sáro and Suro Rabáris of Gohelvád; and Toli Ráni also of Gohelvád. Toli Ráni is also known as *sati* or the virtuous, she having propagated the faith in Káthiávád. Miraculous stories are related about her, and from a mere country girl she is said to have risen to be queen of the Gohil corsair Mokhdáji (A.D. 1347) of Piram.

Parnámis.

The **Parna'mi sect**, with followers among Pátidárs, Káyasths, Modh Vániás, Rajputs, Bháts, Suthárs, Darjis, Golás, Kadiyás, and Kolis, is said to have been founded during Aurangzeb's reign (A.D. 1658-1707) at the village of Jharna-Parna in Bundelkhand by one Práunáth. Another story is that its founder was one Devchand (A.D. 1582) of Amarkot in Sindh, who was much devoted to the study of the Bhágvat Purán, and travelled to Jámnagar, where he consecrated a temple to Rádhá-Krishna. Devchand's chief disciple was one Meheráj Thákor, after whom the sect is also called Meheráj Panth. Meheráj then instituted a seat at Surat, and travelled to Delhi and Málwa, establishing himself finally at Jharna-Parna under the patronage of Chhatrasál the ruling chief. A feature of this sect is that no idol or image should be worshipped but only Meheráj's Book of Faith. In spite of this canon, devout Parnámis adore the boy Krishna as he was at Gokul during his juvenile sports. In some Parnámi temples ornaments are so arranged as to look like an idol from a distance. In others there are images of Rádhá-Krishna. But the Book of Faith is always worshipped in such temples and a lighted lamp waved round it. The Parnámi *gurus* observe celibacy, visit their followers, and receive presents, and give readings or recite *kirtans* in the temples. Parnámi *Sádhus* observe no obsequial rites, and do not inflict any bodily pain or penance. Their fasting days are the third and fourth days of Áshádh (July), which day is also the anniversary of the founder.

Sháktas.

Sha'ktas or devotees of Divine Energy, regarded as consorts of some gods, are found among all classes in north Gujarát. They hold that *Shakti* is not only one with the male deity, but she is one in all things, that all things are in her, and besides her there is no other divinity. Their sacred texts which prescribe rites and ceremonies are called Mantras, Yamalas, and Rahasyas, which they call the fifth Veda, and regard as of Vedic sanctity and antiquity.

Sháktas are of two kinds, *Dakshináchárís* or right-hand and *Vámáchárís* or left-hand worshippers. The Dhakshináchárís worship their goddess publicly with the usual Vedic or Puránik ritual. They used formerly to offer blood sacrifices, offering a number of animals, but the offering now

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MISCELLANEOUS SECTS.
Sháktas.

is of grain with milk and sugar. Worship is restricted to Shiv's consort, and to Shiv only as identified with her. Their chief places of pilgrimage are the shrines of Vindhyavásini near Mirzápur and Jvalámukhi at Nagarkot, where on the eighth day of the dark half of Kártik (November-December) and Chaitra (April-May) pilgrims attend in large numbers.

The Vámáchári or Vámamárgi Sháktas adopt a ritual which holds the Vedas, Smritis, and Puráns in contempt. Besides Shiv's wife they worship Lakshmi, Sarasvati, the Mátrikás, the Náyikás, Yoginis, and also the evil-doing Dákinis and Sákinis, and Shiv in his form of Bhairav. Kaula, Aghori, Paramhansa, Avghad, and Sharbhangi are five kinds of Shákta followers, of whom the Kaulas or Kulinas are best known. Their forms of worship include the use of flesh, fish, wine, sexual intercourse, and mystic gesticulation. The goddess is represented by a woman in the flesh, and worship is celebrated in mixed societies, where men represent Bhairavs and women Bhairavis or Náyikás. Flesh and wine are first offered to the woman-goddess and then distributed among the votaries. Orgies follow, and the ceremony called *Shrichakra* and *Purnábhishek* or full initiation ends the rite. The members are enjoined strict secrecy and do not keep caste distinctions. Of late, instead of mixed companies, males alone meet and partake of flesh and wine. The sect has no distinctive forehead mark, but two perpendicular vermillion marks or a red streak up the middle of the forehead, with a round red *chándla* at the root of the nose, indicate a Shákta. They use a rosary of the *rudráksha* Elæocarpus ganitrus berry or of coral beads. While at worship they wear a red silk loincloth and garlands of crimson flowers. The sect has many votaries who join on the faith of the high hopes held out to followers in their holy Tántrik texts.

A further branch of the Kaula *Márga* in north Gujarát and Káthiáväd is called Kánchalia Panth or Bodice Sect, which holds that promiscuous intercourse between the sexes confers religious merits on certain days.

Mádhavgars.

Mádhavgar's Panth, with followers among Bráhmans, Pátidárs, Sanghádias, and Hajáms, was founded by Mádhavgar of Nadiád about A.D. 1824. He became a recluse and lived in Káthiáväd, when he preached his dogmas based on the Vedánta school. According to his tenets, God has neither form nor attributes and has no incarnations. Contemplation of one Supreme Brahma is all that he preaches. He condemns the worship of idols, deified persons, animals, trees, rivers, and other objects, which are only the creations of the Supreme Being, the supreme or universal soul being the same as the individual or lower soul *jivátma*. He deprecates the observance of fasts or the infliction of pain by austerities on the physical frame, which he considers is but a receptacle of *jivátma*. Shedding of animal blood is also strictly prohibited. There is no pollution by touch, not even of a woman in her periods, or of a funeral mourner, or at eclipses. Bráhmans are not fed on the twelfth day after a death, nor *shráddhas* performed in September. Food and almsgiving are prescribed only for the old and the decrepit.

The sect has no *gádi* and no pontiff *áchárya*. There are *gurus* whose duty is to propagate the faith, to accept no homage, service, or money but cooked food and clothing only. They wear yellow garments, mark their foreheads with a transverse line of sandal, and carry a rosary of *rudráksha* Elæocarpus ganitrus berries.

Piránás.

The **Pirána sect**, with followers among Bráhmans, Vániás, Káchhiás, and Matia Kanbis, was founded in A.D. 1449 by one Imámsháh,

Piránás.

who came from Persia, and settled in Girámtha village about nine miles south of Ahmedábád. He is said to have miraculously brought rain, whereupon the Ahmedábád king Muhammad II. (A.D. 1441 - 1451) gave him his daughter in marriage. By her Imámsháh had four sons, the ancestors of the present Pirána Syeds. The faith preaches the contemplation and worship of one eternal and formless God. The followers are allowed to observe Hindu holidays and fast on the second and fourth days of every month and the whole of Ramzán. They obey their caste rules, read their own religious books, and, except that their reverence for Imámsháh requires them after burning their dead to bury the bones at Pirána, they are like other Hindus. The *kákás* or shrine managers of this sect generally belong to the Leva Kanbi caste. They take vows of celibacy, wear yellow clothes, and bury their dead. The book of religious precepts called *Shikshápatri* written by Imámsháh, is supposed to be read by all. The common form for lay followers is *Shivoham* I am Shiv, and by the Kákás, *Imám Kevalah* The Imám (that is Imámsháh himself) is the One God.

Ravipanthis.

The **Ravipanth** with followers among Lohánás, Káchhiás, carpenters, Gadhvis, and Chárans, was founded about A.D. 1750 by one Bhau or Ravi Saheb. Except that they adore Ravi Saheb as their spiritual lord, the Ravipanthis are Vaishnavs. The story is that the founder Bháu Saheb came from Sháhpur in Káthiáwád and worked miracles in Baroda. Bháu Saheb is said to have enjoined that his successors up to the sixth degree should marry, and those after them should remain celibates. The sect has four seats or *gádis* with *ácháryas* or pontiffs who invest their followers with necklets or *kanthis*.

Santrámpanth.

The **Santrámpanth**, with followers in and about Nadiád, was founded at Nadiád by one Santrám about a hundred years ago. He was a devout follower of Shankaráchárya and of his doctrine of pantheism. He used to practise *yoga* or abstraction, and attracted many followers, who built him a temple at Nadiád where the chief pontiff now resides. All followers are expected to lead a pious and virtuous life. The faith prescribes no distinctive marks and no necklet, but preaches a catholic toleration admitting within its fold people of all castes, creeds, and persuasions, who are asked to conform to a few simple rules of every-day morality. It enjoins no observances and no fasts, but expects every follower to keep in mind the memory of the founder on the fullmoon of *Mágh* (February) by chanting hymns or *bhajans* in praise of him. Santrám and his successor Lakshmandás are buried in Santrám's temple at Nadiád, and on that sacred spot a *gádi* or cushion is spread and a butter-fed lamp kept always burning. The devotees hold the *gádi* in respect and flock in numbers to adore it. The annual income of the Nadiád temple is about a thousand rupees. It has branches at Umreth and Pádra in Baroda territory.

Udásis.

The **Udási sect**, among the Udá Kanbis of Bárdoli in Surat, was founded 300 years ago by one Gopáldas. He rejected the Vedic ritual, but enjoined the study of its speculative truths believing in an impersonal God. He preached the possibility of final emancipation by devout contemplation of the all-pervading spirit, but held that future births are necessary for fulfilling unaccomplished desires. The head or *mahant* of this sect is nominated by a council of five. He ties a necklet on the novice, fixes days for marriages and funeral feasts, and punishes disobedience by expulsion. The Udá Kanbi followers bathe early, pour water on the sweet basil plant, and worship their sacred book of faith. In the evening they bow to the cushion on which the book is kept, wave

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MISCELLANEOUS SECTS.

a lighted lamp, and chant hymns with music. Their *mahant* officiates at their marriages. They perform no obsequial rites. These Udásis are different from the Nánákpánthi Udásis, who are found scattered with establishments or *akhádás* in some cities and holy spots.

Dádupanthis.

The **Da'dupanthi sect**, with followers among Anávla Bráhmans, Vániás, Kanbis, Pátidárs, Suthárs, Luhárs, Káchhiás, and Hajáms, was founded about A.D. 1600 by one Dádurám or Dayálji a cotton cleaner of Ahmedábád. The sect being allied to the Kabirpanthis in doctrine and practice, is classed as a Vaishnav schism, and as a branch of the Rámánandi school, Dádu being a pupil of Buddhan, the fourth Kabirpanthi pontiff. The doctrines of the sect are the same as those of Shankaráchárya's Vedánta school, but Dádu finding them too abstruse for his followers, preached in their stead the worship of Bál Mukund or the boy Krishna. The Dádupanthis are divided into *Viraktas* or ascetics who have renounced the world, and go bareheaded with but one garment and a water-pot; Nágas, who carry arms; and Vistárdháris, lay householders. They apply no distinguishing forehead mark and do not use the *tulsi* rosary. They are known at once by their cap which has four corners and a hanging flap, which each follower has to make for himself. Marriage is forbidden for other than lay householders. To prevent destruction of animal life in cremation, the tenets of the sect enjoin that corpses should be laid in the forests to be devoured by birds and beasts. This however is not done, and they burn their corpses but always at dawn. The holy texts of the sect are passages from the writings of Kabir and Dádu's writings which are both mystic and pantheistic. Their chief shrine is Naraina near Jepur in Rajputána, where Dádu's bed and holy books are preserved and worshipped.

Rádhávallabhis.

The **Ra'dha'vallabhi sect**, with followers among lower class Hindus, was founded in A.D. 1585 by one Harivamsh of Vrindávan near Gokul in the North-West Provinces. His fourteenth descendant is the present head of the sect. The chief object of worship is Rádha with Krishna as her *vallabh* or consort. Their holy book is the Bhágávat Purán. The Rádha Sudhánidhi written by the founder, and the Sevá Sakhiváni are two other books which are held in respect.

Lakshmangar's Panth.

Lakshmangar's Panth, with followers among Hajáms, Kumbhárs, Kanbis, and Talabda Kolis, was founded by a Gosáin named Lakshmangar. They worship Mahádev, respect the Vedas and Vedic ritual, and denounce theft, adultery, and the use of animal food. Their ascetics do not practise austerities or penances involving corporal infliction.

The Kuber Panth.

The **Kuber Panth**, chiefly followed by Luhárs, was founded about fifty years ago by Kuberdás a Talabda Koli of Sársa near Ánand, and a pupil of Karsandás a Rámánandi ascetic. They believe in the Rámánuj doctrine of unity with attributes. Their ascetics are enjoined to refrain from evil thoughts and passions and practice self-introspection.

Ranchhod Bhagat's Panth.

Ranchhod Bhagat's Panth was founded in A.D. 1724 by a Vánia to whom the god Ranchhodji exhibited a miracle. The chief doctrine is that God is the creator of the universe, and, as such, should alone be the object of universal adoration. Falsehood, theft, adultery, and hatred of fellow-worshippers are denounced by the cult. Jagápanth, Hari Krishnapanth, and Bhábhárámi's are small recent sects.

PLACES OF PILGRIMAGE.

Places of pilgrimage for Gujarát Hindus may be broadly divided into Bráhmanical and Jain. Both owe their sanctity to their being the famous shrines of the objects worshipped, and as being places mentioned in legendary lore. Other Bráhmanical places are *tirthas*, literally fords

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PLACES OF PILGRIMAGE.

Vaishnav.

or crossings, generally at the passages, sources, and confluences of rivers, or on sea shores, and hot springs, especially those mentioned in the Epics, Puráns, and local Máhátmyas. Of local importance only are many annual fairs attended by a few thousands from the neighbourhood. The *Vaishnav* place of Indian importance in Gujarát is Dwárka in north-west Káthiávád, its provincial representative being Dákor in north Gujarát, both sacred to Krishna. Outside of Gujarát the followers of Rám visit Ayodhya or Oudh his birth-place, while the followers of Krishna make it a point to visit Gokul, Mathura, and Vrindávan, so closely associated with the birth and childhood legends of Krishna; Jagannáth or Puri in Orissa, sacred to Buddha the ninth incarnation of Vishnu; Tirupati near Madras with a famous temple of Báláji; Vishnu-Kánchi near Conjeveram; and Pandharpur in the Deccan with the far-famed shrine of Vithoba or Vitthal. Followers of the Vallabhácharyan sect never fail to visit their chief shrine of Shrinathji at Náthdvára near Chitor in Rajputána. With the Svaminaráyans the holiest places are Vádtál in north Gujarát and Gadhda in east Káthiávád. Sámláji and Brahmakhed in the Mahi Kántha, and Tulsishyám and Varahrup in south Káthiávád, are spots of more than local importance for Vaishnav pilgrims.

Shaiv.

The chief Shaivite shrine of Indian importance in Gujarát is Prabhás or Somnáth Pátan on the west Káthiávád coast. Sidhpur in north Gujarát is also considered sacred as being the only place in India where oblations are offered to the manes of deceased mothers. It is therefore called Mátri Gaya, corresponding to Pitri Gaya near Banáras, which Gujarát Hindu pilgrims visit for oblations to deceased fathers. Outside of Gujarát the greatest Shaivite centre which every devout Hindu of means visits is Banáras or Káshi, to worship in the great Shaivite temple of Vishveshvar and also to bathe in the sacred Ganges. Hardvár and Badrikedár, higher up the Ganges, Vaidyanáth or Devgadh in Bengal, Shiv-Kánchi near Conjeveram, Rámeshvar near Cape Comorin, Gokarn-Mahábaleshvar near Kumta in north Kánara, and Násik-Trimbak on the Deccan plateau are also visited by Gujarát Shaivs. The provincial spots of pilgrimage for Shaivs in south Gujarát are Shukla-tirth and Shurpán on or near the Narbada; Untadia near Kadi in Baroda territory; and the *Panch-tirthi* or five shrines between Bhimnáth near Dhandhuka and Gopnáth in south-east Káthiávád.

Mátás.

The *Mátá* shrines are Amba Bhaváni on Mount Ábu, Bechráji in the Chunvál, Káliká on Pávágadh hill in the Panch Mahála, and the Unhái hot-springs near Bánsda in the Surat District. Tulja Bhaváni in the Nizám's territory, and Hingláj on the Baluchistán frontier are also visited by devout *Mátá* worshippers.

Of minor divinities pilgrims visit the shrines of Hanumán at Gumándev, twelve miles east of Ankleshvar, Dabhoda near Ahmedábád, and Bhimpor near Surat.

Rivers.

The Narbada, the Tápti, and several spots on the sea-shore between Dwárka and Daman are held in high local sanctity. The Narbada is considered as the holiest, and a pilgrimage to Reváji includes a bath in the river and visits to sacred spots on the river-course including Shukla-tirth and Kabirvad near Broach, Chánod-Kanyáli, and Shurpán further up. Once in twelve years, when the intercalary month falls in May-June (*Vaishákh*), Tavra on the Narbada near Shukla-tirth is visited by tens of thousands of pilgrims from all parts of Gujarát and Káthiávád, and Bhádbhut also on the Narbada, draws pilgrims but in

Appendix C.
PLACES OF PILGRIMAGE.

much smaller numbers, once in nineteen years when the intercalary month falls in September-October (*Bhádarva*). The Tápti as the daughter of the Sun, and several shrines along its course near Surat and Kámlej enjoy local sanctity among pilgrims of the district. But once in twelve years, when the intercalary month falls in May-June (*Vaishakh*), pilgrims go in large numbers to Bodhán on the Tapti eighteen miles east of Surat, but in smaller numbers than to Tavra.

Outside Gujarát, pilgrims who can afford the cost, value a bath in the Ganges and at Banáras, and at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jamna at Allahábád religiously called Práyág or Prágráj as the prince of *tirthas*. Once in twelve years, during the whole twelve months during which the sun is said to be in the sign Leo *sinhasth*, the Godávari is held very sacred, and Gujarát Hindus of all castes and creeds, in common with pilgrims from all parts of India, go to Násik and Trimbak to visit the Godávari, especially virgin widows whose head is there shaven for the first time after widowhood.

Jains.

The Jains have in Gujarát three shrines of Indian importance, all on hills, Mount Ábu, Shatrunjaya hill near Palitána, and Girnár near Junágadh in Káthiáwád. Táringa and Kesariya beyond Mount Ábu are also visited by Gujarát Jains; and such as can afford the cost do not fail to visit Samet Shikhar the Jain Banáras in Bengal.

Railway travelling has made pilgrimages easier, safer, and less costly; but devout Hindus, especially Jains, still go on foot as gaining religious merit thereby. In the old unsettled times, pilgrims used to go in bands called *sanghs*, with hereditary leaders called *sanghvis*; and it is still the practice for Bráhmanical Hindus to go to Ambáji, Bechráji, Dwárka, Dákor, Reváji, and the Godávari in such *sanghs*. Sometimes a rich Jain bears the entire cost of carrying, and feeding on the journey, an entire *sangh*, which is held to confer high religious merit.[1]

[1] Vastupál, a Porvád Jain Vánia minister (A.D. 1200-1233) of the Vághela king Virdhavala, one of the builders of the Jain temples at Ábu and Girnár, is described as making magnificent pilgrimages with 4500 carts, 700 palanquins, 1800 camels, 2900 writers, 12,100 whiterobe or *shvetámbara* and 1100 naked or *digambara* Jains, 1450 singers, and 3300 bards. Káthavte's Kirtikaumudi, xvi.

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